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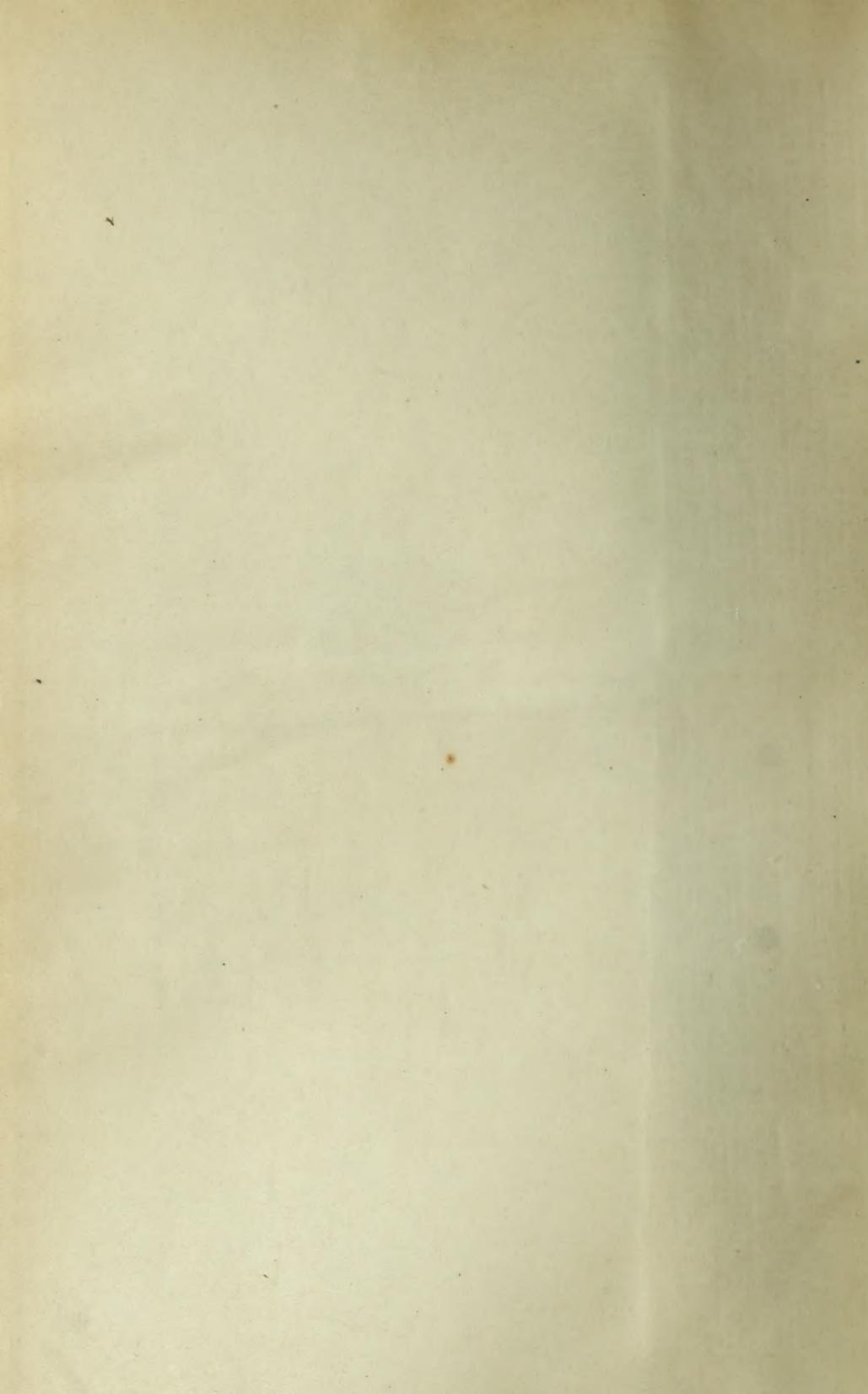


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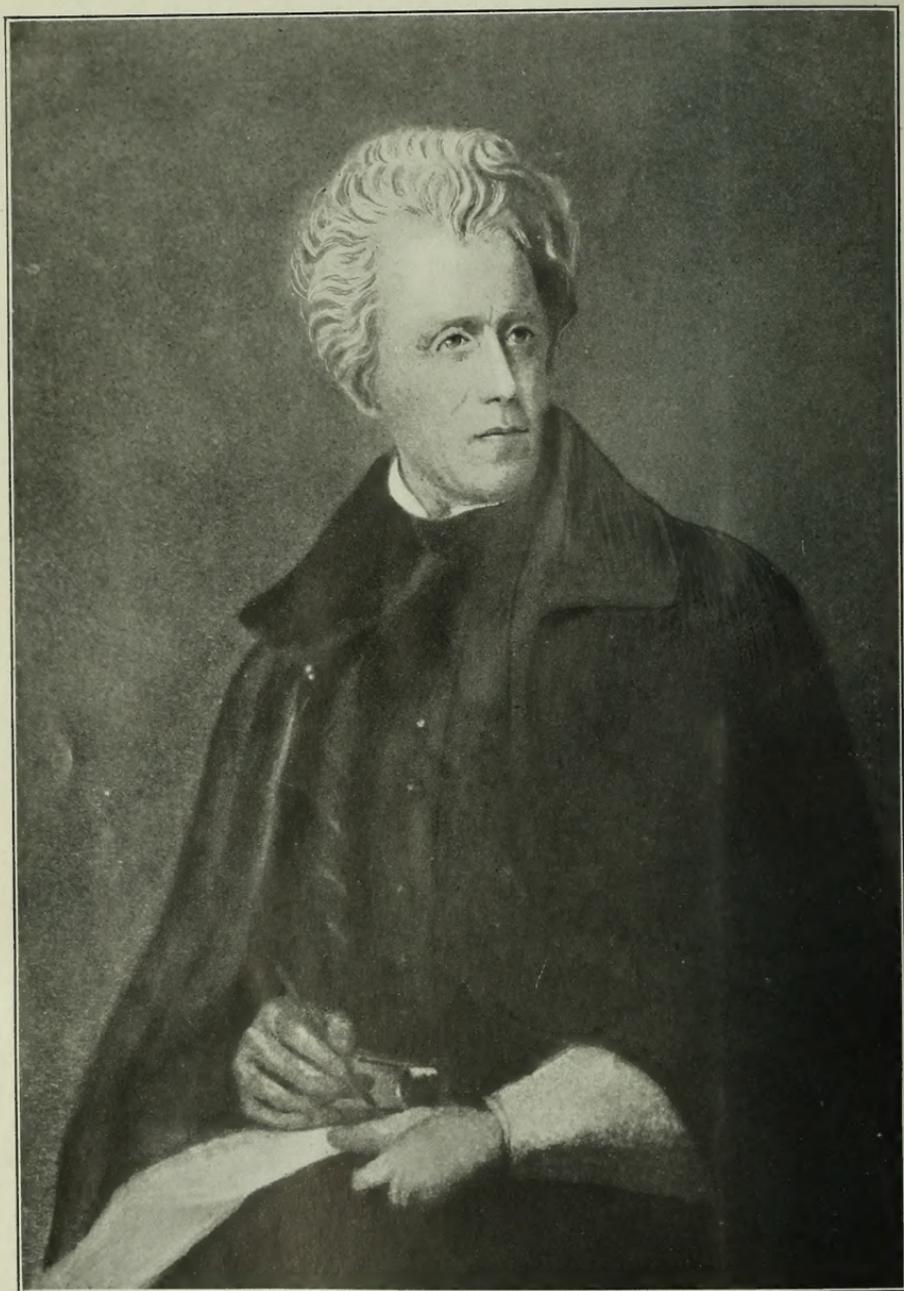
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ANDREW JACKSON.

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ANDREW JACKSON

AND

EARLY TENNESSEE HISTORY

ILLUSTRATED

BY S. G. HEISKELL,
A TENNESSEAN,
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

"A veteran host, by veterans led,
With Ross and Cockburn at their head,
They came—they saw—they burned—and fled!

"They left our Congress naked walls—
Farewell to towers and capitols!
To lofty roofs and splendid halls!

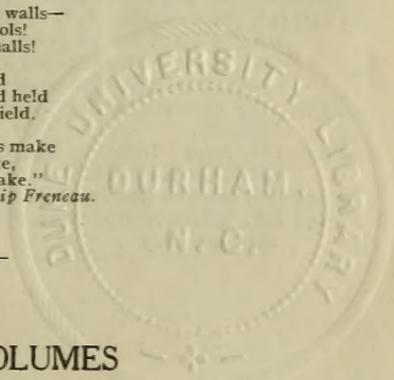
"To conquer armies in the field
Was, once, the surest method held
To make a hostile country yield.

"The warfare now the invaders make
Must surely keep us all awake,
Or life is lost for freedom's sake."
—Philip Freneau.

IN THREE VOLUMES

Vol. 3

NASHVILLE, TENN.
AMBROSE PRINTING COMPANY
1921



Errata Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History.

VOLUME 1.

- Page 32, third line read "State Legislature" for "Territorial Legislature".
Page 26, ninth line read "east side" for "South side".
Page 194, sixth line read "any government" for the "United States Government".
Page 372, tenth line read "Ben Jonson" for "Ben Johnson".
Page 392, eleventh line from the bottom omit the words "on January 1, 1880".
Page 621, thirteenth and fourteenth lines from the bottom omit the words "Col. Chester was only 81 years old at the time".
Page 646, seventh line from the bottom insert the words "thought to be" immediately after the word "army".

VOLUME 2.

- Page 66, first line of second paragraph from the bottom read as the date of the Ft. Mims massacre "August 30, 1813" for "August 30, 1814".
Page 66, third line read "August 2, 1813" for "August 2, 1814".
Page 66, thirteenth line read "September 12, 1813" for "September 12, 1814".
The battles of Talluschatches and Talladega were fought in 1813 and the battles of Emuckfau and Enotochopco in 1814.
The Battle of the Horse-shoe was on March 27, 1814.
Page 114, the date June 8, 1792 set out on the memorial slab in Tunis, Africa, as the birthday of John Howard Payne is an error. His birthday was June 9, 1791 as stated in the text page 113 and also on the monument erected by Mr. Corcoran in 1883 in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington.
Page 113, thirteenth line from the bottom read "grand-daughter" for "neice".
Page 193, read "1824" as the date of Jackson's first candidacy for President instead of 1825.
Page 199, twelfth line read "Cave Johnson" for "Cave Thompson".
Page 509, fifteenth line from the bottom read "Elbridge Gerry" for "El-dridge Gerry".

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v. 3

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PREFACE TO VOLUME 3.

This volume completes the work *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* and I feel that it is due the public to extend thanks for the very cordial reception given it during the past three years. It has been sold in forty-two States, the Canal Zone and Paris, France, and many strong testimonials and endorsements have been sent me from various parts of the United States. Old friends who helped in the last edition rendered material aid in this and new friends came forward also.

My thanks are tendered to Hon. John K. Shields, Col. John B. Brownlow, Capt. Wm. Rule, Judge Hugh L. McClung, J. Harry Price, Miss Mary U. Rothrock, Mrs. Inez Deaderick, Miss Mary Nelson, Mrs. Tapley Portlock, Hon. L. D. Smith, Hon. James Maynard and Miss May Rogers all of Knoxville;

To Milton B. Ochs of Chattanooga;

To Hon. John W. Gaines, Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson, Col. John Trotwood Moore, W. E. Beard, and Miss Will Allen Dromgoole, all of Nashville;

To Adolph S. Ochs of New York; Col. Sam King and Mrs. Blanche Laffitte of Bristol, Tenn.; Wm. Heiskell Brown and Miss Sophie Brown of Greeneville, Tenn.; Dean Albert C. Holt of Tusculum College near Greeneville; Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Mr. Sam'l M. Wilson, Lexington, Kentucky; Hon. T. A. E. Weadock of Detroit, Michigan; Mrs. Sarah W. N. Leonard of Baltimore, Maryland; Hon. Gideon Morgan of Mayes County, Oklahoma; Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Hart of New Orleans, Louisiana; E. W. Hughes and Miss Myrtle Leonard of Washington County, Tennessee; Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.; Newberry Library, and Arthur Meeker, Chicago; Otto Bernet of the American Art Association of New York and Bureau of National Literature, New York, H. M. Williams, President.

I am more and more convinced that the proper way to write history and the most efficient way to study it, is through complete documents, and hence there are introduced entire here some of

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the strongest of Jackson's State Papers. These papers are known to but few Americans and have been seen by a less number, yet a study of them is necessary to anything like an adequate apprehension of the great force and patriotic strength of Jackson as a man and of the moves of his two administrations.

So entire documents of other kinds have been inserted here which were fast growing scarce, with total extinction by time or fire or accident evidently not far away.

May I be permitted to express the opinion that I have presented here a juster estimate of Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Peggy O'Neal and Hon. W. G. Brownlow, and have created a better historical setting for all three. The treatment accorded to Mrs. Jackson and Peggy O'Neal is among the super infamies of politicians and newspapers of Jackson's day. I have examined every scrap of evidence affecting the character of both and find not a whisper against Mrs. Jackson except the trip of Jackson with Mrs. Roberts and some of her friends on a boat to Natchez. This of course, according to Mrs. Grundy's code of social ethics was unpardonable, and by those who tremble at Mrs. Grundy's frown, must be conceded to be indiscreet. But that would never have been thought of if the rumored divorce had turned out to be true, or if Jackson had never been a candidate for president. This gave Jackson's enemies a club to strike with and the slander factories material to operate on.

The assaults on Peggy O'Neal's character were investigated by both friend and foe, and the charges against her found not to have even one leg to stand on. Two unscrupulous preachers, J. W. Campbell at Washington and E. S. Ely in Philadelphia, were two of the busiest calumniators. Campbell collected some slanderous gossip, carried it to Ely and procured him to carry it to Jackson and that started the investigation. Ely himself went to New York to investigate the hotel register which he had told Jackson, on the authority of Campbell, gave the evidence of Maj. Eaton and Peggy having registered there as man and wife, and found Campbell's charge baseless. It was with a view to sound to the bottom all of the venerable slanders against Mrs. Eaton that I read everything tangible or evidential alleged against her, and have reproduced the many pages that appear in this volume so that the reader can form an opinion for himself.

So far as Gov. Brownlow is concerned no one writer, whatever his force or learning, can at this day eliminate all the prejudice

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against him in many sections of the country. It will have to be left to the slow process of time. Union men and their descendants will laud the Governor forever; secessionists and their descendants will condemn him. His fame is inseparately bound up in the controversy of Union against Secession, and as the champions of secession mellow in their opinions, so will they mellow toward Brownlow. In their bitterness toward him because he was a Union man, his enemies have always ignored the fact that in all respects except the preservation of the Union, Brownlow was a southern man through and through. He was an out-spoken champion of slavery and was himself a slave-holder. He was bitter but everybody was bitter in that vast contest of war. He was one of the best hated men in all history, and also one of the most lavishly praised, and both on account of a public question. Few personal charges were made against him. His personal integrity could not be questioned. He was simple in habits and appearance and fully looked the part of a Methodist preacher all over, which he was. The kindest of neighbors, he was charitable to those in want and in all personal relations a model citizen. I never saw the Governor but twice; once in the last illness of my father when he called one Sunday afternoon to pay his respects; and once in 1876 in Staub's Theatre in Knoxville, when Henry S. Foote, a former member of the Confederate Congress, was making a speech for Hayes and Wheeler, as an Elector for the State at Large in Tennessee, when Gov. Brownlow, in bad health, was lying on a couch on the stage.

In Eastern Tennessee, occupied as it was successively by the Confederate and Unions armies, there was infinite bitterness, followed by reprisals by both sides, and with Brownlow's terrific denunciation of disunion men, it has always been a wonder to me he was not killed a hundred times.

A FAREWELL

I think I may confide to the reader that the completion of this third volume marks the fruition of an expectation of a lifetime, indulged in from boyhood and the fulfillment of which never for a moment was ever doubted, namely, that the time would come when I would be the author of a work or works on some historical or economical subject.

My father decreed that I should be a lawyer, my mother wanted

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me to follow the footsteps of her brother and become an Episcopal minister, and I wanted to be a college professor and write books. My father's views, of course, prevailed, and I became a lawyer.

Being the first born of a desire to write books that I hoped might be found worthy of being read, this work is, like the first born always is in the family circle, greatly cherished, and whatever its demerits may be, and I am afraid they are many, I present it especially to students and also to the general reading public, and will hail the verdict with great joy should it be found to throw some little light that is new upon the Jackson period, one of the greatest in American history.

Knoxville, Tenn., October 15, 1921.

S. G. HEISKEIL.

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BROWNLOW'S CALL ON JACKSON.

W. G. Brownlow, when a Methodist Minister, was a Delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church which met in Philadelphia in May, 1832, when Jackson was President and, en route, stopped over in Washington, and, with other Ministers, called on the President. This is his account of the call:

"On my way to Philadelphia, I spent a week in the city of Washington, in visiting the different parts of the city, and in listening to the debates in Congress. While in Washington, in company with some ten or a dozen clergymen, I visited the President's house, also, and was honored by an introduction to Gen. Jackson. He had just recovered from a slight state of indisposition. He sat with Mr. Livingston, the then secretary of state, examining some papers, when we entered, and though paler than usual, I was struck with the fidelity of the common portraits I have seen of him. Alexander's, I think, however, is the best by far, and his reflection in the mirror is not more like him. He rose with a dignified courtesy to receive us, and conversed freely and agreeably; till, unfortunately he bounced on the missionaries, who had crossed his views, and feelings, in opposing the measures of Georgia and the general government. His whole appearance is imposing and in the highest degree gentlemanly and prepossessing. He is a very fine looking old man, though I left him with an unfavorable opinion of him. And though I dislike and disapprove of his administration, yet, I am free to confess, that if his face is an index of his character, he is an upright, fearless man. But I have long since learned that it will not do to take men by their looks."



CHAPTER 1.

Act of North Carolina ceding to the United States the present State of Tennessee; Act of Congress declaring war between England and the United States; Gold Medal for Jackson; letter of Mrs. Sarah W. N. Leonard, great grand-daughter of Governor John Sevier, on Governor Sevier's religious views; letter of 1793 of Col. James King to General John Sevier; letter by Major Jno. Reed on a visit by General Jackson and himself to the tomb of Washington; letter by Davy Crockett setting forth his hostile opinion of Jackson; correspondence between E. W. Hughes and Miss Myrtle Leonard of Washington County, Tennessee, with the author, in reference to the "Boone Tree," in Washington County; sketch of Hon. T. A. E. Weadock, Detroit, Michigan; United States Senator James A. Reid's speech at funeral of Ex-speaker Champe Clark; poem "The Hermitage" by Will Allen Dromgoole in Nashville Banner Feb. 27, 1921.

"AN ACT CEDING TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
CERTAIN WESTERN LANDS THEREIN DESCRIBED, AND
AUTHORIZING THE DELEGATES FROM THIS STATE
IN CONGRESS TO EXECUTE A DEED OR
DEEDS FOR THE SAME.

"I. Whereas, the United States in Congress assembled, by their resolutions of the sixth of September and tenth of October, one

thousand seven hundred and eighty, have earnestly recommended to the respective States in the Union claiming or owning vacant Western territory to make cessions of part of the same; and whereas by their resolution of the eighteenth of April one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, as a further means as well as hastening the extinguishment of the debts as of establishing the harmony of the United States, it was recommended to the States which have passed no Acts towards complying with the said resolutions, to make the liberal cessions therein recommended; and this State ever desirous of doing ample justice to the public creditors as well as establishing the harmony of the United States.

II. "Be it Enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby Enacted by the authority of the Same.

That this State do hereby cede to the Congress of the United for the said States, all right, title and claim which this State has to the lands west of the Apalachian or Alleghany Mountains, beginning at the Virginia line where the said line intersects the extreme height of the said mountain, thence with the said mountain to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, being the southern boundary, thence running in the said thirty-fifth degree to the Mississippi, thence up the Mississippi to the thirty-six degrees thirty minutes of north latitude, being the northern boundary of this State, thence to the first station; and delegates from this State in the Congress of the United States are hereby authorized and impowered to execute a deed or deeds on the part of this State, conveying to the Congress of the United States all the right, title and claim to the government and territory thereof, that this State now has or ever had in or to the said territory above ceded, upon the following express conditions and reservations, and subject thereto, that is to say: First, That neither the lands nor the inhabitants of the territory westward of this said line shall be estimated after this cession shall be accepted in the ascertaining of the proportion of this State with the United States in the common expense occasioned by the late war.

"Secondly, That the lands laid off or directed to be laid off by any Act or Acts of Assembly of this State for the officers and soldiers, their heirs and assigns, respectively, and if the bounds of the lands already prescribed for the officers and soldiers of the Continental line of this State shall not contain a sufficient quantity of lands fit for cultivation to make good the several provisions intended by law, that such officer or soldier who shall fall short of his allotment or proportion after all the lands fit for cultivation within the said bounds are appropriated be permitted to take his quota, or such part thereof as may be deficient in any other part of the said Western country not already appropriated within the time limited by law for the said officers and soldiers to survey and lay off their respective proportions; and where entries have

been made and titles under them not perfected by grant or otherwise, then and in that case, the Governor for the time being shall and is hereby required to perfect such titles in such manner as if this Act had never been passed; and that all entries made by, or grants made to all and every person and persons whatsoever under the laws of this State, and within the limits hereby ceded to the United States, shall have the same force and effect as if this cession had not been made; and that all and every right of occupancy and pre-emption, and every other right reserved by any Act or Acts to persons settled on any or occupying any lands within the limits of the lands hereby ceded as aforesaid, and all reservations of hunting grounds for the use of the Indians, shall continue to be in full force in the same manner as if this cession had not been made, and as conditions upon which the said lands are ceded to the United States: And further, it shall be understood, that if any person or persons shall have by virtue of the law commonly called the land law now in force in this State located his or their entry to any spot or piece of ground on which any other person or persons shall have previously located an entry or entries, that then and in that case the person or persons making such entry or entries or their assignee or assignees, shall have leave and be at full liberty to remove the location of such entry or entries to any lands on which no entry has been specially located, or on any vacant lands included within the limits of the lands hereby ceded; Provided, That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to the making good any entry or entries, grant or grants heretofore declared void by any Act or Acts of the General Assembly of this State.

“Thirdly, That all the lands hereby ceded to the United States and not reserved or appropriated as before shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United American States as now are or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, North Carolina inclusive, according to their respective and usual proportion in the general charge and expenditure; and shall be faithfully disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatever.

“Fourthly, That the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into a State or States, containing a suitable and convenient extent of territory; and that the State or States so formed shall be a distinct republican State or States and admitted members of the federal union, having the same right of sovereignty as other States; and that the State or States which shall be hereafter erected within the territory now ceded, shall have the most full and absolute right to establish and enjoy, in the fullest latitude, the same constitution and the same bill of rights which are now established in the State of North Carolina, subject to such alterations as may be made by the inhabitants at large or a majority of them, not inconsistent with the confederation of the United States. Provided always,

that no regulations made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate slaves, otherwise than shall be directed by the Assembly or Legislature of such State or States.

Fifthly, That if Congress do not proceed to accept the lands hereby ceded in due form and give official notice thereof to the delegates of this State, if in Congress, or to the executive or legislative authority within twelve months from the passing of this Act, then this Act shall and will be of no force, and the lands hereby ceded revert to the State.

"Mr. Davie moved for leave to enter the following protest on passing on the third reading the Bill ceding to the United States in Congress Assembled, certain Western Lands therein described.

"Dissentient:

"Because, the extent of our Territory as bounded by the late Treaty of Peace could never endanger the general Confederacy.

"Because, if the principles of the Federal Union could ever be injured by an unequal possession of Territory, a cession of so large a portion of this State, while Virginia and Georgia will retain an immense Territory, would be certainly dangerous and impolitick.

"Because, this State, from her local circumstances and the weakness of the two Southern States, was obliged to advance large sums for their aid and defense which are still unliquidated, and as our credits for those advances have been uniformly opposed by the Eastern States, we think that it ought to have been expressly stipulated, as a preliminary to the cession, That the whole expense of the Indian Expeditions and our Militia aids to Georgia and South Carolina should pass to account in our quota to the Continental expenses incurred by the late war.

"Because, the resolve of Congress of the seventeenth of February, or the resolve of the eighteenth of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, should have been first carried into effect in order to ascertain the just quota or proportion of the Federal debt due from the individual States and their respective accounts should have been liquidated and their claims fully established before *any cession* took place.

"Because, the Western territory being the undoubted property of this State, was justly considered by the people as a security to their claims against the public, and was solemnly pledged to them by the Legislature in the Act of opening the land office 'for the redemption of specie and other Certificates'.

"Because, experience has shown us that our want of *public honesty* has been already severely punished by our want of *public credit*, we deem it a false and mistaken conception that our credit would be increased with foreign nations, by the adoption of a

measure founded on an open and palpable *breach of faith* to our own citizens.

"Because, justice and policy required that the domestic debt should either have been discharged by the sale of the Western Lands or substantiated in the hands of the creditor by establishing a fund for the punctual payment of the Interest annually. The first great resource is destroyed by the cession, and it is our opinion that the State emerging from the miseries of a destructive war, is perfectly unable to discharge the interest of her internal debt, amounting to a sum far beyond her abilities; Taxes in a certain degree we know are just and expedient, that by stimulating the industry of the individual they increase the aggregate wealth of the community, but when extended so far as to entrench upon the subsistence of the people they become burthen-some and oppressive.

"Because, though our internal debt is in the nature of a domestic loan and circumstances and consequences are widely different; loans are made by those who can spare from their consumption to the necessity of the Government and without doubt contribute to its stability and alleviate the pressure of taxation; but a large part of our domestic debt grew out of the *generous advances of Individuals* to the public in the hour of distress, many of these are now impoverished and even ruined by their confidence in the justice of the Legislature; immense sums were also contracted by general contributions and military impresments of the most valuable property, and often from the most necessitous body of the people; suspension of payment must prove ruinous to those *patriotick sufferers* and a disgrace to the State.

"Because, the Auditors, from their desultory manner of doing business, have left many claims unadjusted. The great body of the people sustained an irretrievable injury by the cession, they were undoubtedly equally entitled to this commutation for their claims, and we could never consent that the public faith should be violated and the general interest sacrificed to the aggrandizement of a few Land Jobbers who have preyed on the depreciated credit of their Country and the necessities of the unfortunate citizen.

"Because, by the Bill of rights the limits of the State are not to be altered, but for the purpose of erecting a new Government *only*, certainly a cession for the express purpose of constituting a common fund can never be construed into this constitutional object, but was it even constitutional to dismember the State by Act of Assembly, or politick to cede two thirds of the soil and Sovereignty of our Country without any ascertained equivalent? A just regard to the rights of the people would have induced us to suspend the passage of the Bill until the sense of our constituents could be collected on this *irrevocable step*.

“Wm. R. Davie,	“David Flowers,
James Gallaway,	Caleb Phiifer,
James White,	G. H. Barringer,
Joseph McDowell,	James Hinton,
James Withrow,	Wm. Kendal,
James Emmet,	Richd. Ransom,
Richard Singleton,	E. McLean,
Joseph Robins,	David Shelton,
Daniel McKissick,	John Bonds,
David Wilson	John Speed,
Wm. Clark,	Sam'l Smithwick,
J. Lennard	Wm. Pickett,
Wm. Lenoir,	Matthew Lock,
Wm. Hill,	Thos. Sherrod,
Thomas Person,	Jesse Franklin,
John Atkinson,	Sam'l Cain,
Henry Montfort,	Landon Carter,
Elijah Robertson,	Wm. Alford.”
John Sloan,	

AN ACT

“AN ACT DECLARING WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITIAN AND IRELAND AND THE DEPENDENCIES THEREOF, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THEIR TERRITORIES.

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That WAR be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britian and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the same, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.

“June 18, 1812.

“JAMES MADISON.”

“Approved,

This act declaring the war of 1812 is reproduced here in order that the modern reader and student may see the verbiage of the document that made the battle of New Orleans a possibility, and Jackson the victor there, and created a great popular hero and a President of the United States.

THANKS OF CONGRESS TO JACKSON AND HIS COMMAND.

"RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby given to Major Gen. Jackson, and through him, to the officers and soldiers of the regular army, of the volunteers, and of the militia under his command, the greater proportion of which troops consisted of militia and volunteers, suddenly collected together, for their uniform gallantry and Good Conduct, conspicuously displayed against the enemy, FROM THE TIME OF THE LANDING BEFORE NEW ORLEANS, UNTIL HIS FINAL EXPULSION THEREFROM; and particularly for their valor, skill and good conduct on the eighth of January last, in repulsing, with great slaughter, a numerous British army of chosen veteran troops, when attempting by bold and daring attack to carry by storm the works hastily thrown up for the protection of New Orleans; and thereby obtaining a most signal victory over the enemy with a desparity of loss, on his part, UNEXAMPLED IN MILITARY ANNALS.

"RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be struck, a gold medal, with devices emblematical of this splendid achievement, and presented to Major General Jackson as a testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his JUDICIOUS and distinguished conduct on that memorable occasion.

"RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to cause the foregoing resolutions to be communicated to Maj. General Jackson, in such terms as he may deem best calculated to give effect to the objects thereof."

LETTER FROM MRS. SARAH W. N. LEONARD, GREAT GRAND-DAUGHTER
OF GOV. JOHN SEVIER.

"Baltimore, Md., March 30, 1921.

"Hon. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir,—

"Since reading the Diary of John Sevier, published in your "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," in which he frequently mentions attending services at the Roman Catholic Church, it occurs to me that some of your readers may infer that he was of that religious faith.

"As a Daughter of the American Revolution, I am interested in facts and not fables going into history and am desirous that the question of my ancestor's religion be not left open, for those who do not know, to form false conclusions. I, therefore, take the liberty of writing to you on this subject, that you, as an historian, may be able to answer the question conclusively.

"I do not hesitate to state that Gov. Sevier was not a Roman Catholic. His ancestor, with a brother, left France after the

"Massacre of St. Bartholomew," and during the religious disension in France, went to London, and there changed the spelling of their name from 'Xavier' to 'Sevier.'

"The family were Huguenots, with the exception of St. Francis.

"Gov. Sevier was very proud of his Huguenot extraction, and on all occasions, when possible, attended Protestant services.

"While in Congress and in Washington, he evidently availed himself of his first opportunity for attending the Catholic Church, and he, no doubt, was interested in learning all there was in the faith of that Church, which had so highly honored his kinsman, St. Francis Xavier.

"Family traditions and historians claim that St. Francis Xavier, and John and Valentine, who went to London, were brothers.

"The Xaviers were all akiu, a rich and illustrious family, of the town of Xavier, in the French Pyrenees, and of very strong influence.

"I have always felt deep interest in my family history on both sides of the house, and have imbibed all the information I could concerning them. It may not be out of place here to state that I was the first woman from Tennessee to join the Daughters of the American Revolution, being a charter member, No. 85, in the Society, which now numbers more than a hundred thousand. I was also the first descendant of John Sevier and Lipscomb Norvell, to become a member of that Society.

"Sincerely,

"SARAH W. N. LEONARD.

LETTER FROM COL. JAMES KING TO GEN. JOHN SEVIER.
ORIGINAL IN WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Knoxville, Sept. 23, 1793.

"Dear Sir:

"Mr. Walker who will give you this will bring a canoe with twenty bb's. of flour two casks of whiskey three pots and four ovens. I have set several Blk. smiths to work and you shall have some axes this week. Esq. Hamilton has engaged to send 12 good axes helved and ground to your camp on or before Saturday next and I shall miss no Opportunity in sending you all necessary tools that I can get; hope to hear from you all opportunitys. I have 100 Head of fine cattle on the Road to camp they will perhaps need a Guard from Hellys Station.

"I am Dr. Sir Yor. Obdt. Serv.

"James King.

“Gen Sevier.

“P. S.

I have applied for your hat, it will not be finished before the last of the week.

“J. K.”

VISIT TO THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON BY JACKSON AND MAJOR
JOHN REID

“The following is an extract of a letter written by our lamented friend, Maj. John Reid, after an excursion in company with General Jackson to Mount Vernon. It will be recollected that the Legislature of Virginia has very properly reminded Congress of that respect which is so justly due ‘to the remains of our most exalted Chief.’ It is indeed not a little strange that this tribute should have been thus long neglected, under such circumstances. The pathetic manner in which Major John Reid notices this neglect, is calculated to awaken in our minds a recollection of virtues in a great man which should never be forgotten. And to cherish such recollections we think is not inconsistent with our duty. —Lynchburg Press.

“Washington City, 16th Nov. 1815.

“Dear L:

“It is now night, and I am just returned from a visit to Mount Vernon, a spot rendered sacred to every American bosom by the residence of its former owner. Judge Washington was unfortunately not at home; but from Mr. Herbert, who married his niece, and from the rest of the family, we received the utmost hospitality and politeness.

“The road to Mount Vernon leads by Alexandria through which we passed incog. that we might not in so solemn a pilgrimage, be interrupted by the intrusion of impertinent curiosity.

“The site is really a delightful one. By a gentle ascent you reach the summit of an eminence which commands, on the one side an extensive country prospect, and overlooks, on the other, the majestic Potomac, on the bosom of which, vessels of various descriptions are continually gliding. On the summit stands the venerable dwelling of the patriarch of our liberties, corresponding in its style with the plain and simple style of him who planned it. A neat little flower garden, laid out and trimmed with the utmost exactness, and ornamented with green and hot houses, in which flourish the most beautiful and tropical plants, affords a happy relief to the solemn sadness produced by a view of the antique structure which it adjoins and leads you insensibly into a train of pleasing melancholy musing, in which you review, in imagination, the manner in which the greatest and best of men, after the most active and eventful life, solaced in retirement the evening of his days. Indeed every thing you behold derives a thousand-fold

interest from being associated with the memory of its venerable proprietor—all the splendor of the most fanciful decorations. formed to gratify a nation's or an individual's vanity can excite no such interest.

"From the garden, I went to visit a spot in which no enlivening, scarcely a consoling emotion could find a place in my bosom. In a small vault on the river side of the hill, ill constructed and overgrown with shrubbery, repose the bones of the father of his country. Why is this so? Must the charge of ingratitude forever rest upon Republics? It is now several sessions since Congress solicited "the remains" of him whose life had been devoted to his country's service, in order that some suitable testimonial of that country's respect might be shewn to them. The venerable widow who cherished them, as a most precious relict, sacrificed her individual feelings to the nation's wishes, and granted the request. Since then, as though this apparently warm interest had been but as studied mockery, those remains have been permitted to moulder in the 'dark and narrow cell' where they were at first deposited. I perceive that the whole family are mortified and hurt at it—not that they desire any splendid national Mausoleum to preserve the perishable remains of one whose virtues are entombed on their hearts and will live forever—but that they themselves, are now debarred an opportunity of testifying that decent respect for their dear lost lord which their feelings dictate to them as a duty, Oh, my country, when Washington is forgotten, who of thy Sons can ever hope to be remembered."

DAVY CROCKETT DID NOT ADMIRE JACKSON.

LETTER JUST AS WRITTEN.

"Washington City, 27th May, 1834.

"Dear Sir:

"Your kind favor of the 8th inst. came safe to hand and I will hasten to answer it. I am in good health and hope these lines will find you in alike health.

"I can give you but little political news more than you can see by the papers; you will see that our long and happy mode of Government is near at an end, we may from present appearances soon bid farewell to our republican liberties, we have completely the Government of one man and he has tools and slaves enough in the house of representatives to sustain him in his wild career. I do believe his whole object is to promote the interest of a set of scoundrels; hope these lines will find you in the alike country.

"You recollect that I said in Brownsville in my speech that the whole object of Jackson's great zeal to get the moneys out of the United States Bank, was to get it placed where he could have the control of it to use for the purpose of making that political Judas, Martin Van Buren, our next president and you now see my pre-

diction came true, you see Andrew the first King hold both Sword and purse and claims it as the other public property by the Constitution.

"Will the people agree that no man, not even those that formed the Constitution, did not understand it, nor no man that ever wielded the destinies of this nation ever understood that Sacred article until Andrew Jackson mounted the throne I am much mistaken in the people of this country if they have forgot the Blood and treasure that was lost in relieving this country from a government of one man, and will fall back to the kingly powers. The truth is the poor Superannuated old man's vanity has prompted him to think that his popularity could stand anything. You state to me that the people is well pleased with my course, this is gratifying to me beyond measure and I hope you will tender to my friends my greatful acknowledgement for their complementary letter expressing their intire satisfaction at my course as their servant I never did know any mode of legislating only to go and do what my conscience dictated to me to be wright. I care nothing for any party more than to do justice to all.

"The old man thinks he has put down the Bank of the United States and he has commenced war on the Senate, as he thinks that to be the only barior in his way to kingly powar. Let him once conquer the senate and he will put his foot on the Constitution and tell the Judicial power to go to hell. I do believe this to be his calculation but I hope he may be mistaken. The Senate will save the Constitution and the laws of the country in spite of Andrew Jackson and all his minions around him.

"I was one of the first men that ever fired a gun under his command, and I supported him while he supported his promised principles, but when he abandoned them I abandoned him and I have never regretted my course.

"I have been trying for some time to get up my land bill, but we have not even passed the appropriation Bills and there is no chance to do anything. I know of no opposition to it if we could get to act on it.

"I must close with great respects.

"I remain your friend and ob't servt.

"David Crockett."

"Colo. T. J. Dobyms, Brownsville, Tennessee.

"P. S. We are at the contested election between Moore & Letcher; if it is made a party question Moore will get it and if it is decided on Justice, Letcher will get it.

"D. C.,

E. W. HUGHES TO THE AUTHOR.

WOLFE BROTHERS & CO., INCORPORATED MANUFACTURERS.

THE BOONE TREE.

"Piney Flats, Tenn., May 31, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"Yours recieved. I have just had four gavels finished up and will mail today. There can be no doubt but what they were made from the Boone tree, as the owner of the land (Mr. Isley) on which it grew, brought the planks to our factory to have small tables made for himself.

"This tree was blown down some time back, and was somewhat damaged by rot and worms. I have been told that the slab with the famous inscription was removed and sent to Washington, but don't know this to be a fact just now.

"I am getting up some facts in regard to this tree, and will send them to you when I get them collected.

"Very truly yours,

"E. W. Hughes."

E. W. HUGHES TO THE AUTHOR.

"Piney Flats, Tenn., Aug. 23rd., 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"I come at last with some facts regarding the Boone tree. I made a special trip to the site last Sunday and have talked to some of the very best citizens of the county and all say the facts are about as I have set them down.

"There is no doubt of the gavels being made of the Boone Tree as the owner bought the board to have worked up for himself. He has some of the lumber on hand yet and is selling the gavels and tables made from it. He claims to have gotten \$100.00 for the table with the bullet showing in it. So they are not apt to be very rare in this community until his stock of lumber is exhausted.

"I am sending a painting of the tree which I had a pretty hard time to secure the loan of

"Yours truly,

"E. W. Hughes,"



THE BOONE TREE.

Painted by Miss Myrtle Leonard of Jonesboro, Tenn., R. F. D. and procured for illustration in this book by Mr. E. W. Hughes of Piney Flats, Washington County, Tenn.
See Chapter One.

E. W. HUGHES TO THE AUTHOR.

"Piney Flats, Tenn., Aug. 23, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,
"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:-

"About ten miles North of Jonesboro, Tenn., in Washington County, East Tennessee, on the waters of Boone Creek, there stood until a few years ago a giant Beech Tree that was the most famous tree in the State of Tennessee, or probably in the United States. Thousands of people from the State and nearby States have journeyed to see the historical inscription that was carved on its smooth bark. The inscription was plain to read until about eighteen years ago, but since, visitors and curious people have obliterated this inscription which reads,

"D Boon,
"Cilled A Bar
"In Year 1760"

"This tree stood on the land now owned by Mr. LaFayette Isley, in a magnificent forest of beech and hickory. It was 29 inches across the stump and about 70 feet high. It leaned sharply to the west, probably 20 degrees, in which direction it fell about 1916. I believe the scene around this spot has changed very little since D. Boon passed that way over 150 years ago. The stately trees have never been disturbed and the only work of man that can be seen is a stone marker standing in eight feet of the spot on which the Boone Tree stood. These markers were erected a few years ago by the Tennessee Daughters of the Revolution and are placed a few miles apart, designating his trail through Tennessee from North Carolina to Kentucky. Mr. Isley cut off some logs from this tree and it was the writer's privilege to make some library tables and other souvenirs for its owner. Three or four gavel were sent to Mr. S. G. Heiskell, of Knoxville, with the request to place them where they would be preserved to the people of the State.

"It is a curious fact that in the operation of making these tables, a leaden bullet was sawn through its middle and each half adhered to its wooden bed all through the operation of manufacture and finished, and shows in the table today. The bullet was about five inches in from the bark toward the heart. The painting was made by Miss Myrtle Leonard, of Jonesboro, and loaned for this picture.

"Very respectfully,
"E. W. Hughes.

THE AUTHOR TO MISS LEONARD

Knoxville, Tenn. Aug. 29th, 1921.

"Miss Myrtle Leonard,
care of E. W. Hughes,
"Piney Flats, Tenn.

"My Dear Miss Leonard:

"On yesterday I sent you a copy of the Journal & Tribune containing a picture of your painting of the Boone Tree. I tried to get you this morning by telephone but failed. I wanted to learn when it was you painted the picture of the Boone Tree which Mr. Hughes sent me and which I will return to Mr. Hughes.

"Please state all the circumstances connected with your painting the Boone tree—how you came to paint it, the date of the painting, where the tree is located with reference to Jonesboro; how long you were in doing the painting; whether the inscription on the tree was visible to the eye when you did the painting.

"If you did the painting from a description given you of the tree and not by actually seeing it, please tell me the name of the party who gave you the description.

"I am trying to get all the authentic facts connected with the tree for the Tennessee Historical Society and for the State Archives at the Capitol in Nashville. A great deal of interest has been manifested here in Knoxville in your picture which appeared in yesterday's (Sunday) Journal & Tribune.

"Yours truly,
"S. G. Heiskell"

MISS LEONARD TO THE AUTHOR.

"Jonesboro, Tenn., Route
"September 2, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,
"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"The interest you have taken in the Boone Tree and the picture of it is appreciated very much, and I want to thank you for the copy of the paper containing the sketch and picture.

"I am glad to give you all the facts I can about the location of the tree and the painting of the picture.

"The Boon Tree is on the old stage road leading from Jonesboro to Blountsville. It is about eight miles northeast of Jonesboro, and nine miles from Johnson City. It is about four miles from where Duncan, the first white man, was buried in Tenn., and only two miles from where William Bean built his cabin. Then just a mile from this tree, on Boon's Creek, is the Boon Falls. It is said that Boon safely escaped from the Indians by hiding under the rocks over which the water falls.



THOMAS A. E. WEADOCK, 1850.

Member of Congress from Michigan, from March 4, 1891 to March 3, 1895, and a collector of books, paintings, engravings and historical data relating to Andrew Jackson. See sketch of Mr. Weadock.
Chapter One.

"My reasons for painting the picture were as follows:

"My home is not in Jonesboro, as the paper stated, but at Boon, just one mile from the Boon Tree. From childhood, I have played beneath the tree, and it was there that we had our little picnics and dreamed of the past. In fancy, I saw Boon shoot the bear or helped him escape from the Indians. As I grew older, I was proud of our historical section with its many legends, and dearer to me than all was that of the Boon Tree.

"I decided last year to paint the tree while my memory of it was fresh. Then too, an old kodak picture of the tree was a great help, especially the position of the roots. As to how long I was in painting it, I cannot tell, for I would work until it would not look right, then put it away and work again when I decided what was wrong. I only finished it in June of this year.

"Mr. L. A. Isley and family, owners of the tree, told me my picture was exactly as they remembered it. The inscription has not been plain since I can remember, altho' you could see where it was. It had been cut over. In fact, the tree was covered with the names of thousands that had come to see it.

"All you see now is a few roots falling to pieces, a marker that follows the Boon Trail and lofty Beech Trees bearing names of those that could find no room on the Boon Tree, or loved it too well, to mar it. But we have memories that cannot be taken away.

"If I have omitted anything you would like to know, I will try to find out if you will write me at Jonesboro, Tenn., R. F. D. No. 4, or call me through Johnson City, then Boon's Creek central.

"Yours truly,

"(Miss) Myrtle Leonard."

HON. THOMAS A. E. WEADOCK.

Hon. Thomas A. E. Weadock of Detroit, Michigan, is a life long admirer of Andrew Jackson and a collector of books, pamphlets, pictures of every variety, autographs and letters of Andrew Jackson, and the leading statesmen and politicians of the Jackson era. There are probably larger Jackson collections in the United States than Mr. Weadock's but none more carefully selected, or according to its extent, more historically valuable.

To this collection Mr. Weadock voluntarily gave liberal access to aid in the preparation of this volume, and sent a part of it to Knoxville, Tennessee, the author's home, for that purpose, and he feels that gratitude as well as reciprocal courtesy, demand that the volume should present a sketch of Mr. Weadock's devotion to the name and fame of Andrew Jackson to all to whom it might itself carry Jackson's name.

Hon. Thomas A. E. Weadock was born in Ballygarret County, Wexford, Ireland, on January 1, 1850, and came with his parents to America in 1850 and located on a farm near the town of St. Mary's, Ohio. He attended the district school and also the union school at St. Mary's, and on the death of his father in December, 1863, he left school and managed the farm, his older brother having enlisted in the Union Army in 1862. While so employed he kept up home studies, his favorites being history and biography. When his brother returned from the Union Army in 1865, Mr. Weadock went to Cincinnati in search of employment and entered a printing office, then became a clerk, then went back to St. Marys and taught school for five years, carrying on his own studies while teaching. On the money made by teaching, he entered the Law Department of the University of Michigan in 1871 and graduated as Bachelor of Laws March 26, 1873, and was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Michigan at Detroit, April 8, 1873, and to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Ohio in June 1873. He located at Bay City, Michigan, September 12, 1873, and in 1883 was elected Mayor of Bay City and Served until 1885. He declined a re-nomination.

He entered into a law partnership with his brother John C. Weadock, and their practice which has continued to this day, has extended into many counties of Michigan and to other states. He was Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Bay County, Michigan, for two years, and on the death of the prosecuting Attorney, succeeded him and served till December 31, 1878.

In politics Mr. Weadock has always been a Democrat, and in every campaign he has been on the stump for the Democratic party. He was Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Convention of 1884 and of the joint congressional convention when the Greenback party united with the Democrats. In 1885 he was permanent Chairman of the Democratic State Convention. In 1890 Mr. Weadock was unanimously nominated at Alpena, Michigan, for Representative in Congress, made 57 speeches in the campaign and was elected by 1,666 majority. He was re-elected in 1892. In 1893 he made an extensive tour of Europe and returned in time for the special session of Congress held that year.

In the 53rd Congress, he was Chairman of the Committee of Mines and Mining and a member of the Committee on Pacific Railroads. He supported the Wilson tariff bill, the income tax law, the repeal of the Sherman law, the repeal of the election laws and the increase of the Navy.

In 1894 he declined a re-nomination to Congress in a letter in which he said, "I desire to return to my profession, and having found the only office I ever wished to hold, to be in a large measure a disappointing thankless task, I relinquish it without regret."

"The Bench and Bar of Michigan," copyright 1897, presents Mr. Weadock's personal characteristics in this way: "Mr. Weadock was never popular in the ordinary sense. He stood unflinchingly by his opinions and while he made strong friends, he also made enemies. He expressed his views strongly but fairly. He loved his friends and fought his enemies. His deep convictions, dauntless courage and unyielding persistence are among the sources of his power."

In 1896 he was chosen one of the Delegates from the State at large in Michigan to the National Democratic Convention.

In 1895, he opened a law office in Detroit for the general practice of his profession. He has been a member of the American Bar Association since 1880 and was the Democratic nominee for Judge of the Supreme Court of Michigan in 1904. His favorite author is Shakespeare, his hero Napoleon and his ideal lawyer Daniel O'Connell.

MEMORIAL

On March 14, 1918, Honorable Champe Clark, then Speaker of the Lower House of Congress, wrote the Foreword of this work from the Speaker's Room of the House. He was a fervent admirer of Andrew Jackson. Now that he is dead after a great and patriotic service as Congressman from Missouri of more than twenty years, the author feels that he cannot more perfectly express his great admiration for the ex-speaker than by adopting and reproducing the grand tribute of United States Senator James A. Reid of Missouri at the funeral of Mr. Clark on March 5, 1921, in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

"SENATOR REID: A wonderful stream is the river of life. A slender thread emerging from the mysterious realm of birth, it laughs and dances through the wonder-world of childhood. Its broadening currents sweep the plains of youth between the flowerdecked banks of romance and of hope. A mighty torrent, it rushes over the rapids of manhood and breaks in foam upon the rocks

of opposition and defeat, then glides away across the barren, sterile fields of age until it is engulfed and lost within the waters of the eternal sea.

"The robes of royalty, the beggar's rags, the rich man's golden hoard, the pauper's copperpence, the jewel diadems of princes, and the thorny crowns of martyrs are swept by the same ceaseless tides.

"The miracle of birth, the mystery of death remain the unsolved problems of all time. The shepherd philosopher who three thousand years ago upon the Syrian plains observed the procession of the planets and contemplated the decrees of fate was as wise perhaps as is the wisest of to-day. He only knew that standing here upon this bank of time his straining eyes could not glimpse even the shadowy outlines of the farther shore. He could only behold the white sails of receding fleets; ships that sail out, but never come again. He only knew that at the grave's dread mouth all men must cast aside the burden of their honors and their griefs; that man takes with him only that which he has freely given away; but that even death may not despoil him of the riches of service and self-sacrifice.

"Measured by that standard, he who sleeps today bears with him to the tomb a legacy so rare that even envy is compelled to pay the tribute of admiration.

"His long life was devoted to the public weal. Upon his country's altar he placed his wonderful natural talent, the zeal of his youth, the energy of middle life, the wisdom of old age.

"With tireless brain he wrought to promote the general good, with sympathetic spirit he labored to lift the burdens of sorrow from the shoulders of the oppressed. His heart cried out for all who trod adversity's harsh road. He explored every avenue of learning and burned his candle late into the night, that he might gather for them the lore of other countries and of other times.

"The fires of patriotic love for home and country consumed his very soul. He faced each task with the heroic courage of those who do not count the cost. His character rested upon a foundation laid deep in human love.

"Champ Clark lives because his works live. He lives because he helped to defend and keep secure the Constitution that preserves our rights. He lives in the Declaration of Independence, whose principles he nurtured with a tender and fearless affection. He lives because he helped liberty to live. Men who have so achieved never die. In ever-widening circles the influences of Champ Clark will be felt, and deeper and yet deeper the tender love the people of his State have borne for him will sink into their hearts.

"As time runs on and the historian surveys the picture of these troubled days, there will arise in it no figure more heroic than the rugged form that lies so still to-day.

"He was the best beloved of Americans.

"How cold are words. Let me speak of the man as my friend. For thirty years I have known him intimately. I watched his course through all the storms of life. How big and brave and rugged was this man. He met each danger like a brave soldier. He never flinched from any task. He stood square-fronted to the world.

"They say that he is dead, but we who gaze upon his marble brow must realize the man we knew does not lie here to-day. The soul that made him what he was cannot have been destroyed. To his family I cannot speak, but of them let me say, in all the world I never knew so much of filial affection, of wifely tenderness, of fatherly love as was manifested in his home. They must find consolation in the memory of this glorious man.

"Soon he will sleep in the soil of his beloved State. As it enfolds him, the very clods that touch his coffined clay will be blessed with the love he bore for the old Commonwealth of Missouri."

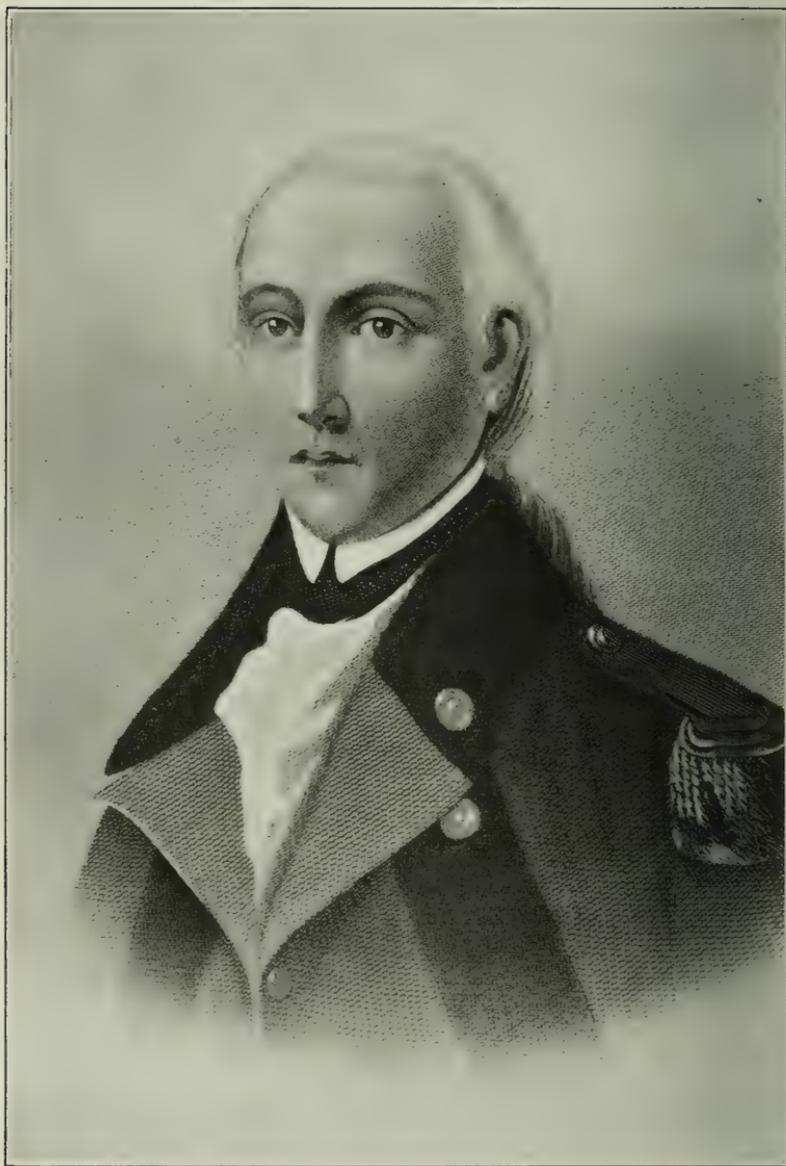
"THE HERMITAGE

"It stands with face uplifted to the light—
The Hermitage, just as he left it there;
Crowned in the sun by day, the stars by night,
And, day or night, the shadows everywhere—
The shadows of the ancient cedar trees,
Their languid, long plumes waving in the breeze.

"Within a corner of the garden plot
He sleeps beside his Dear, his darling Dear;
And so men whisper as they near the spot—
 'The heart of Andrew Jackson slumbers here.'
That dauntless heart which still could burn and break,
And battle proudly for a woman's sake.

"The wood, the fields, the limestone-girdled spring,
The garden with its sweet old-fashioned flowers—
They call them Jackson's Hermitage; we bring
 A finer tenure to insure it ours—
The Hermitage— a thing we hold in trust,
As true men guard their forbears' swords from rust.

“Forbid it, God, that ever there should come,
In length and breadth of this fair land of mine,
Such dearth of patriots that a warrior’s home
Should come to seem less holy than a shrine;
Deny him in her own brave breast a bed
Whose pride guards not the greatness of her dead.
—*Will Allen Dromgoole in Nashville Banner, Feb. 27, 1921.*



CAPTAIN ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER.

Of "The King's American Regiment," and second in command at King's Mountain on the British side. See "The Affair at King's Mountain," Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2.

"The Affair at King's Mountain", an Article giving the British version of that battle, by John Watts de Peyster, nephew of Abraham de Peyster, second in command at the battle, Oct., 7, 1780.

In the Revolutionary War the de Peyster family, one of the oldest New York families, had three sons who were Loyalists and served on the British side as officers. One of these was Capt. Abraham de Peyster who was second in command on the Loyalist side and succeeded to the command when Patrick Ferguson, Major 71st Regiment Loyalists, was shot and killed at Kings Mountain.

Another was Captain Frederick de Peyster who attained the rank of Captain in the Revolutionary War, distinguished himself at Eutaw Springs and died in New York in 1834.

Another was Captain James de Peyster, born May 16, 1753, who at the age of twenty was commissioned Captain-Lieutenant, and served in the Loyalist Army, and died unmarried at Lincelles, Flanders, August 19, 1793, being at the time 1st Lieut. of Artillery.

Capt. Abraham de Peyster of Kings Mountain was born February 18, 1853, and after the close of the Revolution became Treasurer of New Brunswick and died there leaving descendants.

Gen. John Watts de Peyster, the author of the article "The Affair at Kings Mountain," produced below, was a great nephew of Abraham de Peyster of Kings Mountain and was a voluminous writer, especially on military subjects. He was a kinsman of Gen. Phil Kearney of the Union Army in the Civil War and wrote his biography. This article was first published in 1880, 41 years ago, and is now out of print. More than a generation of Americans have come on the stage of action who never heard of the article or its author, and who, while they will not endorse various things in it, will welcome a Loyalist view of a supremely important battle in which pioneer Tennessee bore so splendid a part.

"THE AFFAIR at KING'S MOUNTAIN.

7TH. OCTOBER, 1780

"The principal object of this article is to present in new but true colors the prominent features of this battle: delineations novel, although authentic, because contrary to narratives hitherto given as correct.

"The chief facts are these:

"1st. The fall of Ferguson did *not* determine the battle. He was *not* killed at the *end* of the action, as always hitherto represented, but '*early in the action*,' and, therefore, his second in command and successor must have some credit for the protracted resistance instead of being held amenable to the charge of having surrendered as soon as his superior was slain, and the responsibility devolved upon him. He had gone through pretty much all of the previous receiving and giving of hard knocks, and had been shifted like a shuttle from one point of impact to another, wherever danger threatened, again and again, throughout the whole engagement, and he continued to fight on until, as his subordinate subsequently testifies (Charlestown, 30th January, 1781), "Captain de Peyster, on whom the command devolved, seeing it impossible to form six men together, thought it necessary to surrender to save the lives of the brave men who were left.' 'We lost, *early in this action*, Major Ferguson, of the 71st Regiment.' Ferguson's obituary notice in Rivington's Royal Gazette (New York), 24th February, 1781, begins: 'On the death of Maj. Patrick Ferguson, who was killed *early in the action* at King's Mountain, South Carolina.' Another letter, dated Charlestown, 4th March, 1781, written by an officer who also was in the battle, says, 'after our misfortune in losing Major Ferguson, the command devolved on Captain de Peyster; he behaved like a brave, good officer, and disputed the ground as long as it was possible to defend it.' Finally, General Lenior ('Wheeler's North Carolina,' 105) who was a Captain with Major Winston's command, writing to correct 'accounts of that battle (King's Mountain) which are very erroneous,' states, 'Colonel Ferguson had seven or eight bullets shot through him, and fell some time before the battle was over.'

"If General Graham, in his plan of the battle, locates correctly the spot where Ferguson fell, it is not unlikely that he was shot in repelling one of the effective charges at the west end of the summit, opposing the advance of the left under Cleveland. It is conceded on all sides that Ferguson might have burst through the American forces when his lieutenant drove their first attack down the slope in the direction of Tarleton and Cornwallis, as the latter advised him to do. Shortly after Major Winston came in to the right, and the circle was complete.

"2nd. There was *no* corps of British Regulars in the fight, but those called 'Regulars' were a detachment of selected troops from the 'Provincial Corps' or 'Brigade' of American Loyalists,

and Ferguson was 'territorial' Brigadier. Like Hanging Rock and other severe collisions, King's Mountain was a fight altogether between Loyal and Whig Americans, *not* between British, proper, and Colonists.

"3rd. Instead of the British outnumbering the Americans, the latter were to the British as 1 3-4 to 1; as 1310 (Shelby) to 1.370 (calculation), to 908 (Allaire) to 960 (Stedman), or to 850 (Warren), or to 960 (Davidson, W. N. C. 103); perhaps the Whigs were fully twice as many as the Loyalists, 1,900 to 950.

"4th. With the exception of the 100 Provincials, Regulars, or 'Veteran Volunteers,' the British were all green troops or militia

"5th. The Americans were not green militia, properly speaking, but men acclimated to battle, seasoned by life-long service to fighting.

"In order to understand the importance of the battle of King's Mountain, the decisive battle of the Revolutionary War of the South, and, perhaps, the decisive result everywhere, it is necessary to consider the preceding events, their bearing upon this engagement and its influence upon what followed.

"The defeat of Camden was a terrible blow to the colonies. No disaster was so unexpected. None was followed by such lasting consequences. It left Cornwallis in the centre of the new State the master of the situation; and if Clinton had given him a few more troops, or the British Government had followed the advice of every general of ability and poured reinforcements in at once and at critical points, the South would have been irretrievably lost. The Southern States were always the vulnerable point of the Union, and it was in this quarter Washington expected an invasion when made Lieut.-General, and preparing against hostilities on the part of the French.

"Cornwallis had with him a man remarkable for spirit, ability and courage, Patrick Ferguson, Junior, or Second Major of the Seventy-first Regiment Highlanders. He possessed many of the qualities which ennoble a soldier. He was temperate in his habits, magnanimous in his disposition, fearless in danger, and manly at all times. Such was the confidence reposed in him by Cornwallis that he conferred upon him a Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel; constituted him a 'local' or 'territorial' Brigadier-General of militia; confided to him an independent command and allowed him to select his subordinates and troops. His mission was to insure the submission of the western part of the two Carolinas, embody the Loyalists, organize and discipline them, sweep away the partisan corps and guerillas which endangered communications, utilize the resources of the country, and, in fine, act as his chief's left arm in the effectual subjugation of the outlying territory. Ferguson had already won considerable reputation in the German wars, and at an early age, before he came out to America in 1777. He brought with him his own invention, the first breech-loading

rifle ever used by regular troops in actual battle, combining a number of improvements deemed of comparatively very recent discovery or application. These rifles, constructed upon this principle, were issued to a picked body of men, at the Brandy-wine, 11th September, 1777, astonished the American sharpshooters by the superiority of their aim and the rapidity of their fire. In this battle Ferguson had his right arm shattered, and lost the use of it so as to become in reality the 'one-armed devil' that he is represented as having been during his service, elsewhere, and to the South.

"Ferguson had been uniformly successful in every operation confided to him. He distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston (29th March-12th May, 1780), and in the operations subordinate thereto, especially at Monk's Corner and Lanneau's Bridge, in connection with Tarleton. American writers on these events do not stint the praise so justly due to his military capacity. They style him 'the celebrated Ferguson.'

"The animosity aroused by Ferguson's penetration so deep into their fastnesses, and his manifest intention of sparing no exertions to restore the authority of the king, inspired the hardy element, which dwelt amid the Alleghanies, to unite with their friends to crush out one who seemed to be the most dangerous common enemy. It is usual and proper to attribute the general irritation against Ferguson to his own severity and the outrages committed by his followers. This is totally inconsistent with the language used about him by local historians. It is needless to dwell on his intrepidity, for that he was utterly fearless is acknowledged by every one; likewise his extraordinary ability. If any one to whom he was nearest and dearest desires to see his praises set forth in the strongest language they need only to resort to Ramsey and to Wheeler.

"Patrick Ferguson was no ordinary man. General Davidson styles him 'the Great Partisan;' General Lenior 'the celebrated Colonel Ferguson.' His rank in 1780, has occasioned considerable controversy. In different works and on different occasions he is styled 'Major,' 'Colonel' and 'General.' This is easily explained. He held the 'line' commission of Second Major in the Seventy-first Regiment ('White') Highlanders; was 'brevetted' Lieutenant-Colonel; is addressed as Colonel, a few days before he fell, by Colonel Cruger in the latter's last communication to Ferguson from '96; and held the 'local' rank of Brigadier-General of Militia. The English have a variety of military titles which are unknown and unrecognized on other services, especially our own; 'local' or 'territorial,' is one of these; 'temporary,' another; there are five or six.

"Shortly after Sir Henry Clinto returned to the North and Cornwallis succeeded him in command at the South, Patrick Moore, against the instructions of Cornwallis, placed himself at the head of a strong body of Loyalists from Tyron (afterward

Lincoln) County, N. C. He was successful in recruiting his corps throughout the region between the Catawba and the Alleghanies. As the British advanced northwards, Moore marched towards them, and established himself at an old post (such as is generally known at the West to this day as a fort) which had been built years previously by General Williamson on the Pacolet River, one of the feeders, from the Northwest, of the Broad River, which it joins at the present village of Pinkneysville. (See Ramsey's Tennessee, 213-15; Stedman's Quarto, 11, 196). Here he was attacked by Colonels Sevier, Shelby and Clarke, and surrendered to them the 20th (Lee 22d) June, 1780. This premature rising against the advice of Cornwallis, was a movement he ever after greatly deplored.

"The sufferings experienced by the Loyalists of North Carolina wore out their patience. They assembled again under Colonel Samuel Bryan (Sabine 11, 272-3), and marched into South Carolina. Those who escaped Major Davies and Colonel Sumter were present in the battle and constituted a portion of the army victorious at Camden 16th Aug., 1780. Previous to these occurrences, near the border line of the Carolinas, Ferguson, with his 'Flying Corps' or column, had been ranging the country between the Wateree, or Catawba, and the Saluda Rivers, gradually drawing nearer to North Carolina. Even to indicate the different movements which ensued would be almost equivalent to writing a complete history of the operations in South Carolina during the 'Battle Summer' of 1780. Suffice it to say that these 'insults' of the mountain men induced Cornwallis to select the spirited, active and intelligent Ferguson to follow the invaders into their own districts, embody the Loyalists, and occupy the strongest suitable positions in the interior. Colonel Ferguson possessed qualities peculiarly adapted to win the attachment of the marksman of Western South Carolina. To a corps of originally 150, but soon reduced by disease and hardship to 100 picked men, Provincial regulars (armed with his rifles), he soon advanced, his command increased to over 2,000 men, besides a small squadron of horse. To watch and harass this expedition Colonel McDowell sent Colonels Shelby and Clarke, (Dawson, 606) with 600 picked mounted riflemen. Instead of awaiting an attack Ferguson pressed forward after Clarke, and his advance struck, if it did not surprise, the latter at the Green Spring, in the Spartanburg District, South Carolina, on the 1st August. Clarke got off as quickly as possible, and justly so, because he was greatly outnumbered. This mishap did not dampen the spirits of the Americans, and five days afterwards Sumter attacked the British post at Hanging Rock, or Rich's Mountain, where, on the 6th August, occurred one of the most obstinately contested engagements of the Revolution. The fight lasted four hours. It was a conflict, pure and simple, between the native Whigs and Tories, or Loyalists— not a regular soldier was present — and the former

were defeated. On the 15th August, Sumter surprised the redoubt which covered the Wateree Ford. Here he gained a little success which his enormous preponderance of force rendered inevitable. Next day, the 16th, is the date of the catastrophe at Camden.

"This disaster for the Americans has already been sufficiently considered. Before its extent and effect had become generally known, McDowell had achieved a remarkable triumph, on the 19th August at Musgrove's Mills, on the Enoree River. It was a triumph, but, nevertheless, one of the merest side issues, since the destruction of the main army at Camden rendered it of no consequence. It was won by the same tactics as were afterwards applied at King's Mountain, and yet, strange to say, the British and Loyalists seemed stupidly blind to their fatal efficacy. The British depended on their discipline, their manhood and the bayonet. The Americans took to the trees, shunned everything like personal encounters, and while safe under cover, shot down their enemies one by one, just as the Indians of the present day slaughter our troops at the West. Undoubtedly they were right to do so; but if the British had discarded their intrepidity and followed a similar plan of military killing, the Muse of History would have had a different story to tell. It was a repetition of Braddock's defeat in 1755, of Oriskany in 1777. At this time, Ferguson lay between the different lines of these incursions. As soon as he received intelligence of the disaster of his friends on the Enoree, he swooped like an eagle upon Clarke (R. 220), who retreated as fast as his horses could carry him away. The flight towards the mountains lasted two days and the intervening night, without any stop for refreshments. The pursuit was equally vigorous. Major de Peyster, with a strong body of mounted troops from Ferguson's column, pursued closely until late on the evening of the second day after the action at Musgrove's Mills, and did not draw rein until excessive fatigue and the fearful heat of the season and region broke down both men and horses.

"Family tradition places Captain Frederic de Peyster, aged 21, of Fannings King's American Regiment of New York Loyalists, at the head of these pursuers; and it is said that a similar assignment to detached duty preserved him from the catastrophe at King's Mountain. It may have been, however, his elder brother, Abraham, Aged 27, who was Ferguson's second-in-command.

"This appears to be an appropriate place to explain how Ferguson got to the spot, King's Mountain, where his career was brought to such a sudden termination. After his victory at Camden and the rout of Sumter, Cornwallis, with his main body, moved due north (east of the Catawba), to the Waxhaws, the scene of the previous slaughter of Buford's command by Tarleton, and thence to Charlotte, eighteen miles eastward of King's Mountain, intending to proceed on to Salisbury, some forty miles to the north-east again. West of the Catawba lay the route of Tarleton's

Legion and the Light Infantry. Cooperating with Tarleton, Colonel Turnbull was stationed with his New York Volunteers, in conjunction with Ferguson's corps of Loyalists, on Little River (Lee, 98).

"After the failure of Colonel Elijah Clarke's attempt upon Augusta, 14th-19th September, Ferguson was ordered by Cornwallis to attack the Americans on their retreat, and cooperate with Colonel Cruger, who was in command at Ninety-Six, seventy miles north of Augusta, and about one hundred miles south of Gilbert Town, whitherward, as was supposed, Clarke was retreating. 'Cruger, after gaining some advantage, found the pursuit would carry him too far from *Ninety-six*, to which place he judiciously returned. Ferguson unfortunately adhered to the plan of continuing on, striking at Clarke and his associates, and thought the direction which they had taken towards *Gilbert Town* was perfectly consonant with his ulterior purposes. The object Clarke arrived at was to form a communication with many detachments of his friends who were approaching; or, if the superiority or advanced situation of Ferguson prevented that intention, to join Colonel Sumter on the borders of South Carolina.'

"It was to break up the 'Personel and Material' which led to such expeditions as that of Clarke and nourished them, that Ferguson was ordered into northwestern South Carolina. His mission was also to organize, arm and discipline the Loyalists. On the 18th August, 1780, an assemblage of these were attacked and defeated by Colonels Williams, Shelby and Clarke, near Musgrove's Mills, on the Enoree River, about where the present lines of the Spartanburg and Union districts touch that of the Laurens. Ferguson was not far off, he sent a detachment to overtake the victors. These came to grief, but the Americans, well aware of Ferguson's energy, fled, or retreated with a speed resembling flight, 'pursued closely until late in the evening of the second day after the action, by Major Dupoister, and a strong body of mounted men from Ferguson's army. These became so broken down by excessive fatigue, in hot weather, that they despaired of overtaking the Americans and abandoned the pursuit' (Ramsey, Tenn., 220). The same authority at another place (223) remarks: 'The detachment under Ferguson, as has been already seen, had been for several weeks on the left of the main army, watching the movements of McDowell, Sevier, Shelby, Sumter, and Williams, and Clarke and Twiggs. His second in command, Dupoister, pursued hard and fast after the mountain men as they retired, after their victory at Enoree, to their mountain fastnesses. Ferguson himself, with the main body of his army, followed close upon the heels of Dupoister, determined to retake the prisoners or support his second in command, if he should overtake and engage the escaping enemy. Finding that his efforts were fruitless, Ferguson took post at a place then called Gilbert Town, near the present Rutherfordton, in North Carolina. From this place he sent a most

threatening message by Samuel Phillips, a paroled prisoner, that if the officers west of the mountain did not lay down their opposition to the British arms, he would march his army over, burn and lay waste their country and hang their leaders.

"It has always been believed, and so stated in histories, that the nucleus or kernel of Ferguson's forces at King's Mountain who did all the fighting there were British regulars. This is so far from being the case that it can be clearly shown that those who were termed British regulars were Loyal American Volunteers, picked out as a rule, from three (two New York and one New Jersey) Loyal battalions. There were, undoubtedly, one or two British regular officers present, selected for peculiar qualities which adapted them to the service in hand, and there may have been individual British regular soldiers incorporated for their proficiency as marksmen. As at Oriskany, the turning point of the war and the bloodiest action for the numbers engaged at the North, so at King's Mountain, the turning point of the war and the deadliest for numbers who actually fought in it at the South, the Conflict was one between Americans, Americans drilled to fight as regular soldiers, and Americans instinctively trained to bushwhack as guerrillas. While the event at King's Mountain was exactly the reverse of the immediate issue at Oriskany, the course and consequences of both were the same; the discomfiture of the British plans of conquest, and a rapid ebb, which, owing to foreign intervention, never knew a flood corresponding to the previous high-tide.

"Those who, writing in the interest of truth, have striven to divest stories of the Revolution of the myths which envelop them like an atmosphere, have always maintained that Ferguson's corps has been invariably exaggerated both as to numbers and efficiency, and the force of his opponents diminished to satisfy the popular craving for the marvelous triumph achieved by undisciplined backwoodsmen and mountainers over regulars and oppressors. The fact is Ferguson did not know from day to day what numbers he did have in camp. This statement is attested by a disinterested military witness. His strength fluctuated in accordance with the hopes, fears or passions of the population favorable to the Royal cause. No real general, endowed with ordinary judgment, has ever placed any reliance in Militia. Washington is emphatic in regard to their unreliability if not absolute worthlessness, and he is corroborated by a number of our own best, as well as observant French officers who served with him.

"It is a great error to even suppose that this body of 3,000 American Whigs, the number reported by General Davidson writing of this assemblage at Gilbert Town, 10th October, 1780, were new to the exigencies and dangers of battle. Their fighting qualities could not be regarded as otherwise than respectable by professional soldiers, except those whose judgments were bounded by the narrowest horizon and distorted by senseless prejudice.

These valley and mountain men had been born and had grown up in an atmosphere of danger. From their earliest years they had breathed in powder-smoke, if not in actual set battles, in more perilous struggles with fierce wild beasts and adversaries like the Indians, as dangerous in their ferocity and more so in the union of cunning, weapons and combination. Many of them had been acclimated to something like regular war by engagements, skirmishes and collisions with Loyal uprisings and regular forces. They were of totally different and far better stuff than the militia who threw down their arms after a single scattering discharge, or without firing at all, and fled from Camden, leaving their regular comrades to certain destruction. If they were not regular soldiers they were brave men and stalwart adversaries, and if they did not understand the tactics of the Continentals, they had tactics of their own which suited the region in which they had to operate. The tactics of the associated Whigs Colonels, whoever suggested and whatever inspired them, were unexceptionable, and as applied by Cleveland, worthy of the stratagem of Hannibal, which implies the highest commendation. They were far superior to those of Ferguson. From what few facts are known of his plans, except through an unfortunate result, his simply seemed to be, 'Imitate my own and my Provincials' contempt of death and our devotion. Remember this, and show yourselves men.' The British tactics were those of the Romans, complete in the valor that dies fighting but does not conquer the aggregated craft and courage of men skilled in the use of firearms.

"The aspect of the storm clouds, portending a veritable cyclone, gathering upon the neighboring mountains, was too indicative to have an effect upon even such a fearless man as Ferguson. It seems to have demoralized the Loyalist of this section. His circular letter to overcome its effects and their timidity, of the 1st October, breathes of indignation and contempt which alone could have induced an elegant gentleman to pen such a scathing appeal, in the roughest Saxon, to even tepid manhood. He broke up his camp at Gilbert Town after sending out these missives, and sent two messages to Cornwallis at Charlotte to reveal his own critical situation, and to ask for a reinforcement. Three days after, on the 4th, he marched southward over the main branch of Broad River to the Cow Pens. On the 5th he wheeled to the left, or east, marched to Tates, since Dears, (Davis's) (?) Ferry, recrossed the Broad River, and camped about a mile above. On the 6th he marched about fourteen miles, and pitched his camp on an eminence now known as King's Mountain.

"Here a question presents itself which is insoluble to the closest scrutiny and analysis. From Gilbert Town to Charlotte, by a road distinctly marked on Tarteton's map, was less than fifty miles, and from Gilbert Town by the route Ferguson followed was seventy miles, and looking at the system of roads laid down on the maps of the period, it would seem to have been almost as

easy to proceed direct to Charlotte as to make the circuit that he did. The Americans did not reach Gilbert Town until the 4th October. Ferguson's retreat emboldened them and hastened their pursuit. They followed exactly the route he took, and they did not overtake him until the afternoon of the 7th. This shows he had over five days start of them, which at the rate he marched would have carried him into Charlotte, or brought him within the reach of the helping hand of Cornwallis. There are only two explanations for Ferguson's movements. Either he expected to be reinforced by Tory organizations, or he did not know the extent of the force about to overwhelm him. The latter alternative contradicts received opinions, and is the best proof that he acted in accordance with a plan which he considered judicious, a plan which he carried into the grave with him.

"The epithet Tories has been used immediately above for the first time because if the large parties of Tories who were collecting along the route passed over by the Americans had been true-hearted Loyalists, they would not have left Ferguson in the lurch to perish in the trap into which he had been lured by delusive promises of support. At the Cow Pens, 6th October, the Whigs were informed that a body of 600 Tories were assembled at Major Gibbs', four miles to their right, and would join Ferguson the next day. On the morning of the 7th Ferguson was within 15 or 20 miles of these Tories, and if they had simply followed up the Americans as the latter followed Ferguson, they could have fallen upon the rear of the Americans, captured or stampeded their horses, and taken the associated Whig Colonels in the very act. Judging from the few known facts of which historians are in possession, such Tories deserved the epithet with which Cleveland stigmatized them in his battle-speech.

"Before entering upon a description of the battle, this appears to be the proper point at which to settle the numbers engaged. General Davidson, (Gates papers), wrote that 3,000 men were assembled at Gilbert Town on the 1st October. Ramsey, (228), says 'scarce a single gunman remained that day, 25th September, at his own house.' The first rendezvous had been at Watauga on the 25th September. This place is beyond the Stone Mountains, in the present state of Tennessee, further to the northwest of Gilbert Town than the latter is west of Charlotte. This proves that there was no force between Ferguson and Cornwallis on the 1st October, nor for three days afterwards, to militate against a safe retreat to Charlotte. Ferguson was not afraid of the 'mountain men,' but he knew that he did not have numbers sufficient to cope with the force nor the kind of force which was marching against him. Like any wise commander he fell back on his supports, and they proved the veriest Pharaoh's reeds.

"How many men did Ferguson actually have? McKenzie says that his militia constituted 'a fluctuating body, whose numbers could not be depended on as they increased or diminished,

with the report of the day.' Allaire's estimate foots up 906 or 907, which agrees more closely with the majority than the factitious calculation founded on the ration return, so often quoted, 1,125.

"In regard to the American Whigs, their organization and march, there are a number of clear indications to establish the correctness of Ramsey's account. The first spontaneous assemblage of the improvised column of backwoodsmen and their associated colonels was at the Sycamore Shoals, or Watauga, on the Watauga River, then in the northwest corner of North Carolina, or now over in the border in Northeastern Tennessee, on the 25th September.

"The associated Whig forces consisted of Colonel Shelby's 240 from Sullivan County, then in the northwest corner of North Carolina, now in East Tennessee; of Colonel John Sevier's (Xavier's) 240 men, from Washington County, then in the northwest North Carolina, now a part of East Tennessee; of Colonel Charles McDowell's 160 refugees from Burke and Rutherford Counties, western North Carolina, who had fled before the Loyalists to the western waters across the mountains; and of Colonel William Campbell's command 400 men, from Washington County, southwest portion of Virginia, bordering on Tennessee. This made 1,040 mounted riflemen. On the 26th, these began their first march, passing along the valley of Gap creek, and encamped the first night at Talbot's Mill. 'The staff was incomplete; rather, there was no staff; no quartermaster, no commissary, no surgeon, no chaplain. As in all their Indian campaigns, being mounted and not encumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man, each officer, set out with his trustworthy Deckhard on his shoulder. 'A shot pouch, a tomahawk, a knife, a knapsack and a blanket, completed the outfit. At night, the earth afforded him a bed, and the heavens a covering, the mountain stream quenched his thirst; while his provision was procured from supplies acquired on the march by his gun.' Some beeves were driven in the rear, to furnish subsistence while in the settlements, but they impeded the rapidity of the march, and after the first day, were abandoned. After passing the mountain, the troops, sparing the property of the Whigs, quartered and subsisted upon the Tories.' On the 27th they continued on, following Bright's Trace across the Yellow Mountain, almost due north of Gilbert Town. At the foot of the Alleghanies proper, 16 to 18 miles distant from Gilbert Town, they were joined on the 30th by Colonel Benjamin Cleveland and Major Jacob Winston with 350 to 400 men from Wilkes and Surrey Counties, Northwestern North Carolina.

"From the 1st to 3d October no movement was made. Ramsey (231) says because the weather was so wet. Here Colonel Campbell was selected to command, to avoid entrusting the office to Colonel McDowell, because the latter was considered as 'too far advanced in life and too inactive for the command of such an enter-

prise as we were then engaged.' Colonel Campbell was made the leader at the suggestion of Shelby to reconcile difficulties, 'not on account of any superior talent or experience he was supposed to possess.' Colonel Charles McDowell then turned over his command to his brother, Major Joseph McDowell, and set out to communicate the condition of things to General Gates and consult with him. Here, on Green River, or at Gilbert Town, Wednesday, 4th October, the American forces, according to Davidson, 'formed a conjunct body, consisting of 3,000; from this body were selected 1,600 good horse, who immediately went in pursuit of Colonel Ferguson, who was making his way to Charlotte.' Colonel Shelby says, 'On the next night, 5th (?) it was determined, in the council of officers, to pursue him unremittingly with as many of our troops as could be well armed and well mounted, leaving the weak horses to follow on as fast as they could. We accordingly started about light next morning with 910 men thus selected. Continuing diligently our pursuit all that day, we were joined at the Cow Pens on the 6th by Colonel John Williams of S. C., and several field officers, with about 400. men.'

"Mark this: it is most important testimony from the highest authority, and determines that the American numbers were from 1,310 to 1,370 in the fight, because at the Cow Pens the 910 selected out of the first aggregate were joined by 60 men from the Lincoln County, west of Gilbert Town, in North Carolina, and about 400 under Colonel John Williams from the Spartanburg District, then embracing the whole circumjacent country of South Carolina, which furnished the guides, whose pilotage had as much to do with Ferguson's defeat as any other cause. Although referred to in several other places, it may be as well to mention it here that Williams is said to have had in his pocket a commission as Brigadier-General from Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, and that he it is, not Campbell (according to Allaire), whom the British considered as commanding against them on the 7th.

"For the last thirty-six hours of the pursuit the Americans did not dismount but once. This was at the Cow Pens. About 12 m., of Saturday, the 7th, the advance guards met some *unarmed* men who had just quitted Ferguson, and from them his position was accurately ascertained. The rain, which had poured down all the previous morning, ceased shortly after noon, and the sun shone out brightly. A council of war was held, dispositions made for the attack, and its course determined, to surround their enemy and attack him on all sides simultaneously. Then the riflemen, and without breaking their fast, or taking any rest, moved on to assume their stations around the fatal hill. Within a mile of the Loyal position, a messenger was arrested bearing a dispatch from Ferguson to Cornwallis, urging the latter to hurry forward reinforcements. This paper is said to have stated the number under the command of Ferguson. What number did it mention? What became of the paper? Why was it never textually quoted? It would settle the disputed question of the British force.

"The King's Mountain range extends northerly and southerly about sixteen miles with several lateral spurs. The highest peak of this system might be recognized in Crowder's Knob, crowning a northeasterly radiation in North Carolina, while the most prominent summit in the opposite direction at the end of a southeastern rowel is Henry's Knob, north by west of Yorkville, in South Carolina. Although the elevation of King's Mountain, proper, is given at 1,500 feet above the sea level, that portion of the ridge on which the battle was fought, about a mile and one-half south of the dividing line between north and South Carolina, does not rise more than 100 feet above depressions drained by adjacent streams.

"At the very outset, in describing the battle-ground a difficulty occurs. According to Map XII., accompanying Marshall's Life of Washington, and likewise the beautiful map attached to Tarleton's history of his campaigns of 1780-1, there is a road or wagon-track distinctly laid down on the first, leading from the Cow Pens, by the Cherokee Ford, to Ramsour's Ferry, and thence to Charlotte; on the second from the Cherokee Ford—the Cow Pens, where Morgan routed Tarleton is omitted—to Tryon, half way to Ramsour's (Ransower's?), and thence by the Great Tuckesege (Togaseechee) Ford, of the Catawba, to Charlotte, eighteen miles to the southeast, where Cornwallis lay with the main body of the British army. (L. F. B. A. R., 11.627). From Clarke's Fork of (Buffalo?) Creek (Lossing calls it 'Kings' Creek, which, if correct, would solve a multitude of difficulties), which is shown on the plan to the eastward of Ferguson's right, is almost imperceptible to the group or series of greater or lesser undulations among which the collision occurred. These hills, gravelly, sparsely strewn with a few small boulders, are covered with hard and soft wood, some grand trees, but mostly a smaller growth of post-oaks, laurel and sorrel. The large trees stand far apart, and even the lesser ones are not close together, so that they present scarcely any impediments to the movements of troops. The big trees afforded excellent cover for riflemen, who, stealing from one to another, found in them admirable temporary screens, (blindages) or mantlets to protect their approaches. In fact they might be compared to the huge shields of which the English archers—the sharpshooters of the period prior to the introduction of firearms—availed themselves for protection while clearing the works of a besieged place of their defenders. Lossing, who saw it many years ago, justly observes 'it was a strange place for an encampment or a battle; and to one acquainted with that region, it is difficult to understand why Ferguson and his band were there at all.' This is the most logical conclusion, and the artist's sketch reveals the locality, which would seem to be the very last which a professional soldier would select whereon to make a stand against a preponderating force of the best marksmen in the world.

"The whole fighting was done within an area of less than half of that of Madison Square, (N. Y. city), and some correct idea of

it may be had by supposing that the American Whigs occupied the surrounding houses and picked off the British Loyalists in the open square from the windows, until, finally, when the troops in the square are pretty much killed, disabled, or demoralized, the Whigs made a simultaneous rush from the houses and captured the remainder. The cleared area or bare summit of the King's Mountain range, 'narrow, stony ridge' on which Ferguson pitched his camp, has an outline not unlike that of an Indian paddle, with the end of the blade pointing south of west; 'the shadow of the timber at half-past one P. M. ranging with its median line.' Colonel Shelby states that the Loyalists 'were encamped on an eminence called King's Mountain, extending from east to West, which on its summit was about 500 to 690 yards long and 60 or 70 broad.' These bearings must be correct, because they reconcile contradictions, and explain why Ferguson fronted as he did, which would be inexplicable if his line of battle faced as General Graham would make it, according to the shadow. Graham sets down the length of Ferguson's encampment (line (?) at 80 poles (1,300 feet), which does not contradict Shelby. After an examination of perhaps one hundred authorities, it is still extremely difficult to reconcile many of the particulars. It is most consistent however, to believe that Ferguson's line fronted southerly and easterly, with his camp on the left, occupying pretty much the open space from 1,170 to 1,320 feet in length and some 210 feet in width. If such is not the case the American reports go to water.

"Still, in justice to a soldier of so much ability as Ferguson is admitted by friend and foe to have been, the selection of the battle ground must have been due to some good reason. It is very likely that he chose an open place that he might have militia under complete and constant supervision, fearing that if he fought in the woods his levies might instantly or quickly dissolve under a hot fire if not under his own eyes or those of his trusted subordinates, 'in whom,' (as in their immediate commanders), Mckenzie assures us, '*perfect confidence might on all occasions be placed.*' As to the militia the same contemporaneous authority is far less complimentary. He says that in the course of this campaign, Ferguson had 'from one to two thousand militia, a fluctuating body, *whose numbers could not be depended upon, as they increased or diminished with the report of the day.*' No one would dare question the fact that many of these Loyalists were animated by the highest sentiments of honor and duty, but what could have been the principles of the majority, when Colonel Martin Armstrong, in command in Surrey County, in North Carolina, and in charge of those captured at King's Mountain 7th October, in writing to General Gates on the 7th November, states 'the Torie prisoners all enlisted into the Continental Service, excepting a Small number, which the Justices have committed to Halifax, there being but a few of the British.' Such sudden conversions, or pervisions, would indicate very little constancy, unless they transferred their

services to the enemy, with the intention of deserting as soon as possible again, and so get home and rid of military service altogether.

"Why Ferguson made such an eccentric retreat is easily explained. The approach of the associated Colonels frightened the Loyalists. Instead of joining Ferguson in the numbers expected they left him and went home. Conscious that his force was too weak to stem the approaching torrent, he marched southwards, having every reason to believe that he would be joined, day after day, by bodies of Loyalists already assembled in arms. One body of 600 was within a few miles of him when he fought his last battle, and yet did not hasten to his assistance. These might have fallen upon the flank and rear of the Americans whilst fully occupied with Ferguson, just as the Prussians took Napoleon in flank and rear at Waterloo. The only excuse for their inaction is to believe that they were infected by the recollection of the fate of Boyd's men at Kettle Creek in 1779, of Moore's Loyal levies at Ramsour's Mills, and those of Bryan at the Catawba in midsummer, 1780.

"At, or near, the Cows Pens, which is not more than fifty miles north of Ninety-Six, Ferguson received the letter, found on his dead body, from Cruger, dated at '96,' 3d October, giving him to understand that he could expect no assistance from that quarter. This communication is a curious one. It shows that Cruger at all events, if none of others, comprehended the situation. It disillusionized Ferguson. Hitherto he had been falling back to the south; he now wheeled off to the northeast towards Cornwallis at Charlotte. This new route gave him a double chance of support, since Tarleton was operating in the intermediate district, and the victorious Americans retreated at once for fear that Tarleton would fall upon them with a fury which nothing as yet had stayed, and with a sabre which knew no mercy.

"Ferguson is charged with being afraid of the force pursuing him, whereas, in a private communication to his commander, he expresses almost contempt for the very adversaries from whom he was said to be fleeing. Ferguson failed from over-confidence, not want of it. Everything goes to show that his militia did not fulfill his expectations. It is pretty well established by the concurrent testimony on both sides that all the real fighting was done by the 70 to 100 provincial regulars, and the pick of the Tories or Loyalists.

"About 3 P. M. the Americans, having dismounted and secured their horses out of gunshot and left them under a sufficient guard, advanced to the attack in three columns, under the guidance of men who knew every inch of the ground, on nine or ten different routes, as clearly laid down in the plan,

'As hunters round a hunted creature draw.'

"The idea that Ferguson could have cut his way through and escaped seems very fallacious. A body of infantry, encumbered with baggage, could scarcely expect to escape or elude the pursuit

of superior numbers of mounted riflemen, on hardy horses, without any encumbrance whatever. Had Ferguson as soon as he knew that he was followed up so closely and in force, he might have saved his men. Still such a retreat would have been little better than a flight, and its effect, except as regards his own personal safety, which a man of his character would not take into account, must have been almost as disastrous for the cause which he represented as the defeat which did ensue.

"In the absence of reliable information, and its disappearance or destruction through lapse of time, it is but equitable to believe that Ferguson had good reasons for every step of the course he pursued. Unquestionably he had a professional soldier's contempt for all militia, and it was through striking on this 'rock of offense' that his bark was so injured that it foundered in the storm that followed. Of one fact, which might have exercised an important influence upon his decision to stand or retreat, he could not have known. The mounted riflemen who 'fought the battle were fasting and almost famished.' Consequently, as the country could not have afforded provisions, they would have had to break up in a few hours to obtain the necessaries of life. One day's respite would have carried Ferguson to Charlotte where Cornwallis lay in force. Davidson says that Ferguson was making his way to this point. Unfortunately for him he did not respect his adversaries sufficiently to allow their approach to hurry his march until it was too late.

"Ferguson's Provincial regular detachment, some seventy disciplined infantry, were on his right. The only way to account for his deployment, is to believe that from the manner in which his adversaries showed themselves at different points, he could not make out from what quarter he might expect the principal attack. Therefore, he faced in the direction in which the mass of the enemy was first distinguishable.

"With the controversy as to who exercised command among the Americans (G. P. 4, Gates recognizes no chief) this article has nothing to do. Popular history, almost always incorrect, assigns it to Campbell. The only discoverable statement on the British side, reads as if the British considered that Brigadier-General Williams enjoyed it, and that it devolved on Campbell after he was mortally wounded. The Shelby papers, published in this Magazine, (V. 351), embodying affidavits, certainly make Shelby the prominent figure, and place Campbell in a very unfavorable light. Whoever issued the preliminary order was alive with soldierly instinct. One more laconic and at the same time apposite has scarcely ever been given. '*Tie up overcoats, pick touchholes, fresh prime, and be ready to fight.*' As Cleveland's subsequent speech to his immediate command, the American extreme left, was as pertinent as this order, and as splendid a specimen of authenticated battle oratory as can be found, it is only fair to credit him with the inspiration of the Spartan order for battle.

“According to ‘the statement which has generally been adopted,’ Colonel Cleveland led off the dance, and Lossing (F. B. A. R., 11., 631), who says he copied from the original report among Gate’s Papers, and furnishes *fac similes* of signatures, places Benjamin Cleveland first, Issac Shelby second, and William Campbell last. The writer’s copy of this document reverses that arrangement. Whatever Cleveland’s rank he seems to have been the animating spirit of, just as to Shelby is due the credit of originating the plan of the campaign, and to have been the author of ‘that great partisan’s miscarriage.’ Immediately after he encountered a picket of the enemy he delivered the following spirited and sagacious address to his men, pertinent to the occasion, and so full of common sense that it fits every other similar character: ‘My brave fellows, we have beat the Tories, and we can beat them again. They are all cowards; if they had the spirit of men they would join their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When you are engaged, you are not to want (wait) for the word of command from me. *I will show you by my example, how to fight*; I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer, and act from his own judgment. *Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can*. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; *but I beg you not to run quite off*. If we are repulsed, let us make a point of returning and renewing the fight; perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first. If any of you are afraid, such shall have leave to retire, and they are requested immediately to take themselves off.’

“Shelby gives the strength of each attacking column in the following words: ‘The right wing or column was led by Colonel Sevier and Major Winston, together with Major McDowell’s command, which had been considerably augmented during the march; the left by Colonels Cleveland and Williams; and each of these wings was about as strong as Campbell’s regiment (400), and nine (240) united composing the centre. Three times 400 plus 240 makes, 1,920, which justifies the Loyal Lieutenant Anthony Alaire’s opinion of the vast superiority of the Whig Americans, and same statements to the same effect.’ Honest Shelby likewise admit: ‘This (*the quasi official*) report, however, *omits to mention* ***Colonel McDowell’s command***had been considerably augmented during the march by men who had formerly belonged to it.’

“Mrs. Mercy Warren, who enjoyed great opportunities to learn the truth, whose ‘History of the Revolution’ was ‘long considered a standard authority,’ uses an expression which can mean nothing else than that the British were swarmed out; ‘though the British commander exhibited the valor of a brave and magnanimous officer, and his troops acquitted themselves with vigor and spirit, the Americans, who in great numbers surrounded them, won the day.’

“Whether Campbell did or did not lead his immediate men, but supervised, is not clear, or whether Shelby commenced the

movement, ascending the eastern end of the mountain to attack Ferguson's left. The firing soon became so heavy in this quarter that Ferguson brought over from his right, a portion of his Provincial regulars under de Peyster, his second in command, and with these, supported by some of the Loyalist militia, who had *previously* whittled down the handles of their butcher knives so that they could be inserted in the muzzles of their rifles and serve as bayonets, made a brisk charge, which pushed Shelby and Campbell and McDowell, who came to their assistance on the left, down the mountain. At this juncture the American left column under Cleveland ascended the hill and engaged the British right where Ferguson himself was present. This portion of his line was protected in a measure by the baggage wagons and some slight defenses hastily constructed. These were of no avail, because while the elevation on which the British line was formed secured the Americans from any chance whatever of suffering from cross-fires of their friends on either side of it, the British were exposed to being hit by shots coming in from every quarter, so that if they attempted to shelter themselves from the bullets of one American column, they were immediately subjected to the danger of being killed by shots raining in from the opposite direction. Ferguson, subjected to pressure on his right, immediately recalled his second in command from his left, and the latter retraced his steps lengthwise the ridge under a galling fire from the South Carolinians under Williams. Then with the whole of his Provincial regulars, he drove the Americans to the west foot of the hill. As yet Ferguson, enveloped on the east, front and west, had experienced no disturbance in the rear, and some critics assert that he might have escaped in this direction on the road to Charlotte. It is not likely that the brave officer who had already repulsed every assault upon his position would have abandoned it without a further attempt for victory. This outlet, however, was almost immediately closed. Major Winston, who on starting, had the longest detour to make, became so far separated from columns, next to his left, by the intervention of a steep hill that he lost sight and hearing of them; while thus uncertain, he was hailed and directed to dismount and ascend the hill. Expecting to encounter the British on this hill he did so, but before his men had advanced two hundred paces from their horses they were again hailed and directed to return to their animals, mount them, and push on because the enemy were a mile beyond. Thereupon they ran back to their horses, threw themselves into their saddles, and rode like fox-hunters on full run through the woods, until they came in upon the left rear of the British, where they were originally intended to fall in and complete the envelopment. 'Nothing, says the narrator, but the interposition of Divine power could have conducted the said right-hand-column to so great advantage.' Thus Winston, the last to come in to position,

"'Flow'd in, and settling, circled all the lists,'
and so,

'From all the circles of hills,' death sleeted in upon the doomed.

"Shelby, always clear and honest, admits that the Americans were repeatedly repulsed by the British and driven down the mountain; that in the succession of repulses and attacks, and in giving succor to the points hardest pressed, much disorder took place in the Whig ranks 'and confusion.' There is just as much confusion in the various accounts as to when Ferguson was killed and where he fell. Colonel Shelby says Ferguson was killed about one hundred yards down the western end of the mountain. General Graham, in his drawing made on the spot, locates the place where the British commander fell, on the summit, directly opposite the South Carolina regiment of Williams, so that it is very likely that the two may have fallen near together, (as sometimes averred) but not at the same time.

"Ramsey, quoting Foster, describes Ferguson as riding from one end of his line to the other, encouraging his men to prolong the conflict. With desperate courage he passed from one exposed point to another of equal danger. He carried in his wounded hand—(his left arm had been shattered at the Brandywine and was almost helpless)—a shrill sounding silver whistle, whose signal was universally known through the ranks, was of immense service throughout the battle, and gave a kind of ubiquity to his movements.

"Rushing from one regiment to another, encouraging some and directing others, Major Ferguson performed prodigies of valor, when he was shot by an American rifleman, and Captain Abraham of 'The King's American Regiment,' a Tory from New York, took the command. After the action had raged for an hour and five minutes the enemy raised a white flag, and surrendered themselves at discretion.' There is no direct proof that Captain de Peyster himself, even at the last, raised the flag. Shelby simply remarks, 'a white flag was soon after (the final Whig charge or closing in) hoisted by the enemy,' without adding in what quarter or by whom. Towards the last part of the action, which must have been some time after Ferguson had fallen, de Peyster, who had moved to and fro like a shuttle, determined to make one more bold attempt to wrest success from the menaced wreck. His fierce and gallant charge drove the Americans down the eastern slope of the mountain in a retreat which was so rapid that there was great danger of its becoming a rout. By this time, Lieutenant Allaire says that out of the "seventy (Provincial regulars) (*exclusive* of 20 who acted as Dragons and to who wagons, etc., when we *marched* to the field of action) all were killed and wounded but twenty, and those brave fellows were soon crowded into a heap by the militia,' just as the frightened crew of a ship in a desperate situation will gather around their captain, and thus impede and neutralize the efforts of those who remain cool and willing to 'try, try again.'

"In examing and comparing the testimony, it is clear that the Whigs lost a great many more than was reported. The statement of the associated Colonels reads twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. In General Lenior's corrected account he says 'there were not near so many of the enemy (British) wounded as were of the Whigs, about forty of whom afterwards died of their wounds.' Lieutenant Allaire mentions 123 wounded altogether, which, weighing Lenior's language, would justify an estimate of British killed and died, 120; wounded, 123; Whigs killed and died, 68; wounded, over 150. The Provincial, who was prisoner, and whose account was afterwards printed, remarks, 'I was pleased to see their (the Whigs) loss superior to ours.' This corresponds almost exactly with Shelby's account, that when the Americans could be rallied and turned in overwhelming force upon the scanty few who had held them in check so gallantly, and, considering the circumstances, so long, the British Provincial regulars and what Loyalists stood up to the work, retreated the whole length of Ferguson's first deployment to the western extremity of the bare crest, where his camp had been originally pitched. Here on the level the horizontal volleys of the Provincial regulars first began to tell, when the American Whigs got up on to the plateau. It is admitted by friend and foe that not one of the Loyalists escaped; if so, Allaire's calculation of force, 906, or 908, proves itself, and Stedman corroborates it 960, Warren makes it only 850.

"It was not a battle, it was a battue; a slaughter, parallel in circumstances, but not as to numbers, with the destruction of Roland and his corps in the defile of Roncesvalles, overwhelmed by the missiles of adversaries who shunned every attempt at an encounter hand to hand.

"Our peope have always put too much reliance in militia, that is, militia proper, for if men have been subjected to real discipline and gone through a baptism of fire, they become soldiers whatever may be the title applied to them; but then militia, in the accepted sense of the word is a misnomer. Colonel Cruger, as gallant an officer as ever drew a sword, wrote to Ferguson only four days before he fell: 'I flattered myself they (the Tory militia) would have been equal to the mountain lads, and that no further call for the defensive would have been on this part of the Province. I begin to think our views for the present rather large. We have been led to this, probably, in expecting too much from the militia.'

"Not one of the British force escaped the catastrophe. It had been completely enveloped, and not a man could extricate himself from the coil. The victors remained upon the field the night after the battle; the next day, 8th, was Sunday. The dead were buried at dawn, but not all; one at least was left to the birds and beasts of prey. Colonel Hanger wrote that the body of Colonel Ferguson was treated with every indignity and left above ground. If it was interred where his grave is indicated on the plan of Gen,

Graham, it may have been by some of his sorrowing men, since the severely wounded who could not march were left on the field, and the only surgeon carried off a prisoner.

"A much more detailed statement was prepared, but space justly could not be conceded to it. With time, however, this article will be expanded into a volume, with original letters and various interesting collateral testimonies. Thus complete, it will be worthy of the interesting subject, and constitute a memorial to 'the unfortunate brave.'

J. Watts de Peyster

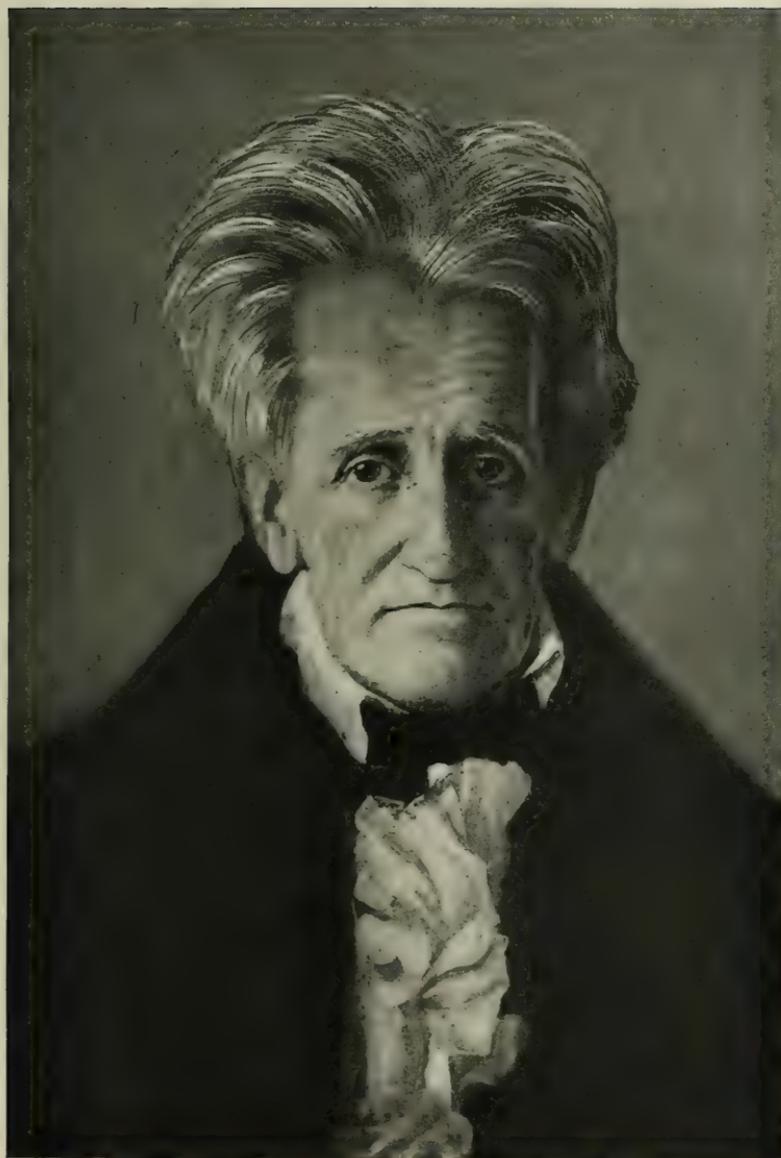
CHAPTER 3.

Letters of living persons who saw Andrew Jackson; Jackson's resignation from the United States Senate; Jackson's views on the tariff in 1824; Jackson's reply to the charge of being a "Military Chieftan"; letter from Hon. James Maynard of Knoxville to the author; Jackson's letter declining appointment of Minister to Mexico.

In the spring of 1921, the author conceived that it would be of interest to Americans to know the name of any living person who saw General Andrew Jackson when living, and to learn any reminiscences such persons might have connected with him, and, especially, to learn any who may have talked to General Jackson or heard him talk to others. The story that such living witnesses might tell, the author thought, would be like the voice of Old Hickory speaking from the land across the border, "The Undiscovered Country" that Hamlet tells about.

In "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History," Vol. 1, there is quoted a lengthy statement to the author by Mrs. Rachael Lawrence, now eighty-nine years of age, who is the daughter of Andrew Jackson, Jr., adopted son of General Jackson, and there is given as an illustration an exact reproduction of the room in which General Jackson died, when and where Mrs. Lawrence, as a girl of twelve years, was present. Mrs. Lawrence is now living about two miles from the Hermitage. When this work was first published she was the only living person known to the author who saw General Jackson.

Investigation has developed that there were, at the time the investigation was made, nine living persons besides Mrs. Lawrence who saw General Jackson, and the author has letters from each. They are, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore; Rev. W. H. Norment of Whiteville, Tennessee; Howard Waldo of Campbell Hall, New York State; Judge John A. Fite of Lebanon, Tenn.; John B. Murrey of Franklin, Tennessee; J. W. Huddleston of Lebanon, Tennessee; L. Vesey of Memphis, Tennessee; J. W. Tilford of Nashville, Tennessee; and W. H. Hayes of Little Rock, Arkansas. Letters



ANDREW JACKSON.

The Healy Portrait, bought by the Ladies Hermitage Association of Tennessee for seven hundred and fifty Dollars.

from all of these are set out below. Those of Cardinal Gibbons, Rev. Mr. Norment and Howard Waldo are sufficiently explanatory as to their writers. Judge John A. Fite, who wrote from Florida, is a member of the old and distinguished Fite family of Tennessee, is a lawyer by profession, but, by reason of age, is not now practicing. He was a member of the Tennessee Legislature and for seven years Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of Tennessee. He made an enviable record on the bench. He was Colonel of the Seventh Tennessee Regiment in the Confederate Army, and graduated at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee. He was captured during the Civil War and made a prisoner of war at Johnson's Island.

John B. Murrey, J. W. Huddleston, L. Vesey, J. W. Tilford, and W. H. Hayes are all men of highest integrity and standing wherever they are known, and are recognized as most valuable and upright citizens in the communities where they live.

Chas. B. Sevier, of Harriman, Tennessee, near Knoxville, great grand-son of Governor John Sevier, has a fund of information obtained from his parents and remoter ancestors that is practically equivalent to first-hand, and, therefore, his statement is included in this list of letters.

CARDINAL GIBBONS OF BALTIMORE TO THE AUTHOR.

"CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
"408 N. Charles St.,
"Baltimore.

"July 14, 1920.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,
"Knoxville, Tenn.

"My Dear Mr. Heiskell:

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your two volumes containing the life of Andrew Jackson. For many reasons the life of this great President and statesman has been of great interest to me.

"First, because I may regard him as the founder of the present Democratic party whose cornerstone is the assertion of individual liberty with recognition of lawful authority.

"Secondly, I was always interested in Andrew Jackson for a personal reason. When I was an infant, in the year 1837, General Jackson received an ovation in Baltimore. The procession escorting him through the city happened to pass our residence and my mother held me up in her arms to contemplate the hero of New Orleans, the President of the United States.

"I am reading your work from page 420 where you begin to treat of him personally and as far as I have gone I have been very much pleased with all that I have read. I was particularly charmed with your reference to Gov. Henry A. Wise and the noble tribute he pays to General Jackson and the moral character of his wife.

"You refer to Governor Wise's successful efforts in combating Know-Nothingism. I can verify that statement. His election occurred about the year I left New Orleans for College. February, his competitor was declared elected, which news brought dismay and sorrow to the citizens of New Orleans. But the city went wild with excitement and joy when a few days afterwards the news came announcing the election of Henry A. Wise. I enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Mr. Wise in Richmond among the early seventies and had the pleasure of dining with him and afterwards traveling with him.

"I hope that the rest of the work will afford me as much pleasure and enlightenment as I have derived from the perusal of a good part of the first volume. I am,

"Faithfully yours,

"J. Card. Gibbons,

"Archbishop of Baltimore.

"P. S. The thought has occurred to me that in publishing a further edition, the four hundred pages of the early history of Tennessee may be abbreviated or omitted, as they can be but of secondary interest to those living outside the state. Chief Justice Marshall in writing the Life of Washington devoted the best part of a volume to the early history of the Colonies and in a later edition he felt it his duty to omit or abridge those pages in order to please his publishers and readers."

THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

"July 19, 1920.

"To His Eminence James, Cardinal Gibbons,

"Archbishop of Baltimore,

"408 North Charles Street,

"Baltimore, Md:

"Your Eminence:

"I write to cordially thank you for your favor of July 14th, 1920, and to express my pleasure over two statements contained in your letter.

"First, that you saw Andrew Jackson. You are the second person I know of, now living, who saw Andrew Jackson. The other is Mrs. Rachael Jackson Lawrence, who is the daughter of General Jackson's adopted son, and who is now living, at the age of eighty-seven, about two miles from the Hermitage, which is located twelve miles from Nashville, Tennessee. You will find an interview given me by Mrs. Lawrence in the History of Jackson, and also a history of the descendants of General Jackson's adopted son.

"Mrs. Lawrence was present at General Jackson's death, and was standing at the foot of the bed. You will see this bed in an illustration in the book, located in the room just as it was when General Jackson died. Mrs. Lawrence was at the foot of this bed.

"Second, you saw and was personally acquainted with Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia. I am a great admirer of Governor Wise, and I did not know of any American citizen who knew him. He died in the early seventies. If, while writing this book, I had known that you were personally acquainted with him, I would have been tempted to ask you to give me any reminiscences you might have connected with the Governor, and also your opinion of him. I have always felt that his canvass against Know-Nothingism in the State of Virginia, and which brought about the death of that party, entitled him to be ranked as a real friend of American liberty and as a grand advocate of freedom of thought and opinion in America.

"I note that you are reading the book from page 420, and I hope it will give you some measure of the pleasure it gave me in writing it.

"With highest regard to Your Eminence, I beg to remain,
 "Very truly yours,
 "S. G. Heiskell."

REV. W. M. NORMENT TO THE AUTHOR.

"Whiteville, Tenn., Feb. 18, 1921.

Hon. S. G. Heiskell,
 "Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"In answer to yours of the 15th inst. will say I feel proud to write a reminiscence of a visit to the Hermitage to see General Jackson.

"I was a boy of fifteen years of age, at school at Cumberland University at Lebanon. Hearing that the General was becoming very feeble, about fifteen of us boys and young men, decided to visit him in his home, which we did.

"We were received by Mr. Andrew Jackson Donelson and given the privilege of seeing the house and surroundings. In the parlor we saw his duelling pistols on the table, his sword hanging on the wall and many other relics and trophies from battles he had fought; among them a log with a spear stuck in it which log had been taken from one of the battle-fields. Mr. Donelson said the General was indisposed that morning but would receive us in the afternoon.

"Accordingly in the afternoon we repaired to his room. When we entered, he was seated in an arm-chair with a little silver pipe, smoking. Each boy stepped forward and gave his hand and name and where from. When all were seated, one of the older boys

got up and made a short talk and expressed that all the boys were eager to meet and see the Hero of New Orleans; that we were at school preparing for the duties of life.

"The General then expressed his appreciation and gave us a hearty, fatherly talk upon the responsibilities of life, of church and state, especially of the Christian life, and that soon we would be called upon to assume the duties of those then in action. His talk, or exhortation, lasted some 15 or 20 minutes. On bidding us goodbye he shook our hand warmly, and, to each one expressed the hope that we would fulfill our stations in life with credit to ourselves and the state.

"This was about three weeks before his death. When hearing that he was dead, I, with others, decided to attend the burial. The funeral was preached by a Presbyterian Pastor from Nashville, standing on the front porch to a great concourse of people. His body was then taken by a military company and borne to the garden and placed beside his wife in a vault that he had prepared. A military salute was then fired and we left him there to rest in peace, to await the great resurrection morn.

"Before the sermon and while the crowd was gathering, a wicked parrot that was a household pet, got excited and commenced swearing so *loud* and *long* as to disturb the people and had to be carried from the house.

"And thus the man of nerve that won battles and guided the ship of State thru stormy scenes, had finished his work. The late Judge Green was at the funeral.

"I never saw either Polk or Johnson only when they were canvassing the state for office. Mr. Polk's sister, Mrs. Caldwell, attended my wedding in 1849; she was then living at Dancyville, Tenn.

"I was born in a mile of this place, the 21st of September, 1829; have been pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church here since 1857.

"Hoping these few notes will be of some benefit to you, and wishing you success,

"I am sincerely,

"Rev. W. M. Norment,

Per Fannie Norment."

HOWARD WALDO TO THE AUTHOR.

"Campbell Hall, N. Y.,

"Feb. 9, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Dear Sir:

"Since Mr. Waldo is unable to answer your letter himself, I (his wife), am doing so for him and will be glad to give you what information we can on the portrait. Mr. Waldo's recollections of General Jackson are naturally very vague. As a boy he was

not allowed in the studio while his father was at work, so he only saw the general as he came or went from the house. He remembers him as a tall, very stern looking man with iron-gray hair which he wore cut quite short and in pompadour style. He was always dressed in citizen's clothes when he came to the house. The uniform was put in by Mr. Waldo as he painted the picture. It was a life-size painting of the General on horseback, but Mr. Waldo does not remember ever seeing it when finished. His father took a sketch of Jackson's head and shoulders on a wooden panel which was never touched except while the General was sitting for it. Then he painted the portrait on canvas from that sketch. That original panel is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. It was painted in 1840 or 1841, as nearly as he can remember.

"The people of the City of New Orleans commissioned Mr. Samuel L. Waldo to paint this portrait to be placed in their custom house in honor of Gen. Jackson's victory at New Orleans over the British forces under Gen. Pakenham, who was killed in that battle. Mr. Waldo thinks the portrait is still in the old custom house. He never heard of its removal. The people of the City of New Orleans paid for it, not Gen Jackson. The price paid was \$500, which was a good price in those days. He does not own a copy of it.

"In regard to Daniel Webster, Mr. Waldo met him once on the street in New York and was impressed by his unusual appearance. He was a majestic man in appearance— all of six feet in height, very erect, an unusually large head and peculiar smoky-black eyes. He wore a rough, long-napped beaver hat of a light gray color, a dark blue coat with plain brass buttons and buff vest and trousers. Mr. Waldo recognized him by pictures he had seen of him.

"Hope this information will be of some value to you. Mr. Waldo is sorry he cannot remember more, but it is a great many years for a man of his age to look back.

"Yours sincerely,

"Mrs. Howard Waldo."

JUDGE JOHN A FITE TO THE AUTHOR.

"Clearwater, Florida,

"Feb. 24th, 1921.

"Hon. S. G. Heiskell,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

"Dear Sir:

"I am in receipt of your favor of the 16th inst., asking me to give you my recollection of seeing General Andrew Jackson; how he looked and how he was dressed, and under what circumstances I saw him.

"I am sorry that I am unable to tell you but little that would interest anyone. In the first place, I was quite a small boy when

I saw him, and only saw him one time and for a short time then. I suppose I was between eight and ten years old at the time. I was born the 10th of February, 1832, and consequently was eighty-nine years old the 10th of this month.

"The way I came to see him was as follows: My father, with whom I lived, lived in Alexandria, about fifty miles from Nashville, nearly east. He and Major Goodner were partners in a store in Alexandria, and I think my father went to Nashville to buy goods for the store. For some time prior to that time my eyes had been very much affected and were being treated by Dr. Sneed, who advised my father to take me to Nashville and have Dr. Buchanan, a prominent physician of Nashville, treat my eyes. This, I suppose, was why I came to go at that time. We left Alexandria and went as far as Lebanon the first day and spent the night there, with a relative. I don't know why we stayed there unless it was that my father had business there. I remember hearing my father tell my cousin that night that he wanted to get off early in the morning. So next morning after breakfast we left for Nashville. When we got down opposite the Hermitage, we left the main road and drove over to the Hermitage. When we got near to the house father hitched the animals we were driving and we went to the house. We were met at the door by a servant. My father told him he wanted to see General Jackson. He asked us to take a seat in the hall. He was gone but a very short time when he came back and escorted us to General Jackson's room. General Jackson was sitting in his chair and, for some reason, did not get up. I remember his telling my father why he did not get up but don't remember now what it was. He shook hands with us and asked us to be seated. I remember when he spoke to me he called me 'Little Man'. I don't think I had ever been called that before.

"You asked me to tell you how General Jackson was dressed. I remember nothing particular about his dress. If there had been anything peculiar about it, I would likely have remembered it. I remember that I thought he was the oldest human being I had ever seen at that time. His hair was white and seemed to me to stand straight up. I don't think he was at all bald-headed. My father and he talked for perhaps an hour— I don't remember how long. After that my father said something about going and the old General insisted that we stay and take dinner. I think my father said he had an engagement to meet somebody in Nashville and was sorry he couldn't stay. About the last thing I remember his saying was to advise my father about the doctor's treating my eyes. We shook hands with the old General and left for Nashville where I stayed for a couple of months, having my eyes treated by old Doctor Buchanan. He finally cured them and I have good peepers to this day.

"Sorry I don't know more to tell you about General Jackson.

"Yours very truly etc.,

John A. Fite.

JOHN B. MURREY TO THE AUTHOR.

"Franklin, Tenn., Feby. 18th, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,
 "Knoxville, Tenn.
 "Dear Sir:

"I have your letter of the 16th inst. asking me to give you in writing my recollections of Genl. Andrew Jackson. As I was only a small boy at the time, and the only time I ever saw him, I can only describe him as he appeared to me, but his appearance is as clear to me now after the lapse of years as on the day I saw him.

"I was born July 6th, 1822, at Triune, Tenn., about twenty miles southeast of Nashville. In 1832 I moved with my father to what is now East Nashville, and I recall that about 1833 or 1834 (I suppose it must have been in 1834, as I learn General Jackson was in Nashville during the spring of that year, and at the time I was a small boy), General Jackson visited Nashville, and I remember distinctly standing on the corner of the Square and Market Street and seeing him pass in a carriage. He had on what we then called a bee gum hat, and this hat he was continually taking off and bowing to the people. I also remember his appearance. He was tall and spare or thin and his hair was white.

"This is the only time I saw him, for my father left Nashville in 1837 and moved to near Franklin, Tenn., and I but rarely visited Nashville in those days, being quite delicate and attending school when my health permitted.

"I am sorry I am unable to give you any further information as it would be my pleasure to do so did I know of anything further regarding General Jackson.

"Very truly yours,
 "JNO. B. MURREY."

"Witness:
 "V. M. Broadway."

J. W. HUDDLESTON TO THE AUTHOR.

"Lebanon, Tenn., February 28, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,
 "Knoxville, Tennessee.

"My dear Sir:

"When a boy four or five years old I lived within eight miles of the Hermitage, and once on my way from Nashville with my father, we stopped at the Hermitage and made General Jackson a visit. My recollection of him is that he was tall and slender and getting old and did not rise from his chair. He took me on his lap and was very kind and social. This is the only time I ever saw him and my recollection of him is very dim.

"My wife, Alice Robertson Huddleston, a granddaughter of General James Robertson, used to visit in his home and knew him. He gave her a lock of his hair to put in a locket with a lock of James Robertson's and said he would like to have them in a locket together. I was born January 11, 1833.

"Yours very truly,

"J. W. HUDDLESTON."

Note. The General James Robertson referred to was the founder of Nashville, Tennessee, and is frequently called the "Father of Middle Tennessee."

L. VESEY TO THE AUTHOR.

"Memphis, Tenn., Mch. 24, 1921.

"Hon. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"In reply to yours of the 21st inst., would say: You know a boy of 5 or 6 years of age would not be very much impressed by even shaking hands with so distinguished a man as Gen'l. Jackson, and it made no particular impression on me.

"At the time of my visit I think the General had been ill and was just recovering. When father and myself went in his home we found him sitting in a large easy chair with a book in his hand and smoking his inevitable cob pipe. I remember he looked feeble and did not arise, making some excuse for not doing so. He called me to his side, shook hands with me and asked me a few questions as to whether or not I attended school and whether or not I could read, etc. When I told him I could read, etc., he patted me on the head and said I was a smart boy. He then called the negro girl who had shown us in and told her to take me out to the orchard to get some fruit. When I returned we soon left.

"As I remember him he had a long face which was enhanced by the way his hair was roached back. His most distinguishing feature to me was his keen, hawk-like eyes.

"I took pleasure in forwarding your letter to Mrs. Semmes as requested.

"Yours sc.,

"Mr. L. Vesey."

J. W. TILFORD TO THE AUTHOR.

"Nashville, Tenn., March 1, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"My dear Sir:

"Your letter of February 24, 1921, asking me something about myself and about my seeing General Andrew Jackson a few months before his death, was duly received, and in reply, I write to say that

I was born on the 2nd day of October, 1840, at Seven Springs, Wilson County, and have lived in Nashville, Tennessee, for years. I am, therefore, in my eighty-first year.

"My grandfather, whose name was the same as mine, J. W. Tilford, was a Scotchman and spoke with the Scotch brogue, and lived at Silver Springs, Tennessee, some ten or twelve miles from General Jackson's home, the Hermitage. My grand-father and General Jackson were strong personal friends, cronies, in fact, and went back and forth between each other's homes frequently and with perfect freedom. They both liked a glass of good liquor and both were partial to Scotch whiskey, of which my grandfather, being a Scotchman and a democrat, usually kept some on hand. In those days, for a man to be known as owning a barrel of good Scotch whiskey was to make him a very influential and exalted personage in his community; in fact, in the estimation of his friends, such a man came very nearly having royal blood in him, and it was known that my grandfather kept a barrel.

"One day it came about that General Jackson was at my grandfather's and I was there, and the two old cronies were having a great time eating and drinking Scotch and talking. The General was a mighty interesting talker when he was stimulated some, and my grandfather loved him. By degrees they became mellow, very social and very happy, and when finally in the afternoon it came time for the General to go home, it was hard to tell which was the happier of the two, and when they started out to the General's carriage, where the colored driver sat up on the box in very imposing and grand style, the two old friends were each determined to support the other as they walked, so they embraced each other for support and in that way made their way to the carriage, and the driver came down from his perch and helped the General into the carriage and he went home. It has been many a long year since that day, but the picture of the General and my grandfather supporting each other on the way to the carriage is painted on my mind in distinct colors, and will never fade away as long as I live.

"I wish you great success in collecting material for the third volume of your book 'Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History,' and I hope you will be able to bring out much interesting matter that has never been published by those historians who have heretofore written about Old Hickory.

"Yours very truly,
"J. W. Tilford."

MRS. W. H. HAYES TO THE AUTHOR.

"Little Rock, Ark., March 23rd, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Dear Sir:

"In the Ark. Gazette of the 22nd, there is an article 'Living Americans who saw Andrew Jackson.'

"My husband, W. H. Haynes, as a boy knew Jackson well, as his father, Col. William Scott Haynes, lived in Nashville,

Tenn. My husband is an invalid from paralysis, which has caused him to lose his speech, only at times can I understand him. I read the papers aloud to him, and as I began reading your article he seemed very much excited, and began relating the story I have heard him tell many times, how Andrew Jackson would ride by his home, pick him from the yard (dirty or clean), put him up behind him, ride home, calling to his wife, 'here is our boy', many times asking Col. Haynes to give the boy to him.

"Thinking this would please my husband, I write this. My husband of course is an *old* Confederate Soldier, 84 years old; enlisted in the Army Dec. 11th, 1861; was paroled by Maj. Gen'l Camby July 27, 1865, in New Orleans.

"Most sincerely,

"Mrs. W. H. Haynes."

CHARLES B. SEVIER TO THE AUTHOR.

"Harriman, Tennessee, April 13, 1921.

"Mr. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tennessee.

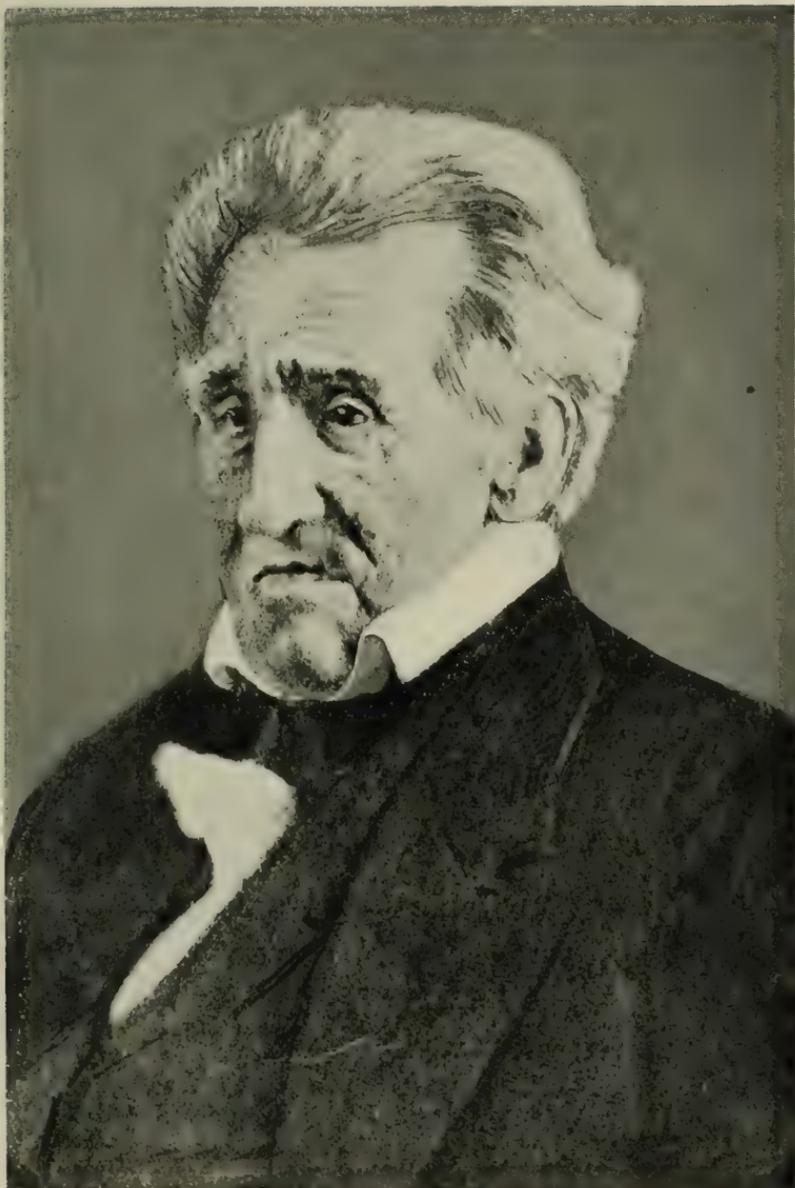
"My dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 10th inst., asking me to give the line of my descent from Governor John Sevier, and also any reminiscences I may have heard any members of the Sevier family give of General Andrew Jackson, was duly received, and I beg to reply as follows:

"I am the son of Elbridge Gerry Sevier, the grand-son of Major James Sevier and the great-grandson of Governor John Sevier. My grandfather, Major James Sevier, was the second son and second child of Governor John Sevier by his first wife, Sarah Hawkins Sevier, and was born in Augusta County, Virginia, October 25, 1764. He was not sixteen years old when he accompanied Governor Sevier to the Battle of King's Mountain, and it was of him that his step-mother, Catherine Sherrell Sevier, made the remark that has come down in history, to the Governor, 'Mr. Sevier, here is another of your sons who wants to go with you,' and the Governor looked up a horse for the boy to ride. There was another boy, Joseph by name, eighteen years old, who was in the battle of King's Mountain. Seven Seviars took part in the battle.

"My grandfather married March 25, 1789, Nancy Conway, by whom he had eleven children, of whom my father, Elbridge Gerry Sevier, was the second son and the eighth child. My father married November 13, 1827, Mary Caroline Brown, and they had twelve children, of whom I was the youngest.

"My mother was born in 1810 and was well acquainted with General Jackson in her girlhood. Her father, Thomas Brown, lived at Brown's Ferry, just above the present bridge east of Kingston, Roane County, Tennessee, on Clinch river. At his house Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk were accustomed to



JACKSON, IN 1845.

From a daguerreotype by Adams.

stop on their way to and fro between Nashville and Washington. This was the western route from all parts of Tennessee to Washington. Starting at Nashville the route came almost due east and largely along the line of the present Tennessee Central Railroad through Roane County, thence on up the valley of East Tennessee through the valley of Southwest Virginia, thence on through Central Virginia to Washington.

"The other route from Tennessee was northward through Kentucky to the Ohio River and thence by either land or water to Pittsburgh, and thence to Washington.

"After my mother's marriage she lived at Post Oak, six miles west of Kingston on the same road as her former home, and General Jackson and Mr. Polk were accustomed to stop at her house here also. My mother attended school at Nashville, and I have often heard her tell with great glee how, at a dance when she was only about sixteen years old, General Jackson chose her to lead the Grand March and later she danced the Minuet with him. She had a lock of his hair which she always wore in her breast-pin until the Civil War, when a soldier stole it from her. My mother died in the year 1894. She was always very proud of the fact that, as just a young girl, she had danced with the Hero of New Orleans, who was also for eight years President of the United States, and this reminiscence of hers has come down to our day and is cherished by her descendants.

"When General Ferguson was killed in the battle of King's Mountain, he had a telescope, about two feet long, and a silver whistle to cheer his men on with. They fell into the hands of Colonel John Sevier, who gave the whistle to his son, Joseph, and his descendants, who live somewhere in Louisiana, now have it, as I understand. The telescope he gave his son James, who when he died, gave it to my brother, Judge James Sevier, now deceased, but who lived at Kingston, Roane County, Tennessee, about six miles from Harriman. The maker's name and date, London, 1760, was stamped on the telescope.

"My father, Elbridge Gerry Sevier, died when I was only twelve years old, but his youngest sister, Mary Sevier Stewart, who died at Knoxville, Tennessee, at a very old age, told me that her father, James Sevier, told her that they tried to bring Robert Sevier, who was wounded at the battle of King's Mountain, home before he died, but that he died on top of the Great Smoky Mountains, and his grave could never be found afterwards.

"When Robert Sevier was shot, James heard that his father was killed, and he would not stop firing when the British surrendered, until Colonel Sevier came to where he was, when he threw down his gun, ran and leaped upon him and hugged him for joy that he was not killed.

"Hoping that this will be of some interest to you, I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"Charles B. Sevier."

JACKSON'S RESIGNATION FROM THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Taken from the Knoxville Register, October 28, 1825.

"To the Honorable, the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee.

"Two years ago by the unsolicited suffrage of the Legislature, I was preferred to the situation at present occupied by me, of Senator in Congress. Pursuing the principle by which I have ever been governed, neither to seek after nor decline office, the appointment conferred was accepted. Aware of the practice which had long prevailed of selecting from each extreme of the State a person for the high and respectable situation of Senator, I felt regret at being brought forward to disturb a system which had so long obtained, yet, inasmuch as the Legislature, without any knowledge or understanding on my part, had called me to the situation, it was impossible for me to withhold my assent; and accordingly the appointment was, though reluctantly, accepted; not, however, without its being professed by my friends that a longer term of service than one Congress would neither be required or expected. That service has been performed. I was still pondering and in doubt whether exceptions to my resignation might not be taken, and if it might not be proper for me to execute the full term which you had assigned, when my mind was brought to conclusion by some late proceedings of your own, and a determination formed to surrender immediately back to your hands the responsible trust you had heretofore confided.

"One inducement to my determination was that traveling to the city of Washington twice a year imposes no inconsiderable fatigue, and although this is a minor consideration and one which would have been met with cheerfulness if business involving the interest of our happy country had required the exertion; yet I was aware of nothing of great national importance which was likely to come before Congress, excepting a subject that you have lately had before your body, the amending the constitution of the United States in relation to the choice of a Chief Magistrate. Upon this matter I greatly doubted whether it might not be my duty again to appear in the Senate and extend my feeble aid towards producing an alteration in which great interest with the people of the United States exists; and on which the security of our republican system may depend. But being advised of a resolution of your body presenting again my name to the American people for the Chief Magistrate of this Union, I could no longer hesitate on the course I should pursue; doubt yielded to certainty and I determined forthwith to ask your indulgence to be excused from my further service in the councils of the country.

"Situating as I am, my name presented to the freemen of the United States for the first office known to our constitution, I could not, with anything of approbation on my part, consent

either to urge or to encourage a change which might wear the appearance of being induced from selfish considerations, from a desire to advance my own views. I feel a thorough and safe conviction that imputation would be ill founded and that nothing could prompt me to an active course on any subject which my judgment did not approve; yet as from late events it might be inferred that the prospects of your recommendation could be rendered probable only by the people having the choice given to them direct, abundant room would be afforded to ascribe any exertion I might make to causes appertaining exclusively to myself. Imputations thus made would, I assure you, be extremely irksome to any person of virtuous and independent feeling; they would certainly prove so to me and hence the determination to retire from a situation where strong suspicions might at least attach and with great seeming propriety. I hasten therefore to tender this my resignation to the hands of those who conferred on me the appointment that in the exercise of their constitutional rights they may confide it to some one meriting their confidence and approbation.

"Being about to retire once more to private life, it may be the last time probably that I shall have of addressing you. Permit me to suggest to you then some remarks upon the proposed amendment of the constitution of the United States. Our political fabric being regulated by checks and balances, where experience assures us that those which have been resorted to are inefficient; or, that however well their boundries have been defined by the parchment of the constitution, some new barrier to the encroachments of government is necessary, a correctible should be applied and it is the duty of the people in justice to themselves to see that one is provided. There is no truth more sacred in politics, and none more conclusively stamped upon all the state constitutions, as well as the federal constitution, than that which requires the three great departments of power, the Legislative, the Judicial and Executive, to be kept separate and apart. But simple and manifest as this truth is, the difficulty of arming it in practice with constitutional restraints still remains, and forms a question whether in its amendment the wisdom and virtue of the present generation may not be usefully employed. Gratitude to the founders of our happy government certainly cannot be lessened by honest efforts on our part to improve or rather to fortify the blessings which have been transmitted to us, with such additional guards as experience has proved to be necessary. Upon this principle I venture freely to accord with you in the contemplated change proposed to the constitution; and indeed would go farther. With a view to sustain more effectually in practice the axiom which divides the three great classes of power into independent constitutional checks, I would impose a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under the general government for and during the term for which he was elected and for two years thereafter; except in cases of judicial office; and these I

would except for the reason that vacancies in this department are not of frequent occurrence, and because no barrier should be interposed in selecting to the bench men of the first talents and integrity. Their trusts and duties being of the most responsible kind, the widest possible range should be permitted that proper and safe selections may be made. The politician may err, yet his error may presently be retrieved, and no considerable injury result, but with judges, particularly in the last resort, error is fatal because without a remedy.

"The effect of such a constitutional provision is obvious. By it Congress in a considerable degree will be freed from that connection with the Executive department which at present gives strong ground of apprehension and jealousy on the part of the people. Members, instead of being liable to be withdrawn from legislating upon the great interests of the nation, through prospects of executive patronage, would be more liberally confided in by their constituents; while their vigilance would be less interrupted by party feeling and party excitement. Intrigue and management would be excluded. Nor would their deliberations or the investigation of subjects consume so much time. The morals of the country would be improved, the virtues uniting with the labors of the Representatives and with the official ministers of the law, would tend to perpetuate the honor and glory of the government.

"But if this change in the Constitution should be attained and important appointments continue to devolve upon the Representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced that corruption will become the order of the day, and that under the garb of conscientious sacrifices to establish precedents for the public good, evil may arise of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the Republic. It is through this channel that the people may expect to be attacked in their constitutional sovereignty and where tyranny may well be apprehended to spring up in some favorable emergency. Against such inroads every guard ought to be interposed, and none better occurs than that of closing the suspected avenue with some necessary constitutional restriction. We know human nature to be prone to evil; we are early taught to pray that we may not be led into temptation, and hence the opinion that by constitutional provisions all avenues to temptation on the part of our political servants should be closed.

"My name having been before the nation for the office of chief magistrate during the time I served as your Senator, placed me in a situation truly delicate. But delicate as it was, my friends do not, and my enemies can not, charge me with descending from the independent ground then occupied, or with degrading the trust reposed in me by intriguing for the Presidential chair. As your honorable body, have, by a resolution, thought proper again to present my name to the American people, I must entreat to be excused

from any further service in the Senate, and to suggest in conclusion that it is due to myself to practice upon the maxims recommended to others, and hence I feel constrained to retire from a situation where temptation may exist and suspicion arise of the exercise of an influence tending to my own aggrandizement.

"Accept, I pray you for yourselves and tender to the honorable bodies over which you respectively preside, my sincere regard.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Hermitage, Davidson County

"October 12, 1825."

Taken from 'The Knoxville Register, Nov. 4, 1825:

"Murfreesboro, October 20th, 1825.

"On Friday last, the two Houses assembled in the Hall of the House of Representatives to receive Gen. Jackson, agreeably to previous arrangement. At 11 o'clock, Gen. Jackson and Governor Carroll, accompanied by several invited friends, amongst whom were D. Graham, Esq., Secretary of State, Major Generals, Houston and Arnold of the second and third divisions, preceded and followed by the joint committee appointed to wait on Gen. Jackson and the Governor, entered the bar of the House and after being seated, the Speaker of the Senate rose and addressed Gen. Jackson, thus:

"General Andrew Jackson: The representatives of the people of the state of Tennessee, who now surround you, for themselves and in behalf of their constituents, greet your appearance in this Hall with sentiments of the most profound regard.

"The homage we thus offer to your virtues and your merit emanates from the most lively effusions of that gratitude which we, in common with every part of this Republic, acknowledge for the eminent services you have achieved, the history of which compasses many of the brightest pages in the annals of this nation. In the will of Providence, it fell to your lot to unsheath your sword on our Southern borders at a moment when gloom and despair had fastened on our prospects, and a conquering army of chosen veterans were about to pollute our soil by their hostile tread; when the misgivings of others foretold the futility of human opposition, then sir, your bold resolutions commenced, and your plans were laid. If credulity should demand witnesses to prove the splendor and the glory of the triumphs of your army, at your side sir, stands the brave, the invincible Carroll, and other distinguished companions in arms, and in this assembly of the Representatives of the people, other living Sponsors who having participated in those scenes are ready to say, the half has not been told. To you, sir, to them, and the brave soldiers of your banner, wherever they may be, we now tender the renewal of our eternal obligations.

"In the crowd that presses around and amongst those who now address you, behold sir, a mixed multitude of your intimate

friends and personal acquaintances, some of whom have shared with you in many of the trying and painful vicissitudes of your eventful life; others who have heard the story of your renown from afar, and not a few who have associated with you for near half a century, these all unite with one accord and hail in your person the able and virtuous defender of their liberties and their homes and the scourge of their enemies.

“But, sir, the occasion that now brings us together presents the first fit opportunity, and gladly we embrace it, of declaring to you our unqualified approbation of your conduct, in the late Presidential election. It is not for us now to impugn the motives of those who in the congress of the United States were instrumental in promoting the elevation of the distinguished individual who has been constitutionally called into office. That the great body of the people had, however, designated you as the object of their preference none can doubt. That in the elevation of another, no matter how exalted his character and his pretensions, the express wishes of this nation were unheeded, none will deny. Your personal conduct through all the various scenes that accompanied the important canvass and its issue was marked by that prompt and unyielding honesty which your fame and the exalted nature of the office demanded. The world then knew you only by the brilliancy of your arms, and the native energy of your actions. They are now convinced that the character of the Military Chieftain and the able civilian may unite in the same individual, and, that, in the future elevation of him, whom we now address, the freedom and rights of this nation have nothing to dread. Sir, the Legislature of Tennessee have devolved on me the pleasing and acceptable duty of informing you that they have again submitted your name to the citizens of the United States at their next election for Chief Magistrate. In so doing, they most solemnly declare they have not been actuated by local or sectional feelings, nor are they willing any should believe they feel a spirit of hostility to the present administration. It is enough to say, that on you the wishes of the largest portion of the Republic had centered, and that so far from abating, the same feeling still pervades and increases. In the spirit, then, of those political truths that have guided your public and private life and which have always included a willing submission to the call of your country, no matter how arduous the task, we now cherish the pleasing hope that although to you, the sacrifice will be great, yet the service will be offered, and our wishes recorded before the nation, by your acquiescence.

“May Providence long preserve your invaluable life, and when the measure of your days shall have been filled, may your last moments be as serene as your existence has been useful.

“Mr. Brady, Speaker of the House of Representatives, then rose and addressed the General:

“General:—The House of Representatives has assigned to me the duty of bidding you welcome to their Hall—the task is pleasing.

That Tennessee should delight to do honor to you, sir, whose best years have been spent in her service, is so just a tribute of gratitude that all will unite in bearing testimony to its propriety.

"But, sir, notwithstanding your whole life has been marked with great events, I am at a loss to know how to speak of your mighty deeds. Shall I say that in the war of the revolution you fought and bled with our fathers in that glorious struggle for independence? Shall I say that you were one of the pioneers of Tennessee who expelled the savage and caused the wilderness to smile and bud and blossom as the rose. Shall I tell that you led your countrymen to victory at Talledega, Emucfaw, Enotochopco and Tahopeka, or shall I say that with a small body of undisciplined militia you vanquished a vastly superior force of veteran soldiers on the ever memorable plains of New Orleans? To those achievements which have filled the measure of your fame and conferred so much glory on our country, it is unnecessary to recur; they are known in the cabin of the humblest individual in the community and therefore need not the aid of my feeble eulogium. We remember them with pleasure, proudly, indulging a hope that in after times when generations shall have passed away, some daring citizen, nerved with patriot firmness, may emulate the achievements which you will have left on history's page and afford a like protection and deliverance to his country.

"It is not, sir, your military career alone which has induced the affectionate regard of your fellow citizens toward you. Not merely in the tented field, pressed by difficulties and surrounded by dangers have they seen you, but in private life where the unbending nature of the soldier yields to the repose of domestic quiet, they have beheld you engaged in the pursuit of civil life, in the councils of your country, aiding in the permanent establishment of liberty and liberal institutions. You were an efficient and able member of the convention which formed the constitution under which as a legislative body we are convened to act, a constitution which, based upon expanded thought, extends to every freeman the right of being represented in this Hall. To whatever situation the voice of your country has called, integrity and talent unceasingly bore you on the confidence of the public. Nor to your fellow citizens alone has your private life been less acceptable and pleasing than your military and public career. Such a man we are proud to honor and to welcome amongst us, not for any purpose of ceremony or adulation, but for the reason that our hearts dictate and approve it, and because we but express the sentiment of those who have honored us with their suffrage and their confidence.

"We had indulged the hope sir, that ere this, you should have been at the head of affairs of this our happy and free country. Our feelings may partially have estranged our judgment, but we were led to this belief because we thought the people of this Union, whose right it is to govern, had indicated most clearly their preference towards you, and we are too unskilled in the political world

to suppose that the representative on any legitimate ground could stand in fearless opposition to those whose confidences he shared, and whose agent he was to execute their wishes and their will. In your success buoyant hope had told us that we might look for equal vigilance and care to every section of our country and to a restoration of those almost obsolete republican feelings and habits which once so happily characterized our nation. Though disappointed in our expectations, we are yet consoled by the happy reflection that throughout the contest you sustained yourself with your accustomed propriety and forbore, even at the close, selfish consideration and a hope of a self advancement could suggest. Such deportment and political firmness in defeat was more glorious than success without it.

"Receive, sir, the ardent and sincere wishes of the body in whose behalf I have the honor to address you, for a continuance of your health and happiness.

"The General then replied:

"Messrs. Speakers of the two Houses: Silence rather than any language I can adopt might better speak to you my feelings for your kind and friendly expressions towards me. Words are too feeble to declare how sensibly affected I am at meeting you on this occasion, and more particularly in bearing in recollection as I ever shall the numerous evidences of kindness and affection which from time to time, have, by the Legislature of Tennessee, been extended towards me. Before me are my acquaintances, neighbors, personal friends, some of whom have known me from early life to the present moment, and many have gone with me through those various vicissitudes of peril, trial and danger inseparable from war, and which they met with all that firmness which mingles in the soul of the soldier, when he goes forth the defender of his country's rights. It is to the zealous and correspondent services of those gallant men aided by that power which controls the destiny of nations, that our country was enabled to rise above the dangers that met her in her march and which contributed to give me so flattering a place in the estimation and confidence of my fellow citizens. A general in command may devise plans and industriously attempt their execution, but for success his dependence is on those who go with him to battle. The approbation of such men is highly solacing, it brings to pleasurable recollection days and dangers that have passed, and smooths the little march of life which yet hangs in advance. We must presently be gone. A few short years and the places we occupy shall 'know us no more,' yet the remnant of our march will be sweet and the recollections of our toils forgotten, if we can bear along the hope that virtue in our country will be regarded; for then will independence and happiness be maintained.

"The Legislature of Tennessee by a generous indulgence have placed me under many and various obligations. In early life when my merits and pretensions were perhaps better appreciated than

they deserved, responsible trusts were conferred and however feebly the duties assigned may have been performed, a generous kindness on their part prevented everything of complaint.

"At the onset of the late war, through their patriotic liberality and a friendly confidence towards me, large and liberal appropriations were made by which the General Government was assisted, and I enabled to advance on the enemy, and preserve from desolation our exposed and defenseless borders. And now again, gentlemen, am I cheered with the declarations freely offered by you, that in my evening pilgrimages through life, your friendly feelings are reiterated and your confidence not impaired. To me, 'tis happiness indeed, it is evidence of your friendly sentiments freely expressed and by me so happily appreciated as to be borne while I live in grateful recollection.

"Nor, is it less a matter of pleasing reflection that the course dictated by my own judgment as proper to be pursued on a late occasion to which you have adverted, meets approbation. It was impossible for me to have acted differently because it would have been at war with all the declarations I had made and all the principles upon which through life I had professed to act. To be sure the situation before me was a high and important one, yet it was hung around with fearful responsibilities, too many and too variant to be undertaken but through the sanction of the country freely given, without which no man could hope to administer its affairs with satisfaction to the public and credit to himself. In justice therefore to myself and in regard to the great and permanent interests of the country, it was preferred by me to leave the matter where by the constitution it was placed, free from any attempted control or interference of mine. Through life I have not, for the remnant of it I certainly will not, become possessed of any situation or place where to compromise any of the essentials recognized by the spirit and design of the constitution or by the principles of our free government, it shall constitute a condition.

"For the very marked and respectful attentions in your legislative characters you have thought proper to extend, I beg you to accept my warm and heartfelt acknowledgement, and to receive my warmest supplications for your present and future prosperity and happiness."

GEN. JACKSON ON THE TARIFF

From the Raleigh (N. C.) Star.

"The following letter from General Jackson, was sent to Dr. L. H. Coleman, of Warrenton, North Carolina, in answer to some inquiries contained in a letter addressed by the latter to the former. Similar inquiries having been made from other quarters, the General states in a note that the same answer had been returned them:

“Washington City,
April 29th, 1824.

“Sir: I have had the honor this day to receive your letter of the 21st instant, and with candor, shall reply to it. My name has been brought before the nation by which the people themselves, without any agency of mine; for I wish it not to be forgotten that I have never solicited office; nor, when called upon by the constituted authorities, have ever declined where I conceived my services could be beneficial to my country. But, as my name has been the gift of the people, it is incumbent on me when asked frankly to declare my opinion upon any political national question, pending before and about which the country feels an interest.

“You ask my opinion on the Tariff. I answer that I am in favor of a judicious examination and revision of it; and so far as the tariff bill before us embraces the design of fostering, protecting and preserving within ourselves the means of national defense and Independence, particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it. The experiences of the late war ought to teach us a lesson, and one never to be forgotten. If our liberty and republican form of government, procured for us by our revolutionary fathers, are worth the blood and treasure at which they are obtained, it surely is our duty to protect and defend them. Can there be an American patriot who saw the privations, dangers, and difficulties experienced for the want of proper means of defense during the last war, who would be willing again to hazard the safety of our country, if embroiled; or to rest it for defense on the precarious means of national resource to be derived from commerce, in a state of war with a maritime power, who might destroy that commerce to prevent us obtaining the means of defense, and thereby subdue us? I hope there is not; and if there is, I am sure he does not deserve to enjoy the blessings of freedom. Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. That same Providence has blessed us with the means of national defense. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which he has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of his blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, copper, and given us climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection that our own manufacturies and laborers may be placed on a fair competition of those of Europe, and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles, so essential in war. Beyond this, I look at the Tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor and to revenue; and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe that a national debt is a national blessing, but rather a curse to a republic, inasmuch as it is calculated to raise around the administration a monied aristocracy, dangerous to the liberties of the country.

This Tariff, I mean a judicious one, possesses more fancy than real danger. I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus production? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign or home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture, and that the channels for labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture this superabundant labor; employ it in mechanisms and manufactures thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labor to the most profitable account; and benefits to the country will result. Take from agriculture, in the United States, six hundred thousand men, women, and children, and you at once give a home market for more breadstuff than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, Sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is the time we should become a little more Americanized; and, instead of feeding the pauper and laborers of England, feed our own, or else, in short time, by continuing our present policy we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves.

"It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful and judicious Tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt and afford us the means of defense within ourselves on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last, though, not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence and wealth of the community..

"This is a short outline of my opinions generally on the subject of your inquiry, and believing them correct and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you, I would not barter them for any office or situation of temporal character that could be given me.

"I have presented you my opinions freely because I am without concealment; and should indeed despise myself if I could believe myself capable of desiring the confidence of any by means so ignoble.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"Your most ob't servant,

"Andrew Jackson.

"To Dr. L. H. Coleman, Warrenton, N. C."

"Friday, March 25, 1825.

"To the Editor of the N. Y. N. Advocate.

Sir:

"The following letter was received by me a few days since, and although a private communication, and not intended for the public eye, yet it contains so just an exposition of the enlightened views and noble conduct of its distinguished author, that I cannot forbear soliciting its publication in your valuable paper.

"This letter will be read with the deepest interest by the American people. It breathes the language of the purest patriotism, of the most perfect devotion to the rights, the interests, and the republican institutions of our country. It is manly, temperate, but a convincing vindication of the character and public services of one of the greatest men and purest patriots that this, or any other country, had ever produced.

THE PEOPLE, are the sovereigns of this country. They have established by their blood and treasure, a government, founded in knowledge and virtue, which has for its basis the representative system. How far General Jackson, in his public career has acknowledged and respected its maxims and principles, let the actions of his past life, and his pure and unsullied conduct during the recent election testify.

"If the people are interested in whatever relates to the conduct of their civil rulers, they are equally concerned for the reputation of one of their brightest ornaments in war — one of their strongest advocates in peace. One, who has never drawn his sword but to add laurels to his country, nor his pen but to illustrate the value of her happy institutions.

"Sam'l Swartwout."

ANDREW JACKSON TO SAM'L SWARTOUT ON A
"MILITARY CHIEFTAIN."

"Washington City, 23rd Feb., 1825.

"My Dear Sir:

"Yesterday I received your communication adverting to the reasons and defense presented by Mr. Clay to Judge Brook why duty and reflection imposed upon him the necessity of standing in opposition to me because of my being, as he is pleased to style me, 'a Military Chieftain.' I had seen the letter before and when it first appeared I did entertain the opinion that some notice of it might perhaps be necessary for the reason that the expression seemed to convey with it the appearance of personalty more than anything else; and could the opinion be at all entertained that it could meet the object which was doubtless intended, to prejudice me in the estimation of my countrymen, I might yet consider some notice of it necessary. Such a belief, however, I cannot entertain without insulting the generous testimonial with which I have been honored by ninety-nine electors of the people.

"I am well aware that this term 'Military Chieftain' has for some time past been a cant phrase with Mr. Clay and certain of his friends; but the vote with which I have been honored by the people is enough to satisfy me that the prejudice which was hereby sought to be produced has availed but little. This is sufficient for me. I entertain a deep and heartfelt gratitude to my country for the confidence which she has manifested towards me, leaving to prejudiced minds whatever they can make of the epithet 'Military Chieftain.'

"It is for ingenuity greater than mine to concieve what idea was intended by the term. It is very true that early in life, even in the days of my boyhood, I contributed my mite to shake off the yoke of tyranny and to build up the fabric of free government. And when lately our country was involved in war, bearing then the commission of Major General of Militia in Tennessee, I made an appeal to the patriotism of the citizens of the west, when 3,000 went with me to the field to support her Eagles. If this constitutes me a 'Military Chieftain,' I am one. Aided by the patriotism of the western people and an indulgent Providence, it was my good fortune to protect our frontier border from the savages and successfully to defend an important and vulnerable point of our Union. Our lives were risked, privations endured, and sacrifices made, and if Mr. Clay pleases, martial law declared, not with any view of personal aggrandizement, but for the preservation of all and every thing that was dear and valuable, the honor, the safety and glory of our country! Does this constitute the character of a 'Military Chieftain?' And are all of our brave men in war who go forth to defend the rights of the country to be termed 'Military Chieftains,' and denounced therefor? If so, the tendency of such a doctrine may be to arrest the ardour of useful and brave men in future times of need and peril. With me it will make no difference, for my country at war, I would aid, assist and defend her, let the consequences to myself be what they might.

"I have, as you very well know, been charged by some of the designing politicians of this country, with taking bold and high-handed measures, but, as they were not designed for any benefit to myself, I should not, under similar circumstances, refrain from a course equally bold. That man who in times of difficulty and danger shall halt at any course necessary to maintain the rights and privileges and independence of his country, is unsuited to authority. And if these opinions and sentiments shall entitle me to the name and character of a 'Military Chieftain,' I am content so to be considered, satisfied too that Mr. Clay, if he pleases, shall give that as the reason to the citizens of the west, why, in his opinion, I merited neither his nor their confidence.

"Mr. Clay has never yet risked himself for his country. He has never sacrificed his repose nor made an effort to repel an invading foe; of course, 'his conscience' assured him it was altogether wrong in any other man to lead his countrymen to battle and victory. He who fights and fights successfully, must, according to his standard, be held up as a 'Military Chieftain.' Even Washington, could he appear again among us, might be so considered because he dared to be a virtuous and successful soldier, a correct man, and an honest statesman. It is only when overtaken by disaster and defeat, that any man is to be considered a safe politician and a correct statesman.

"Defeat might, to be sure, have brought with it one benefit, it might have enabled me to escape the notice and animadver-

sions of Mr. Clay; but considering that by an opposite result, my country has been somewhat benefited, I rather prefer it, even with the opprobrium and censure which he seems disposed to extend towards me. To him, thank God, I am in no way responsible. There is a purer tribunal to which I would in preference refer myself—to the judgment of an enlightened, patriotic, and uncorrupted people. To that tribunal I would rather appeal whence is derived whatever of reputation either he or I may possess. By a reference there it will be ascertained that I did not solicit the office of President; it was the frank and flattering call of the freemen of this country, not mine, which placed my name before the nation. When they failed in their colleges to make a choice, no one beheld me seeking through art or management to entice any representative in Congress from a conscientious responsibility to his own or the wishes of his constituents. No midnight taper burnt by me; no secret conclaves were held, nor cabals entered into to persuade any one to a violation of pledges given or of instructions received. By me no plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institution, nor to prostrate that fundamental maxim which maintains the supremacy of the people's will. On the contrary, having never in any manner either before the people or Congress, interfered in the slightest degree with the question, my conscience stands void of offense, and will go quietly with me, regardless of the insinuations of those who through management may seek an influence not sanctioned by integrity and merit.

“Demagogues, I am persuaded, have in times past done more injury to the cause of freedom and the rights of man than ever did a military chieftain, and in our country, at least in times of peace, I have seen something of this in my march through life; and have seen some men too making the boldest professions who were more influenced by selfish views and considerations than ever they were by the workings of an honest conscience.

“I became a soldier for the good of my country, difficulties met me at every step, but I thank God it was my good fortune to surmount them.

“The war over and peace restored, I retired to my farm to private life where but for the call I received to the Senate of the Union, I should have contentedly remained. I have never sought office or power nor have I ever been willing to hold any post longer than I could be useful to my country, not myself, and I trust I never shall. If these things make me one, I am a ‘Military Chieftain.’

“I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“And’w Jackson.”

HON. JAMES MAYNARD OF THE KNOXVILLE BAR
TO THE AUTHOR.

“Bedford Springs, Penna.,

“August 3, 1921.

“Hon. S. G. Heiskell,

“Knoxville, Tenn.

“My dear Sir:

I left Knoxville to come here, looking for health, and since getting here, I came across a book written by Ex-Circuit Judge W. M. Hall, entitled ‘Reminiscences and Sketches.’ Bedford is an old town, and there is an abundance of material for such a book here. As one or two of these reminiscences, in a way, connect with Andrew Jackson, I thought they would interest you, if you have not seen them before, as I have not, so I send them along.

“The first relates the story of the building of a Presbyterian Church in this town in 1828. It gives a list of more than 100 subscribers to the building fund. Among other things, it is remarked: ‘when the meeting house was built, Jackson was running for President, and all the men in Bedford supported him but eight, who were for Adams.’

“Democrats must be more plentiful in Pennsylvania than now.

“The other story is about a certain General Alexander Ogle, who is described as the man who wrote the letter to General Jackson with the little ‘I’s.’ Old General Ogle, who was a self made, strong-minded man, and who had, in his early life, represented Somerset county in the Pennsylvania legislature, soon after Jackson was elected President, wrote a long letter to the General on public affairs, advising him as to the course he thought his administration ought to pursue; but before sending it off, pleased with his production, he carried and read it to several of his neighbors and friends. The old man’s education was limited. One of the persons to whom he showed the letter noticed that he spoke quite a good deal of himself, and filled his letter full of small dotted ‘I’s’ instead of the capital ‘I’ required by the rules of composition, and ventured to suggest that this was not quite the thing. Whatever General Ogle lacked, he was not deficient in ready mother-wit, and, equal to the occasion, he assumed to know all about the rules of letter writing and composition, and said: ‘Sir, I am writing this letter to the President of the United States. If I was writing this letter to a common man, I would use the capital ‘I’, but in writing to General Jackson, I think it is proper to use small ‘I’s’. If I was writing this letter to you, sir, I would, make an ‘I’ six times as long as my arm, sir.’

“I had never heard either of these stories before, and thought perhaps, you had not, and that they would interest you.

“With kind regards,

“Very truly yours,

“James Maynard.

ANDREW JACKSON TO EDWARD LIVINGSTON

Early in 1823, President Monroe tendered to General Jackson the post of Minister to Mexico, which the latter declined. On that occasion he wrote the following letter to his friend; Edward Livingston:

"Hermitage, March 24, 1823.

"My Dear Sir: On the receipt of your letter of the 25th Ult., I had only time by the return mail to acknowledge its receipt, and say to you that on the subject of the mission to Mexico I had not been consulted and that I had declined accepting of this mission.

"It was a just deduction of my friends to conclude that I had been consulted before my nomination to the Senate, and, of course, that I would accept the appointment; and many of them conclude, under this impression, that I am very fickle, when they learn that I have declined; for this reason, I have thought it due to you that you should be informed truly on this subject and also my reasons for declining.

"First I heard of the intention of the President was in a letter from Major Eaton, our senator, who advised me that Mr. Monroe had sent for and consulted him upon the subject, inquiring his opinion whether I would accept, to which the Major replied that he could form no opinion upon the subject. Mr. Monroe expressing a wish that he would assure me of his friendly views in making this nomination. I immediately answered that I would not accept; and a few days after this answer to Major Eaton, I received Mr. Monroe's letter advising me of my nomination and the approval of the Senate of the United States, to which I replied that I could not accept for reasons following in substance:

'The present unhappy revolutionary state of Mexico with an oppressed people struggling for their liberties against an Emperor whom they have branded with the epithets usurper and tyrant, convinces me that no minister from the United States would, at this period, effect any beneficial treaty for his country, and of the impolicy of a republican representative at a court which might be construed as countenancing the empire in opposition to a republic. The people of Mexico, in their honest efforts for freedom command my warmest sympathies; and their success is intimately connected with the ultimate and general triumph of those liberal principles for which our Revolutionary worthies fought and bled, and which now form the pride and boast of United America. With these feelings and wishes, which I believe to be general a in unison with my fellow-citizens, I did believe my situation as Mexico would be embarrassing to me, independent of the conviction that I was rendering no service to my country, when, by appearing at that court it might strengthen the tottering crown of Iturbide, and enable the tyrant to rivet the chains of despotism upon his country. To render service to my country could alone constitute any motive for acting again in a public capacity. You will

find from my reasons stated, that in consulting my own feelings I have not been unmindful of or influenced by considerations connected with the best interests of my country, which I trust have heretofore and shall always govern my conduct. Had the affairs of Mexico been in a different condition, had the voice of the people governed, my conclusions would have been different; for I believe it the true principles of our government, that every man's services belong to the nation when they are required by the unsolicited voice of his country; and the appointment, being made without consulting me, embraced what I believe ought to be the governing rule of the President in making his nominations. Had I accepted this mission, it would have been among the first of my wishes to have had you with me. Should I ever be again brought by the unsolicited call of my country on the public or political theatre, I should calculate to have you near me; but on such an event I do not calculate. I am no intriguer. I would not act in one single instance that character for all the public favor that could be bestowed. My country has brought my name before the American nation, and the people must decide. The presidential chair is a situation which ought not to be sought for, nor ought it to be declined when offered by the unsolicited voice of the people. To their choice the Constitution has left it, and happy for the permanency of the constitutional government and the perpetuation of our Union, if designing demagogues will let the people exercise this, their constitutional privilege, without attempting to thwart it by subtile intrigue and management.

"On the receipt of this, if leisure permit, I would thank you for your views of the correctness of my decision and the ground I have assumed and on which I have always practiced, and, I would add, I have grown too old in the practice ever to change.

"Present myself and Mrs. J. respectfully to your lady and daughter, and to Major Davezac, and accept assurances of my friendship and esteem.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Edward Livingston, Esq."

CHAPTER 4.

Correspondence between President James Monroe
and Andrew Jackson in October, November
and December, 1816.

THE FAMOUS JACKSON—MONROE CORRESPONDENCE

The Presidential election of 1824 witnessed five American citizens, respectively, asking the American electorate to prefer them for a residence of four years in the White House. They were, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.

There was a general conviction over the Country that the battle of New Orleans had predestined Jackson to be President sooner or later. All of his friends took this view and began, soon after the battle, each in his own way, to mould public opinion to the desired end.

Jackson himself was politician enough to promulgate a great slogan and to live up to it; namely, never to seek a public office, and never to decline one. This slogan was a masterpiece of its kind. It comprehended in its meaning complete political unselfishness, idealism in fact, 'never to seek public office,' and, on the other hand, it demonstrated patriotism wide as the world and overflowing with undying love for the people, 'never to decline one,' that is, never to decline to serve the people. But his friends did not know the meaning of idealism, and did not wish to know. When they wanted something in politics, either for themselves or for General Jackson, they went after it with all the adroitness, force, and invincibility that finally landed Jackson in the White House, and themselves into any office they wanted at the President's disposal; or, if no office was wanted, then into the rank of those who are powers behind the throne, a status sought by all politicians.

Historical writers seem to be in accord on the proposition, that Major William B. Lewis was the most valuable political asset Jackson had among his friends. Major Lewis was always looking



ANDREW JACKSON.
By Jacob Eichholtz, 1776-1842.

ahead—far ahead. Jackson did not always agree with him, but had far too much good sense to fall out with him. Old Hickory's intuitions were perfect in estimating and selecting the men on whose judgment and loyalty to himself he could implicitly rely. This faculty was as highly developed in him as the same faculty in Napoleon Bonapart.

Nature's contributions to men are sometimes more lavish and prodigal in natural efficiency than can be learned in all the books or taught in all the schools. Jackson's career seems absolutely marvelous in selecting the right man to carry out the plans and movements of the hour.

What is known as 'The Monroe Correspondence' produced below, proves the foresight of Major Lewis in attaching the old supporters of the dismantled Federal party to the cause of Jackson in his race for the Presidency, into which this correspondence and a thousand other devices of Jackson's friends were putting him. This correspondence attracted prompt and favorable attention, and had a great deal to do with making Jackson President. The letters in Jackson's name are the product of Major Lewis, who said that the principal one was sent in his own hand writing to Monroe.

Major John H. Eaton, on May 10, 1824, at what was thought to be the psychological moment in the Presidential Election of 1824, gave the letters to the public, accompanied by a communication to Messrs Gales & Seaton, publishers of the National Intelligencer, of Washington, D. C. The letter of Major Eaton is set out below.

Writing these letters in 1816 and having them made public eight years later, in 1824, and ready in the mean-time to be made public should the proper occasion come about, is a familiar illustration of the habit of Major Lewis and other far-sighted politicians of cultivating public opinion from day to day and month to month, to the end that the benefits of the cultivation shall be garnered when the clock should strike the proper hour in the future.

EATON TO GALES AND SEATON.

"Washington City, May 10, 1824.

"Messrs. Gales & Seaton: I send you for publication the letters which heretofore passed between Mr. Monroe and Gen. Jackson, on the subject of forming his Executive Cabinet in 1817. Mr.

Monroe's are authentic copies, procured from Nashville, Tennessee. Those of General Jackson were placed in my possession, by the President, with authority to use them as I might think proper, in any way not objected to by the writer. Both those gentlemen have expressed a willingness that the entire correspondence should be laid before the public; accordingly, and to gratify a desire which seems generally to prevail, they are sent to you for publication. It is a matter of regret that private confidential letters, breathing a freedom and carelessness of expression, based on a mutually subsisting friendship, and never intended for the press, should, under any circumstances, be drawn forth and exhibited to public view. The necessity however, which imposes their publication, and of withdrawing the privacy under which they were written, will be ascribed to the proper cause, and readily understood by those who have witnessed what has recently been said, and written and printed, respecting them.

“Respectfully,

“John H. Eaton.

GENERAL JACKSON TO MR. MONROE.

“Headquarters, Division of the South,

“Nashville, 23d October, 1816.

“Dear Sir: I returned from the Nation on the 12th instant, and seize the first moment from duty to write to you.

“I have the pleasure to inform you that we have obtained, by cession from the Cherokees and Chickasaws, all their claim south of Tennessee that interfered with the Creek cession.

“We have experienced much difficulty with the Chickasaws from what they call their guarantee or charter, given by President Washington in the year 1794, and recognized by the treaty with that nation in 1801, which not only guaranteed the territory but bound the United States to prevent intrusions within the limits defined, of every kind whatever. In the treaty with the Cherokees, lately entered into at the city of Washington, the greater part of the land guaranteed by the treaty of 1801 to the Chickasaws was included. The fact is that both President Washington and the present Secretary of War (Crawford) must have been imposed on by false representations, as neither the Cherokees nor the Chickasaws had any right to the territory south of the Tennessee, and included within the Creek cession, as the testimony recorded on your journal and forwarded with the treaty will show; it being within the possession of the Creeks, until conquered by us in the Fall of 1813. I feel happy that all these conflicting claims are accommodated by the late treaties, and at a moderate premium, payable in ten years; and that extensive fertile country west of the county of Madison and north of the Tennessee, which at once opens a free intercourse to and defense for the lower country, is acquired.

"In a political point of view its benefits are incalculable. We will now have good roads kept up and supplied by the industry of our own citizens, and our frontier defended by a strong population. The sooner, therefore, that this country can be brought into market the better.

"By dividing this country into two districts, by a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Black Warrior to the Coosa river, and appointing an enterprising individual to superintend the northern district as surveyor, he can have all the lands north of the line ready for sale by the 1st of June next. The vast capital now held for the purchase of this land, if offered for sale before the holders turn it to other objects, will insure the treasury an immense sum of money, and give to the government a permanent population, capable of defending that frontier, which ought to induce the government to prepare it for market as early as possible.

"Having learned from General David Merriweather that Mr. Crawford is about to retire from the department of war, as a friend to you and the government, to bring to your notice, as a fit character to fill that office, Colonel William H. Drayton, late of the army of the United States.

"I am not personally acquainted with Colonel D., but, believing it of the utmost importance that the office of Secretary of War should be well filled, I have for some time, through every source that has presented itself, been making inquiry on that subject. From information that I can rely on, the result is, that he is a man of nice principles of honor and honesty, of military experience and pride, possessing handsome talents as a lawyer and statesman.

"I am told before the war he was ranked with the Federalists, but the moment his country was threatened he abandoned private ease and a lucrative practice for the tented field. Such acts as these speak louder than words. 'The tree is best known by its fruits,' and such a man as this, it matters not what he is called, will always act like a true American. Whether he would accept the appointment I can not say but if he would, his talents, experience and energy would prove highly useful to his country. It is all important in peace and in war, as you well know, to have this office well filled; at present when there exists such strife in the army as appears in the north, it is important to select a character of such firmness and energy as can not be swayed from strict rule and justice. From every information I have received, Colonel Drayton fills this character, and is better qualified to execute the duties of the department of War than any other character, I have a knowledge of, either personally or from information:

"I write you confidentially. It is said here . . . is spoken of to succeed Mr. Crawford. Rest assured this will not do. When I say this I wish you to understand me, that he does not possess sufficient capacity, stability, or energy—the three necessary qualifications for a war officer. These hints proceed from the purest motives, that you may be supported in your administration by the

best talents and virtue of our country; that you may be hailed in your retirement from the executive chair with that unanimous approbation that has brought you to it.

"Present Mrs. J. and myself respectfully to your lady and family in which is included Mrs Hay, and accept for yourself my warmest wishes for your happiness.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Hon. James Monroe,
"Secretary of State."

GENERAL JACKSON TO MR. MONROE.

"Nashville, November 12, 1816.

"Sir:

"Permit me to introduce to your notice Lieutenant Gadsden, who will hand you this letter, and who is also bearer of the treaties lately concluded with the Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees.

"In my last to you I took the liberty of drawing your attention to the benefits that would result, both to the Treasury of the United States and the defense of the lower Mississippi, and its dependencies, by bringing into market those tracts of country lately acquired by the treaties above named. I am so deeply impressed with the importance of this subject, that I cannot forego the present opportunity of again bringing it to your view. I have this moment wrote to the comptroller on this highly interesting and important business. If the plan proposed is adopted, the land can be brought into market within a very short time, which will immediately give to that section of country a strong and permanent settlement of American citizens, competent to its defense. Should the Government divide the surveyors district, as proposed, and appoint General Coffee surveyor of the northern, his energy and industry will bring it into market in all June next. Should this district be divided as contemplated, and General Coffee appointed as surveyor, it will leave open the appointment of receiver of public moneys, heretofore promised to the General, which vacancy I warmly recommend to be filled by Lieutenant Gadsden, who, owing to the late, indeed I might say present, delicate state of his health, is desirous of resigning his appointment in the army. In this, as in all my recommendations, I have the public good in view.

"From the acquirements of Lieutenant Gadsden the army will sustain a great loss by the withdrawal of his services from it; but by retiring at present, and avoiding the insalubrious climate where his duty as an officer calls him, his health may be restored and his life preserved for the benefit of his country at some future period. There are few young men in the army or elsewhere possessing his merit. His education is of the best kind, and his mind is richly stored with the best kind of knowledge; he should therefore be fostered as capable, at some future day, of becoming one of his country's most useful and valuable citizens. Lieutenant

Gadsden's situation requires some office, the profits of which will yield him a competency while preparing himself for some professional pursuit; this office will afford it. These are the reasons that induce me so warmly to recommend him. I hope, should the events alluded to occur, he will receive the appointment.

"Being deeply impressed with the importance of another subject which relates to yourself, as well as to the government, I hope I may be permitted once more to obtrude my opinions. In filling the vacancy occasioned by the transfer of Mr. Crawford from the war office to the Treasury; it is of the highest moment that some proper and fit person should be selected.

"Your happiness and the nation's welfare materially depend upon the selections which are to be made to fill the heads of departments. I need not tell you that feuds exist, to an injurious degree, in the northern army. To fill the department of war with a character who has taken a part in those feuds, or whose feelings have been enlisted on the side of party, will be adding fuel to a flame which, for the good of the service, already burns too fiercely. This and other considerations induce me to enter on the inquiry for a character best qualified to fill that department. It has resulted in the selection of Colonel William Drayton. Since my last to you, in which this subject was then named, General Ripley has arrived here, who heartily concurs with me in the opinion that Colonel Drayton is the best selection that can be made.

"Pardon me, my dear sir; for the following remarks concerning the next presidential term; they are made with the sincerity and freedom of a friend. I cannot doubt they will be received with feelings similar to those which have impelled me to make them. Everything depends on the selection of your ministry.

In every selection party and party feeling should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate the monster called party spirit. In selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity and firmness, without any regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government, and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The chief magistrate of a chief and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind that he acts for a whole and not a part of the community. By this course you will exalt the national character and acquire for yourself a name as imperishable as monumental marble. Consult no party in your choice; persue the dictates of that unerring judgment which has so long and so often benefitted our country and rendered conspicuous its rules—if I know my own heart—of an undissembled patriot.

"Accept assurances of my sincere friendship, and believe me to be your obedient servant.

"Andrew Jackson.

"The Hon. James Monroe."

MR. MONROE TO MR. JACKSON.

"Washington, Dec. 14th, 1816.

"Dear Sir: I have since my last to you, had the pleasure of receiving two letters from you, the last of the 12th November. The advantages of the late treaties with the Indians are incalculable. One of the benefits consists in putting an end to all dissatisfactions on the part of Tennessee, proceeding from the former treaty. This has been done on very moderate terms. Another consists in enabling the government to bring to market the large body of valuable land, whereby the public debt may be considerably diminished. A third, in extending our settlements along the Mississippi and towards the Mobile, whereby great strength will be added to our union in quarters where it is most wanted. As soon as our population gains a decided preponderance in those regions, East Florida will hardly be considered by Spain as part of her dominions, and no other power would accept it from her as a gift. Our attitude will daily become more imposing on all the Spanish dominions, and indeed on those of other powers in the neighboring islands. If it keeps them in good order in our relations with them, that alone will be an important consequence.

"I have communicated what you suggested respecting General Coffee and Lieutenant Gadsden to the President, who is, I am satisfied, well disposed to promote their views.

"It is very gratifying to me to receive your opinions on all subjects on which you have the goodness to communicate them, because I have the utmost confidence in the soundness of your judgment and purity of your intentions. I will give you my sentiments on the interesting subject in question, likewise without reserve. I agree with you decidedly in the principle that the chief magistrate of the country ought not to be the head of a party, but of a nation itself. I am also of the opinion that members of the Federal parties who left in the late war, and gallantly served their country in the field, have given proofs of patriotism, and attachment to free government that entitled them to the highest confidence. In deciding, however, how a new administration ought to be formed admitting the result to correspond with the wishes of my friends, many considerations claim attention, as, on a proper estimate of them, much may depend in the success of that administration, and even of the Republican cause. We have heretofore been divided into two great parties. That some of the leaders of the Federal party entertained principles unfriendly to our system of government, I have been thoroughly convinced; and that they meant to work a change in it, by taking advantage of favorable circumstances, I am equally satisfied. It happened that I was a member of Congress under the confederation, just before the change made by the adoption of the present constitution; and afterwards of the Senate beginning shortly after its adoption. In the former I served three years, and in the latter rather a longer term. In these situations

I saw indications of the kind suggested. It was an epoch at which the views of men were most likely to unfold themselves, if any thing favorable to a higher-toned government was to be obtained, that was the time. The government in France tended, also, then, to test the opinions and principles of men, which was disclosed in a manner to leave no doubt on my mind of what I have suggested. No daring attempt was ever made, because there was no opportunity for it. I thought that Washington was opposed to their schemes, and, not being able to take him with them, that they were forced to work in regard to him, underhanded, using his name and standing with the nation, as far as circumstances admitted, to serve their purposes. The opposition, which was carried on with great firmness checked the career of this party, and kept it within moderate limits. Many of the circumstances upon which my opinion is founded took place in debate and in society, however that such proof exists, founded on facts and opinions of distinguished individuals, which became public, to justify that which I have formed. The contest between the parties never ceased from its commencement to the present time, nor do I think that it can be said now to have ceased. You saw the height to which the opposition was carried on in the late war; the embarrassment it gave to the government, aid it gave to the enemy. The victory at New Orleans, for which we owe so much to you, and to the gallant freeman who fought under you, and the honorable peace which took place at that time, have checked the opposition, if they have not overwhelmed it. I may add that the daring measure of the Hartford Convention, which unfolds views which had been long before entertained, but never so fully understood, contributed also, in an eminent degree to reduce the opposition to the present state. It is under such circumstances that the election of a successor to Mr. Madison has taken place, and that a new administration is to commence its service. The election has been made by the Republican party (supposing that it has succeeded) and of a person known to be devoted to that cause. How shall he act? How organize the administration so far as dependent on him when in that station; how fill the vacancies existing at the time?

“My Candid opinion is, that the dangerous purposes which I have adverted to were never adopted, if they were known especially in their full extent, by any large portion of the Federal party, but were confined to certain leaders, and they principally to the eastward. The manly and patriotic conduct of a great proportion of that party in the other states, I might perhaps say of all, who had an opportunity of displaying it, is a convincing proof of this fact. But still southern and eastern Federalists have been connected together as a party have acted together heretofore; and although their conduct has been difficult, of late especially, yet the distinction between Republicans and Federalists, even in the Southern and middle and western States, has not been fully done away.

"To give effect to free government, and secure it from future danger, ought not its decided friends, who stand firm in the day of trial, be principally relied on? Would not the association of any of their opponents in the administration itself wound their feelings or at least very many of them, to the injury of the Republican cause? Might it not be considered by the other party as an artful compromise with them, which would lessen the ignominy due to the councils which produced the Hartford Convention, and thereby have a tendency to revive that party on its former principles? My impression is that the administration should rest strongly on the Republican party, indulging to the other a spirit of moderation, and evincing a desire to discriminate between its members, and to bring the whole into the Republican fold as quietly as possible.

"Many men, very distinguished for their talents, are of opinion that the existence of the Federal party is necessary to keep union and order in the Republican ranks, that is, that free government is maintained by an opposition to the ministry—I well know. But I think that the cause of these divisions is to be found in certain defects in those governments rather than in human nature, and that we have happily avoided those defects in our system. The first object is to save the cause, which can be done by those who are devoted to it only, and, of course, by keeping them together, or, in other words, not by disgusting them by too hasty an act of liberality to the other party, thereby breaking the genius spirit of the Republican party and keeping alive that of the Federal. The second is to prevent the re-organization and revival of the Federal party, which, if my hypothesis is true, that the existence of the party is not necessary to free governments, and the other opinion which I have advanced is well founded, that the great body of the Federal party are Republican, will not be found impracticable. To accomplish both objects, and thereby exterminate all party divisions in our country, and give new strength and stability to our government, is a great undertaking not easily executed."

"I am, nevertheless, decidedly of the opinion that it may be done, and should the experiment fail I shall conclude that its failure was imputable more to the want of a correct knowledge of all circumstances claiming attention, of a sound judgment in the measures adopted, than to any other cause. I agree, I think, perfectly with you in the grand object that moderation should be shown to the federal party, and even a generous policy be adopted towards it, the only difference between us seems to be, how far shall that spirit be indulged in the onset, and it is to make you thoroughly acquainted with my views on this highly important subject that I have written to you so freely on it. Of the gentleman of whom you have spoken, I think as you do, of which I gave him proof when in the department of War, by placing him in the board of officers for digesting and reporting a system of discipline for the army, and afterwards by other tokens of confidence;

and I add with pleasure that I should be gratified, regarding the feeling and claims above stated, to find an opportunity at a proper time here after, should the event in contemplation occur, to add other proofs of my good opinion and respect for him.

"In the formation of the administration it appears to me that the representatives principle ought to be respected in a certain degree at least, and that the head of a department (there being four) should be taken from the four great sections of the Union, the east, the middle, the south and the west. This principle should not always be adhered to. Great emergencies and transcendent talents would always justify a departure from it. But it would produce a good effect to attend to it when practicable. Each part of the Union would be gratified by it, and the knowledge of the local details and means which would be thereby brought into the cabinet would be useful. I am nowise compromised in respect to any one, but free to act, should I have to act according to my own judgment in which I am thankful for the opinions of my friends, and practically for yours.

"On the subject of fortifications or works of the defense of the coasts and frontiers, an arrangement has lately been made by the President, with which I wish you will be acquainted. You have heretofore, I presume, been apprised that General Bernard, of the French corps of engineers, under the recommendation of General LaFayette, and many others of great distinction in France, has offered his services to the United States, and that the President has been authorized by a resolution of Congress to accept them, confining his rank to the grade of the chief of our corps. This resolution being communicated to General Bernard by the late Secretary of War, to whom he was known, he came over in compliance with the invitation which accompanied it. From Mr. Gallitin he brought letters, stating that he was the seventh in rank in the corps, and inferior to none in reputation and talents, if not the first. It required much delicacy in the arrangement to take advantage of his knowledge and experience in a manner acceptable to himself, without wounding the feelings of the Officers of our own corps, who had rendered such useful services, and were entitled to the confidence and protection of their country. The arrangement adopted will, I think accomplish fully both objects. The President has instituted a Board of Officers, to consist of five members, two of high rank in the corps, General Bernard, the engineer at each station (Young Gadsden, for example, at New Orleans, and the naval Officer commanding there, whose duty it is made to examine the whole coast and report such works as are necessary for its defense to the Chief Engineer, who shall report the same to the secretary of war, with his ranks, to be laid before the President. M'Ree and Totten are spoken of for the two first, who, with General Bernard, will continue till the service is performed, the two latter will change with the station. The General commanding each Division will be officially apprised of this en-

gagement, that he may be present when he pleases, and give such aid as he may think fit. The attention of the Board will be directed to the inland frontiers likewise. In this way it is thought that the feelings of no one can be hurt. We shall have four of our Officers in every consultation against one foreigner, so that if the opinion of the latter becomes of any essential use, it must be by convincing his colleagues when they differ that he has reason on his side. I have seen General Bernard, and find him a modest unassuming man, who preferred our country in the present state of France to any in Europe in some of which he was offered employment, and in any of which he may probably have found it. He understands that he is never to have command of the corps, but always will rank second in it. This letter, you will perceive, is highly confidential; a relation which I wish always to exist between us. Write me as you have done, without reserve, and the more so the more gratifying your communications will be.

“With great respect and sincere regard, yours,

“James Monroe.”

GENERAL JACKSON TO MR. MONROE.

“Nashville, January 6, 1817.

“Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th December last, which I have read with great interest and much satisfaction.

“Your idea of the importance of the newly acquired territory from the Indians is certainly correct, and all the importance you attach to it will be realized. The sooner these land are brought into market, the sooner a permanent security will be given to what I deem the most important, as well as the most vulnerable, part of the Union. This country once settled our fortifications of defense in the lower country completed, all Europe will cease to look at it with an eye to conquest. There is no other point, America united, that combined Europe can expect to invade with success.

“On the other subjects embraced by my letter, as well as this, I gave you my crude ideas with the candor of a friend. I am much gratified that you received them as I intended. It was the purest friendship for you individually, combined with the good of our country that dictated the liberty I took in writing to you. The importance of the Station you were about to fill to our country and yourself, the injury in reputation that the chief magistrate may sustain from the acts of a weak Minister, the various interests that will arise to recommend for office their favorite candidate, and from experience in the late war the mischief that did arise to our national character, by wickedness or weakness, induced me to give you my candid opinion on the importance of the character that should fill this office. I have made for this purpose the most extensive inquiry in my power from the most impartial sources, for the most fit character, combining virtue, honor and energy with talents, and all united in the individual named.



JAMES MONROE, 1759-1831.

Fifth President of the United States. From painting hanging in the White House. Copyright by Bureau of National Literature, Inc., New York.

"I was fully impressed with the propriety as well as with the policy you have pointed out, of taking the heads of departments from the four grand sections of the United States, where each section can afford a character of equal fitness, where that cannot be done, fitness and not locality, ought to govern, the Executive being entitled to the best talents, when combined with other necessary qualifications, that the Union can afford.

"I have read with much satisfaction that part of your letter on the rise, progress, and policy of the Federalists. It is, in my opinion, a just exposition. I am free to declare had I commanded the military department where the Hartford convention met, if it had been the last act of my life, I should have punished the three principal leaders of the party. I am certain an independant court-marshal would have condemned them, under the second section of the act establishing rules and regulations for the government of the Army of the Unites States. These kind of men, although called Federalists, are really monarchists and traitors to the constituted government. But, I am of the opinion that there are men called Federalists that are honest, virtuous, and really attached to our government and, although they differ in many respects and opinions with the Republicans, still they will risk everything in its defense. It is, therefore, a favorite adage with me that the 'tree is best known by its fruit'. Experience in the late war taught me to know that it was not those who cry patriotism the loudest who are the greatest friends to their country, or will risk most in its defense. The Senate of Rome had a Sempronius, America has hers. When therefore I see a character with manly firmness give his opinion, but when overruled by a majority protecting the eagles of his country, meeting every privation and danger for a love of country and the security of its independants rights, I care not by what name he is called; I believe him to be a true American, worthy of the confidence of his country, and of every good man. Such a character will never do an act injurious to his country. Such is the character given to me of Colonel Drayton. Believing in the recommendation, I was, and still am, confident he is well qualified to fill the office with credit to himself and benefit to his country, and to aid you in the arduous station our grateful country has called you to fill.

"Permit me to add that names, of themselves, are but bubbles, and sometimes used but for the most wicked purposes. I will name one instant. I have, once upon a time, been denounced as a Federalist. You will smile when I name the cause. When your country put up your name in opposition to Mr. M. I was one of those who gave you the preference, and for reasons that, in the event of war, which was then probable, you would steer the vessel of state with more energy, etc, etc. That Mr. M. was one of the best of men, and a great civilian, I always thought, but I always believe that the mind of a philosopher could not dwell on blood and carnage with my composure; of course that he was not well

fitted for a storm sea. I was immediately branded with the epithet Federalists, and you also. But I trust when compared with the good adage of the tree best known by its fruits, it was unjustly applied to either.

"To conclude, my dear sir. My whole letter was intended to put you on your guard against American Seproniuses, that you might exercise your own judgment in the choice of your own ministry, by which you would glide smoothly through your own administration with honor to yourself and benefit to your country. This was my motive, this is the first wish of my heart, to see you when I am in retirement endeavoring to nurse a broken debilitated constitution, administrating the government with the full approbation of all good men pursuing an undeviating course alone dictated by your own independant, matured judgment.

"Present Mrs. J. and myself respectfully to your lady, and accept for yourself our best wishes, and believe me to be your most obedient servant,

"Andrew Jackson.

"The Hon. James Monroe."

In the next letter it appears that Gen. Jackson might himself have been appointed Secretary of War, had he so desired.

Mr. Monroe to General Jackson.

"Washington, March 1st, 1817.

"Dear Sir: I wrote you a short letter lately by General Bernard, and I intended to have written you another, but had not time, indeed, so constantly have I been engaged in highly important business that I have not had a moment for my friends.

"In the course of last Summer the President offered the Department of War to Mr. Caly, who then declined it. Since it was known that the suffrages of my fellow citizens had decided in my favor, I renewed to him the offer which he again declined. My mind was immediately fixed on you though I thought whether I ought to wish to draw you from the command of the army to the south, where, in case of any emergency, no one could supply your place. At this moment our friend, Mr. Campbell, called and informed me that you wished me not to nominate you. In this case, I have resolved to nominate Gov. Shelby, though it is uncertain whether he will serve. His experience and long and meritorious services give him a claim over younger men in that state.

"I shall take a person for the Department of State from the eastward; and Mr. Adams' claims, by long service in our diplomatic concerns, appearing to entitle him to the preference supported by his knowledge, abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate. Mr. Crawford it is expected, will remain in the treasury. After, all that has been said, I have thought that I should put the administration more on national grounds by taking the Secretary of State from the eastward than from this

quarter, or the south or west. By this arrangement there can be no cause to suspect unfair combination for improper purposes. Each member will stand on his own merit, and the people will respect us all by our conduct. To each I will act impartially, and of each expect the performance of his duty. While I am here I shall make the administration first for the country and its cause, secondly, to give effect to the government of the people, through me, for the term of my appointment, not for the aggrandizement of any one.

“With great respect and sincere regards, yours,
“James Monroe.”

GENERAL JACKSON TO PRESIDENT MONROE.

“Nashville, March 18th, 1817.

“Dear Sir:

“I had the pleasure this day of receiving your letter of the 1st, instant. That by General Bernard I have not received. I learned by this day’s mail that he has reached Knoxville, and will be on in a few days.

“My friend Judge Campbell was instructed and fully authorized to make the communication to you that he did, and, I hope gave you fully my reasons for my determination and wishes on that subject.

“I have no hesitation in saying that you have made the best selection to fill the Department of State that could be made. Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction.

“No person stands higher in my estimation than . . . He is a well tried patriot, and if he accepts will, with the virtuous zeal, discharge the duties of the office as far as his abilities will enable him. I cannot disguise to you my opinion on this occasion, and I am compelled to say to you that the acquirements of this worthy man are not competent to the discharge of the multiplied duties of this department. I therefore hope he may not accept the appointment. I am fearful if he does, he will not add much splendor to his present well earned standing as a public character. Should he accept, rest assured, as long as I remain in the army it will afford me great pleasure in obeying your orders through him, and rendering his situation and duty easy and pleasant as far as circumstances will place it in my power.

“I am aware of the difficulties that surround you in the selection of your Cabinet, but the plan you have adopted of making all consideration yield to the general weal, will bring you to retirement with the salutations and applause of all the purchase, wise and good; and, you should be properly seconded by the United States. You will be enabled to place the Union in a state of security and prosperity that cannot be shaken by the convulsions of Europe. To this end you can calculate with confidence on my feeble exertions, so long as my constitution may permit me to be useful. I

have looked forward to that happy period, when, under your guidance, our government will be in the 'full tide of successful experiment'— when I would retire from public life and endeavor to regain a much enfeebled constitution. Should you be properly seconded in your views, this period will arrive as soon as the measures adopt for the defense of the frontier are carried into effect, by completeing those fortifications that have been and may be selected for its defense, by erecting founderies and armories, and organizing and classing the militia. Then we will have peace, for then we will be prepared for war, every man having a gun in his hand, all Europe combined cannot hurt us. Then all the world will be anxious to be at peace with us, because all will see we wish peace with all, but are prepared for defense against those who may attempt to infringe our national rights.

"Accept assurances of my best wishes, and believe me to be respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Hon. James Monroe.

"President of the United States."



ANDREW JACKSON.

Jackson at 48. From a painting in 1815 by John Wesley Jarvis, 1780-1839, A Nephew of John Wesley.



WILLIAM HARRIS CRAWFORD, 1772-1834.

Defeated as a candidate for President in 1824 when John Quincy Adams, Clay and Jackson were also candidates, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. United States Senator, 1807-1813; Minister to France, 1813-1815; Secretary of War August 1815 to October 1815 when he became Secretary of the Treasury and served till March 7, 1825.

CHAPTER 5.

The official proceedings of the Court Martial that condemned Arbuthnot and Ambrister to death, which finding was approved by General Jackson.

THE EXECUTION OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.

Before sunrise on April 29th., 1818, on the order of Gen. Jackson approving the finding of a Court Martial, the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister gave rise to tremendous consequences that no one foresaw at the time. The execution became a political issue of National importance and consequences flowed from it that directly and profoundly influenced the destiny of many political leaders.

On January 12th., 1819, the House of Representatives began one of the greatest debates that ever took place in either branch of Congress. This debate lasted twenty-seven days and from Henry Clay's assault on Jackson in that debate dated Jackson's bitter hatred of Clay that lasted until Old Hickory passed to the Eternal Judgment. The issue of the debate was the question:

"RESOLVED, THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES DISAPPROVES THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT AND ROBERT C. AMBRISTER."

On February 8th., 1819, the vote of the Committee of the whole of the House was taken and resulted in complete vindication of Jackson. Ayes 54, noes 90. Happily the members of the Court Martial have come down to us and we have their names, the charges and specifications against the two prisoners, the names and testimony of each witness and the defense set up by each of the two defendants.

The president of the Court Martial was Major-General Edmond P. Gaines, one of the most distinguished and accomplished officers in the American Army, and the members of the court consisted of officers of character and standing in both the regular and volunteer services. This court found both Arbuthnot and Ambrister guilty,

and Jackson, as the commanding officer, confirmed the finding. We think that students of history generally at this day, and especially those who closely study Jackson's career, will read with attention the minutes of the proceedings of the Court Martial and acquaint themselves with the exact testimony on which Jackson acted.

“TRIAL OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.

AS TRANSMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

“Minutes of the proceedings of a special court organized agreeably to the following order, viz:

“ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Fort St. Mark's, 26th April, 1818.

Headquarters, Division of the South.

“General order—The following detail will compose a special court, to convene at this post at the hour of 12 o'clock M. for the purpose of investigating the charges exhibited against A. Arbuthnot, Robert Christy Ambrister, and such others, who are similarly situated, as may be brought before it.

“The court will record all the documents and testimony in the several cases, and their opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, and what punishment, (if any) should be inflicted.

DETAIL.

Major general E. P. Gaines, president.

Col. King, 4th Infantry,

Col. Dyer, Ten. Vol.

Col. Williams, Ten. Vol.

Lt. Col. Lindsay, Cor. Ar.

Lt. Col. Gibson, Ten. Vol.

Lt. Col. Elliot, Ten. Vol.

Maj. Muhlenburg, 4th Inf.

Maj. Fanning, Cor. Ar.

Maj. Montgomery, 7th Inf.

Maj. Minton, Geo. Mili,

Capt. Vashon, 7th Inf.

Capt. Crittenden, K'y vol.

Lt. J. M. Glassel, 7th infantry, recorder.

An orderly will be detailed from Gen. Gaines' brigade, and the court will sit without regard to hours.

By order of major general Jackson,

Robert Butler, Adj. Gen.

Fort St. Marks, 26th April, 1818.

“The court convened pursuant to the foregoing order, when being duly sworn, in the presence of the prisoner, and he being asked if he had any objections to any member thereof, and replying in the negative, the following charges and specifications were read, viz:

“Charges vs. A. Arbuthnot, now in custody, and who says he is a British subject:

Charge 1st—Exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States, and her citizens, he (A. Arbuthnot) being a subject of Great Britain, with whom the United States are at peace.

"Specifications—That the said A. Arbuthnot, between the months of April and July, or sometime in June 1817, wrote a letter to the little Prince, exhorting and advising him not to comply with the treaty of fort Jackson, stating that the citizens of the United States were infringing on the treaty of Ghent, and, as he believed, without knowledge of the chief magistrate of the United States; and advising the Upper and Lower Creeks to unite and be friendly, stating that William Hambly was the cause of their disputes; also advising the little Prince to write to the governor of New Providence, who would write to his royal highness the prince regent, through whom the United States would be called to a compliance with the treaty of Ghent, and advising them not to give up their lands, under the treaty of fort Jackson, for that the American citizens would be compelled to give up to them all their lands, under the treaty of Ghent.

"Charge 2d—Acting as a spy, and aiding, abetting and comforting the enemy, supplying them with the means of war.

"Specification 1st—In writing a letter from the fort of St. Marks, dated 2d April, 1818, to his son John, at Suwany, (marked A) detailing the advance of the army under Gen. Jackson, stating their force, probable movements, and intentions, to be communicated to Bowlegs, the chief of the Suwany towns, for his government.

"Specification 2d—In writing the letters marked B, without date and C, enclosures, 27th Jan., 1818, and D, called 'a note of Indian talks,' and E, without date, applying to the British government, through governor Cameron, for munitions of war and assistance for our enemies; making false representations; and also applying to Mr. Bagot, British Ambassador, for his interference, with a statement on the back of one of the letters of munitions of war for the enemy.

"Charge 3d—Exciting the Indians to murder and destroy William Hambly and Edmund Doyle, and causing their arrest with a view to their condemnation to death, and the seizure of their property, on account of their active and zealous exertions to maintain peace between Spain, the United States and the Indians, they being citizens of the Spanish government.

"Specifications 1st—In writing the letters marked F, dated 26th August, 1817; G, dated 13th May, 1817: and H, threatening them with death, alleging against them false and infamous charges, and using every means in his power to procure their arrest. All which writings and sayings excited, and had a tendency to excite, the negroes and Indians to acts of hostility against the United States.

"By order of the court,

"J. M. Glassel, Recorder.

"To which charges and specifications the prisoner pleaded NOT GUILTY.

"The prisoner having made application for counsel, it was granted him; when the court proceeded to the examination of the evidence. John Winslett, a witness on the part of the prosecution, being duly

sworn, stated, that some time before last July the little Prince received a letter signed by Mr. Arbuthnot, advising the upper part of the nation to unite with the lower chiefs in amity; and stating the best mode for them to repossess themselves of their lands, would be to write to Him (Arbuthnot) and he would send complaints to the governor of Providence, whence it would be forwarded to his Britannic majesty, and he would have the terms of the treaty of Ghent attended to. He moreover stated his belief that the encroachment on the Indian lands were unknown to the president of the United States. The witness also identified the signature of the prisoner in a letter to his son marked A, and referred to in the first specification, in the second charge, and heretofore noted, as the same with that sent to the little Prince.

"The witness on being further interrogated, stated the language of the letter alluded to, to be, the British Government on application would cause to be restored to them their lands they held in 1811, agreeably to the terms of the treaty of Ghent.

"Question by the prisoner—Who is this little Prince? is he known by any other name?

"Ans. He is known by the name of Tustenukke Hopin, and is the second chief of the nation.

"Question by the prisoner.—Where is the letter you allude to, or in whose possession?

"Ans. It was left in possession of the Little Prince when I last saw it.

"Question by the prisoner.—Has the little Prince no other name than what you state?

"Ans. Not that I know of.

"Question by the prisoner.—Do you swear that the letter alluded to was addressed to the Little Prince?

"Ans. I do not. It was presented to me by the Little Prince to read and interpret for him, which I did.

"Question by the prisoner.—Are you certain that the letter stated that the chief magistrate of the United States could have no knowledge of settlements made on Indian lands or injuries committed?

"Ans. The letter stated that to be the belief of the writer. "John Lewis Phoenix, a witness on the part of the prosecution being duly stated with regard to the 1st specification of the 2nd charge, that being at Suwany in the town about the 6th or 7th of April, he was awakened in the morning by Mr. Ambrister's receiving, by the hands of a negro, who got it from an Indian, a letter from St. Marks at that time stated by Ambrister to be from the prisoner.

"Question by the prisoner—Did you see that letter or hear it read?

"Ans. I did see the paper, but did not hear it read.

"Question by the prisoner.—Did you state that the letter was received by an Indian express?

"Ans. So the black man that delivered it said.

"A question being raised by a member of the court as to the jurisdiction on the third charge and its specification, the doors were

closed, and, after mature delberation, they decided that this court is incompetent to take cognizance of the offenses alledged in that charge and specification.

“Peter B. Cook, a former clerk to the prisoner, and a witness on the part of the prosecution, being duly sworn, stated that about December or January last, the prisoner had a large quantity of powder and lead brought to Suwany in his vessel, which he sold to the Indians and negroes, that, subsequent to that time, when he cannot recollect, Ambrister brought for the prisoner in his (the Prisoner’s) vessel, nine kegs of powder and a large quantity of lead, which was taken possession of by the negroes. The witness also indentified to the following letters, referred to in the foregoing charges and specifications, marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H, as being the prisoner’s hand writing; also the power of attorney No. 1, granted by the Indians to A. Arbuthnot.

A.

“FROM A. ARBUTHNOT TO HIS SON, ARBUTHNOT, DATED
FORT ST. MARKS 2ND. APRIL, 1818, 9 O’CLOCK
IN THE MORNING.

“Dear John:

“As I am ill able to write a long letter, it is necessary to be brief. Before my arrival here the commandant had received an express from the governor of Pensacola, informing him of a large embarkation of troops, & C. under the immediate command of general Jackson; and the boat that brought the despatch reckoned eighteen sail of vessels off Appalachicola. By a deserter that was brought here by the Indians, the commandant was informed that 3,000 men, under the orders of General Jackson, 1000, foot and 1,600 horse, under general Gaines, 500 under another general, were at Prospect Bluff, where they are rebuilding the burnt fort; that 1,000 Indians, of different nations, were at Spanish Bluff, building another fort, under the direction of American officers; that so soon as these forts were built they intended to march. They have commenced. Yesterday morning advice was received that they had appeared near — and taken two of the sons of M’Queen, and an Indian. Late in the afternoon, three schooners came to anchor at the mouth of the river, and this morning the American flag is seen flying on the largest.

“I am blocked here; no Indians will come with me, and I am now suffering from the fatigue of coming here alone.

“The main drift of the Americans is to destroy the black population of Suwany. Tell my friend Boleck, that it is throwing away his people, to attempt to resist such a powerful force as will be drawn on Sahwahnee; and as the troops advance by land, so will the vessels by sea. Endeavor to get all the goods over the river in a place of security, as also the skins of all sorts; the corn must be left to its fate. So soon as the Sahwahnee is destroyed, I expect the Americans will be satisfied and retire: this is only my opinion, but I think it is conformable to the demand made by

Gen. Gaines to king Hatchy some months since: in fact, do all you can to save all you can save, the books particularly. It is probable the commandant will receive some communication from the vessels to day, when he will know more certainly what are their motives in coming off the fort. I think it is only to shut up the passage of the Indians. Twenty canoes went down yesterday, and were forced to return. The road between this and Mick-asucky is said to be stopped, Hillisajo and Himathlo Mico were here last night, to hear what vessels: they will remove all their cattle and effects across St. Marks river this morning, and perhaps wait near thereto for the event.

"I have been as brief as I can to give you the substance of what appears facts, that cannot be doubted, to enter into details in the present moment is useless. If the schooner is returned, get all the goods on board of her, and let her start off for Mounater Creek, in the bottom of Cedar Key bay. You will there only have the skins to hide away. But no delay must take place, as the vessels will, no doubt, follow the land army, and perhaps, even now some have gone round. I pray your strictest attention, for the more that is saved will be, eventually, more to your interest. Let the bearer have as much calico as will make him two shirts, for his trouble: he has promised to deliver this in three, but I give him four days.

I am yours, affectionately,

"A. Arbuthnot."

B.

"FROM A. ARBUTHNOT TO CHAS. CAMERON, GOV. BAHAMAS.

"Sir:

"Being empowered by the chiefs of the Lower Creek nation to represent the state of their nation to your excellency, that you may be pleased to forward the same for the information of his majesty's government, to whom alone they look for protection against the aggressions and encroachments of the Americans, I beg leave to submit to your excellency the enclosed representations, humbly praying that your excellency will be pleased to take an early opportunity of forwarding the same to Great Britian.

"I am instructed by Bowleck, chief of the Sahwahnee, to make the demand herein enclosed, he never having had any share of the presents distributed at prospect Bluff, though he rendered equally essential services as any of the other Chiefs to the British cause, while at war with America, and was at New Orleans with a part of his warriors. His frontiers being more exposed to the predatory incursions of the back Georgians, who enter his territory and drive off his cattle, he is obliged to have large parties out, to watch their motions and prevent their plundering. And, being now deficient of ammunition, he prays your excellency will grant his small demand humbly submitting the same.

"I have the honor to be your excellency's most humble servant.

"A. A."

“THE HUMBLE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CHIEFS OF THE
CREEK NATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR CAMERON.

“First, we beg leave to represent, that Edmund Doyle and Wm. Hambly, lately clerks, at Prospect Bluff, to Messrs. Forbes &c., and who still reside on the Appalachicola River, we consider as the principal cause of our present troubles and uneasiness. Hambly was the instrumental cause of the Fort at Prospect Bluff being destroyed by the Americans, by which we lost the supplies intended for our future wars. Since then, both these men have kept their emissaries among us, tending to harass and disturb our repose, and that of our brethren of the middle and upper nation; they spread among us reports that the Cowetas, aided by the Americans, are descending to drive us off our land; they equally propagate false.”

C.

“FROM A. ARBUTHNOT TO BENJ. MOODIE, ESQ., ENCLOSING LET-
TO CHARLES BAGGOT, ESQ., BRITISH MINISTER AT WASH-
INGTON. SAHWAHNEE, IN THE CREEK NATION,
27TH. OF JANUARY, 1818.

“Sir:

“The enclosed, containing matter of serious moment, and demanding the immediate attention of his excellency the British Ambassador, I trust he will, for this time forgive the trifling expense of postage, which I have endeavored to prevent as much as possible by compressing much matter in one sheet of paper. Should you sir, be put to any trouble or expense by this trouble I give you by being made acquainted with the same, I will instruct Bain, Dun-see and Co. to order payment of the same. I have the honor to be sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“A. Arbuthnot.

“FROM A. ARBUTHNOT TO THE HON. CHARLES BAGGOT.

“Sir:

“It is with pain I again obtrude myself upon your excellency's notice, but the pressing solicitations of the Chiefs of the Creek Nation, and the deplorable situation in which they are placed by the wanton aggressions of the Americans, I trust, your excellency will take as a sufficient apology for the present intrusion.

“In August last the head chief of the Seminole Indians received a letter from Gen. Gaines, of which I have taken the liberty of annexing your excellency the contents, as delivered me by the Chief's head English interpreter, with King Hahhy's reply thereto.

“This letter appears to have been intended to sound the disposition of the chief and ascertain the force necessary to overrun the nation; for from then until the actual attack was made on Fowl Town, the same general with Gen. Jackson, seemed to have been collecting troops and settling in various quarters.

“If your excellency desires to have further information respecting the situation of this country and its inhabitants I can

from time to time, inform your excellency of such facts and circumstances as are stated to me by Chiefs of known veracity, or which may come under my own observation; and your excellency's order addressed to me at New Providence will either find me there or be forwarded me to this country.

"With great respect I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,
"A. A.

"THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM WAS ON THE BACK OF THE FOREGOING LETTER

King Hahhy 1,000, Boleck, 1,500, Oso Hatjo Choctawhachy 500, Himashy Miso Chattchichy 600, at present with Hillisajo. At present under arms, 1,000 and more; and attacking those Americans who have made inroads on their territory.

"A quantity of gun powder, lead, muskets and flints, sufficient to arm 1,000 or 2,000 men; muskets 1,000, arms smaller if possible; 10,000 flints, a proportion for rifle put up separate; 50 casks gun powder, a proportion for Rifle; 2,000 knives, 6 to 9 inch blade good, quality; 1000 Tomahawks; 100 pounds vermilion; 2000 pounds lead, independent of ball for muskets.

"(Signed) King Hahhy.

"(Signed) Boleck.

"FROM GENERAL GAINES TO THE SEMINOLY CHIEF:

"To the Seminoly chief:

"Your Seminoly's are very bad people; I don't say whom. You have murdered many of my people, and stolen my cattle and many good horses that cost me money; and many good houses, that cost me money, you have burnt for me; and now that you see my writing you will think I have spoken right. I know it is so; you know it is so; for now you may say, I will go upon you at random; but just give me the murders, and I will shew them my law and when that is finished and passed, if you will come about any of my people, you will see your friends, and if you see me you will see your friend, but there is something out in the Sea, a bird with a forked tongue; whip him back before he lands for he will be the ruin of you yet. Perhaps you do not know who or what I mean—I mean the name of English men.

"I tell you this, that if you do not give me up the murderers, who have murdered my people, I say I have got good strong warriors, with scalping knives and Tomahawks you harbour a great many of my black people among you, at Sahwahnee. If you give me leave to go by you against them, I shall not hurt anything belonging to you.
"General Gaines.

"FROM KING HATCHY TO GENERAL GAINES, IN ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING:

"To General Gaines: You charge me with killing your people, stealing your cattle and burning your houses. It is I that have

cause to complain of the Americans. While one American has been justly killed while in the act of stealing cattle more than four indians have been murdered while hunting by these lawless freebooters. I harbour no negroes. When the Englishmen were at war with America, some took shelter among them, and it is for you white people to settle these things among yourselves and not trouble us with what we know nothing about. I shall use force to stop any armed Americans from passing my Towns or my lands.

D.

"NOTE OF INDIAN TALKS.

"In August, Capp had a letter from Gen. Gaines, in substance as annexed, No. 1, and returned the answer as by No. 2. Nothing further was said on either side. The end of October, a party of Americans from a fort on Flint River, surrounded Fowl Town during the night and began burning it.

"The Indians then in it fled to the swamps, and in their flight had three persons killed by fire from the Americans; they rallied their people, and forced the Americans to retire some distance but not before they had two more persons killed, the Americans built a block-house or Fort where they had fallen back to and immediately sent to the Fort up the county for assistance, stating the Indians were the aggressors; and also settled with Tohemock for the loss his people had suffered, at the same time sending a talk to King Hatchy, by a head man (Aping) that he would put things in such a train as to prevent further encroachments and get those Americans to leave the fort. But no sooner was the good talk given and before the bearer returned home, then hundreds of Americans came pouring down on the Indians; roused them to a sense of their own danger, they flew to arms, and have been compelled to support them ever since. It is not alone from the country but by vessels entering Appalachicola River in Vessels with troops, and settlers are pouring into the Indian territory; and, if permitted to continue, will soon over run the whole of the Indian lands. From the talk sent King Hatchy by Gov. Mitchell, I am in hopes that those aggressions of the Americans on the Indian Territory are not countenanced by the American government, but originate with men devoid of principle, who set laws and instructions at defiance and stick at no oppressions to obtain their ends. Against such oppressions the American government must use not only all their influence, but if necessary, force, or their names will be handed down to posterity as a nation more cruel and savage to the unfortunate Aboriginies of this country than ever were the Spaniards in more dark ages, to the nations of South America.

"The English government as the special protectors of the Indian nations, and on whom alone they rely for assistance, ought to step forward and save those unfortunate people from ruin; and as you, sir, are appointed to watch over their interests it is

my duty, as an Englishman, and the only one in this part of the Indian Nation, to instruct you of the talks the chiefs bring me for your information, and I sincerely trust, sir, you will use the powers you are vested with for the service and protection of those unfortunate people who look up to you as their savior. I have written to General Mitchell, who, I hear, is an excellent man; and, as he acts as Indian Agent I hope his influence will stop the torrent of innovations, and give peace and quietness to the Creek Nation.

"I pray your excellency will pardon this intrusion, which nothing but the urgency of the case would have induced me to make.

"I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient servant.

"A. A.

"EXTRACT OF LETTER F

"FROM A. ARBUTHNOT TO COL. NICHOLL.

"Nassau, N. P. 26th. Aug. 1817.

"Lt. Col. Edward Nicholl:

"Sir:

"Especially authorized by the chiefs of the lower Creek Nation, whose names I affixed to the present, I am desired to address you that you may lay their complaints before his majesty's government. They desire it to be made known, that they have explicitly followed your advice. They complain of the English government neglecting them, after having drawn them into a war with America; that you, sir, have not kept your promise, in sending people among them, and that, if they have not persons resident in the nation to watch over their interest they will soon be driven to the extremity of the peninsula. I am desired to return Hillisajo's warmest acknowledgments for the very handsome manner you treated him in England, and he begs his prayer may be laid at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. I left him and all his family well on the 20th June. Old Cappachimicco desires me to send his best respects, and requests that you will send over some people to live among them, and all the land they took from Forbs shall be theirs. At all events they must have an agent among them. The powers given me and the instructions were to memorialize his Majesty's government, as well as the Governor General of the Havanna; but if you will be pleased to lay this letter before his Majesty's Secretary of State, it will save the necessity of the first, and I fear that a memorial to the Governor General would be of no use.

"Referring you to the answer, I am, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"A. Arbuthnot.

"No. 1.

"POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM INDIAN CHIEFS TO A. ARBUTHNOT.

"Know all men by these presents, that we chiefs of the Creek nation, whose names are affixed to this power, having full faith and

confidence in A. Arbuthnot, of New-Providence, who, knowing all of our talks, is fully acquainted with our intentions and wishes, do hereby, by these presents, constitute and appoint him, the said Alexander Arbuthnot, our attorney and agent, with full power and authority to act for us, and in our names, in all affairs relating to our nation, and also to write such letters and papers as to him may appear necessary and proper, for our benefit, and that of the Creek nation.

"Given at Ocklocknee sound, in the Creek nation, this 17th. day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

1. Cappachimaco, his X mark.
2. Inlemohtlo, his X mark.
3. Charles Tuckonoky, his X mark.
4. Otus Mico, his X mark.
5. Ochacone Tustonoky, his X mark.
6. Imatchlucle, his X mark.
7. Inhimatchucle, his X mark.
8. Lohoe Itamatchly, his X mark.
9. Howrathle, his X mark.
10. Hillisajo, his X mark.
11. Tamuches Haho, his X mark.
12. Oparthlomico, his X mark.

"Certified explanation of names and towns to which the foregoing chiefs belong, agreeably to the numbers set opposite thereto.

"Wm. Hambly.

1. Kinhigee, chief of Mickasuky.
2. Inhimarthlo, chief of Fowl Town.
3. Charle Tustonoky, second chief of Ockmulgee Town
4. Chief on the Conholoway, below Fort Gaines.
5. Opony chief of Oakmulgee Town.
6. Chief of the Atlapalgas.
7. Chief of Pallatchucoley.
8. Chief of the Chehaws.
9. Chief of the Red Sticks.
10. Francis (the Prophet).
11. Peter M'Queen, chief of the Tallahasses (an old Red Stock.)
12. A Red Stick, created chief by the lower towns.

"*Questions by the Court:* Have you at any time within the last twelve months, heard any conversation between the prisoner and the chief called Bowlegs, relating to the war between the United State and the Seminoles?

Ans. I heard the prisoner tell Bowlegs that he had sent letters to the Prince Regent, and expected soon to have an answer. Sometime afterwards, some of the negroes doubted his carrying those letters, when the prisoner stated that he had, but, the distance being great, it would take some time to receive an answer.

"*By the Court.* State to the Court, when and where you first saw the letter signed A. Arbuthnot, dated April 2nd., 1818, referred to in the first specification and the second charge.

"Ans. About the 6th of April, a black man who said he had received it from an Indian, gave it to Mr. Ambrister, whom I saw reading it.

"Question by the Court: Do you know by what means that letter was conveyed to Suwany?

"Ans. I understood by an Indian who was sent from Fort St. Marks.

"*Question by the Court.* Who paid the Indian for carrying the letter referred to in the last interrogatory?

"Ans. I do not know.

"Question by the Court: What steps were taken by the negroes and Indians on the receipt of the letter?

"Ans. They first believed the bearer to be an enemy, and confined him, but, learning the contrary, began to prepare for the enemy, and the removal of their families and effects across the river; the Indians lived on the opposite side.

"Question by the Court: Did the Indians and negroes act together in the performance of military duty?

"Ans. No. But they always said they would fight together.

"Question by the Court: Did not Nero command the black and did not Bowlegs own Nero, and was not the latter under the immediate command of Bowlegs?

"Ans. Nero commanded the blacks, and was owned and commanded by Bowlegs—But there was some negro captains who obeyed none but Nero.

"Question by the Court: What vessel brought to Suwany the ammunition which you said was sold by the prisoner to the Indians and negroes?

"Ans. The schooner Chance, now lying at this wharf; she is a foretopsail vessel belonging to the prisoner.

"The witness also indentified to the manuscript of the prisoner on the following documents, viz: No. 1, granting him full power to act in all cases for the Indians, as recorded before; and also a letter without signature, to the Governor of St. Augustine, numbered 2; and further, a letter without date, to Mr. Mitchell, the Indian agent, numbered 3; and an unsigned petition of the chiefs of the Lower Creek Nation, to governor Cameron, praying his aid in men and munitions of war, numbered 4; all of which the witness stated to be in the handwriting of the prisoner.

"EXTRACT OF PETITION NO. 4.

"PETITION OF THE CHIEFS OF THE LOWER CREEK NATION, TO GOVERNOR CAMERON.

"We, the undersigned, deputed by the Creek nation to wait on your Excellency, and lay before you their heavy complaints. To the English, we have always looked up to as friend, as pro-

tectors, and on them we now call to aid us in repelling the approaching of the Americans. When peace was made between the English and the Americans, we were told by Lieut. Col. Nicholls, that the Americans were to give up all our land they had taken from us. Col. Nicholls left Mr. Hambly in charge of the Fort at Prospect Bluff; with orders to hear us, if any cause of complaint, and present the same to the British government; but he turned traitor, and brought the Americans down on the fort, which was blown up, and many of our red brethren destroyed in it. We are therefore deputed to demand of your Excellency the assistance of troops and ammunition that we may be able effectually to repel the attacks of the Americans, and prevent their further encroachments; and if we return without assistance, the Americans, who have their spies among us, will the more quickly come upon us. We most humbly pray your excellency will send us such a force as will be respected, and make us respectable.

“(The following endorsed on the foregoing):

“Charles Cameron, Esquire, Governor, Commander in Chief, &c, &c:

“I beg leave to represent to your excellency the necessity of my again returning to the Indian Nation, with the deputies from the Chiefs, and as my trouble and expense can only be defrayed by permission to take goods to dispose of amongst them, I pray your Excellency will be pleased to grant me such a letter or license, as will prevent me from being captured in case of meeting any Spanish cruiser on the coast of Florida.

“The Court adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock.

“Fort St. Marks, 28th April, 1818.

“The Court convened pursuant to adjournment. Present: Major General E. P. Gaines, President.

Members.

Col. King,	Colonel Dyer,
Col. Williams,	Lt. Col. Lindsey,
Lt. Col. Gibson,	Lt. Col. Elliott,
Major Muhlenburg,	Major Fanning,
Major Montgomery,	Major Minton,
Captain Vashon,	Captain Crittenden,

Lt. J. M. Glassell, Recorder.

“Then the further examination of the witness, Peter B. Cook, took place, viz:

“Question by the Prisoner:—How long have you been acquainted with the settlements on the sahwahnee?

“Ans. Between six and seven months.

“Question by the P. For what term of years did you engage to live with the prisoner?

“Ans. For no stated period--I was taken by the year.

“Ques. by the P. Were you not discharged by the prisoner from his employ?

"Ans. He told me he had no further use for me after I had written the letters to Providence.

"Ques. Where did you stay after you were discharged?

"Ans. I staid in a small house belonging to a boy called St. John, under the protection of Nero.

"Question. What was the subject matter of the letters you wrote to Providence?

"Ans. After being accused by the Prisoner a small venture to Providence, I wrote my friend for the means to trade by myself.

"Question by the prisoner: Do you believe the prisoner had knowledge of the ventures being on board the schooner?

"Ans. I don't believe he did. It was small and in my trunk.

"Ques. by the P. Do you know that Ambrister was the agent of the prisoner?

"Ans. I do not.

"Question. Do you think that the powder and the lead shipped would more than supply the Indians and negro hunters?

"Ans. I did not see the powder and lead myself, but was told by Bowlegs that he had a great quantity he had there keeping to fight with.

"Ques. Did the Indians reside on the east side of the river?

"Ans. They did.

"Ques. You were asked if the negroes and the Indians, when the letter marked 'A' was communicated, did not take up arms; had they received information of the defeat of the Indians at Mickasuky prior to that time?

"Ans. It was afterwards, I believe, they received the information.

"Ques. Did not Bowlegs keep other powder than that gotten from the prisoner?

"Ans. He had some he got from the Bluff which was nearly done; he said his hunters were always bothering him about powder.

"Ques. Did you state that at the time Ambrister ascended the river there was no other vessel at the mouth of the river?

"Ans. There was none other there; there was one had sailed.

"Ques. There is a letter A spoken of; how do you know that the son of the prisoner had that letter in his possession?

"Ans. I saw him with it, which he dropped, and a boy, called John, picked up and gave it to me.

"Ques. You stated that the Indians and negroes doubted fidelity of the prisoner in sending letters to the prince regent—do you think the prisoner would have been punished by them, had he not complied with their wishes?

"Ans. I do not know.

"Ques. Do you believe the prisoner was compelled to write the Indian communications?

"Ans. He was not compelled.

"Continuation of the minutes of the proceedings of a special Court whereof major general Gaines is president, convened by order of the 26th of April, 1818.

"Fort St. Marks, 27th April, 1818.

“The Court proceeded with the trial of Robert C. Ambrister, a British subject, who, being asked if he had any objection to any one of the members of the Court, and replying in the negative, was arraigned on the following charges and specifications, viz:

“Charges against Robert C. Ambrister, now in custody, who says he is a British subject.

“Charged first. Aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, supplying them with the means of war, he being a subject of great Britian, at peace with the United States, and lately an officer in the British Colonial marines.

“Specification 1st. That the said Robert C. Ambrister did give intelligence of the movements and operations of the American army between the first and twentieth of March, 1818, and did excite them (the negroes and Indians) to war against the army of the United States, by sending their warriors to meet and fight the American army—whose government was at peace and friendship with the United States, and all her citizens.

“Charged second. Leading and commanding the Lower Creeks in carrying on a war against the United States.

“Specification 1st. That the said Robert C. Ambrister, a subject of Great Britian, which government was at peace and amity with the United States and all her citizens, did, between the first of February and twentieth of March, 1818, levy war against the United States, by assuming command of the Indians in hostility and open war with the United States, and ordering a party of them to meet the army of the United States and give them battle as will appear by his letters to Governor Cameron of New Providence, dated 20th March, 1818, which was marked A, B, C and D, and the testimony of Mr. Peter B. Cook, and Captain Lewis, of the Schooner Chance.

By order of the court,

J. M. Glassell, Recorder.

“To which charges and specifications, pleaded as follows, viz:

“To the first charge and specification—Not guilty.

“To the second charge and specification—Guilty and justification.

“The Court adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at seven o'clock.

Fort St. Marks, 28th April, 1818.

“The Court met pursuant to adjournment. Present:

Major General Gaines, president.

Members.

Col. King,

Col. Williams,

Lt. Col. Gibson,

Major Muhlenberg,

Major Montgomery,

Captain Vashon,

Colonel Dyer,

Lt. Col. Lindsey,

Lt. Col. Elliott,

Major Fanning,

Major Minton,

Captain Crittenden,

Lt. Col. J. M. Glassell, Recorder,

"The Recorder then read to the court the following order, viz:

"HEADQUARTERS DIVISION OF THE SOUTH, ADJ. GEN.'S OFFICE,

"St. Marks, 28th April, 1818.

"General Order.—Captain Allison, of the 7th Infantry, is detailed to form a supernumerary member of the special court now sitting at Fort St. Marks.

"By order

"Robert Butler, Adj. Gen.

"Pursuant to the above order, the supernumerary member took his seat.

"John Lewis Phoenix, a witness on the part of the prosecution, being duly sworn, stated that, about the 5th or 6th of April, 1818, his vessel and himself having been captured by the prisoner, and he brought to Suwany as a prisoner, there was alarm among the negroes and Indians, created by learning some news from Mickasuky, at which time the present appeared active in sending orders and sending detachment to meet the American army. The witness also stated that the prisoner appeared to be a person vested with authority among the negro leader, and gave orders for their preparation for war, providing ammunition, etc. And that the leader came to him for orders. The prisoner furnished them with powder and lead and recommended to them the making of balls, sign & c. very quickly. The witness also stated that the prisoner occasionally dressed in uniform, with his sword; and that, on the first alarm, which he understood was from Mickasuky, by a negro woman, he put on the uniform.

"The witness further stated that, sometime about the 20th of March, 1818, the prisoner, with an armed body of negroes, (24 in number) came on board his vessel and ordered him to pilot them to Fort St Marks, which, he stated, he intended to capture before the Americans could get there—threatened to hang the witness if he did not obey.

"Question by the Court; Did you ever understand by whose authority, and for what purpose the accused came into the country?

"Ans. I have frequently heard him say, he came to attend to Mr. Woodbine's business at the Bay of Tamper.

"Question by the prisoner: Did I not tell you, when I came on board the schooner Chance, I wished you would pilot me to St. Marks, as I was informed that two Americans by the names of Hambly and Doyle, were confined there and wished to have them released from their confinement?

"Ans. You stated you wanted to get Hambly and Doyle from St. Marks. I do not know what were your intentions in so doing.

"Ques. Did I not tell you that I expected the Indians would fire upon me when arriving at St. Marks.?

"Ans. You did not; you stated that you intended to take the fort, in the night by surprise.

“Ques. Did you see me give ammunition to the negroes and Indians; and, if so, how much, and at what time?”

“Ans. I saw you give powder and lead to the negroes when you came on board and advised them to make balls; and I saw you give liquor and paint to the Indians.

“Ques. Have you not often heard me say, between the 1st and 20th of April, that I would not have anything to do with the negroes and Indians in exciting them to war with the United States?”

“Ans. About the 15th of April, I heard you say that you would not have anything to do with the negroes and Indians; I heard nothing about exciting them to war.

“Ques. Can you read writing?”

“Ans. Not English writing.

“Ques. Did you not hear me say when arriving at Suwany, that I wished to be off immediately for Providence?”

“Ans. I did not; after the alarm, you said you wished to be off for Tamper.

“Ques. Did you not say to the accused you wished to visit Mr. Arthur Arbuthnot, at his store on Suwany, and get provisions yourself?”

“Ans. I did not; I stated I wanted to visit him.

“Ques. Did I send or command any Indians to go and fight the Americans?”

“Ans. I did not exactly know that you sent them; the Indians and negroes were crowded before your door and you were dividing the paint &c. among them; and I understood a party was going to march.

“Ques. Did I not give up the schooner to you in charge, as captain?”

“Ans. After our return from Suwany Town, you directed me to take charge of her to go to Tamper.

“John I Arbuthnot, a witness on the part of the prosecution, being duly sworn, stated that some time about the 23rd. of March, the prisoner came with a body of negroes, partly armed, to his father's store on Suwany river, and told the witness he had come to do justice to the country, by taking the goods and distributing them among the negroes and Indians which the witness saw the prisoner do; and that the prisoner stated to him, that he had come to the Country on Woodbine's business, to see the negroes righted. The witness has further known the prisoner to give orders to the the negroes, and that, at his suggestion, a party was sent from Suwany to meet the Americans, to give them battle—which party returned on meeting the Mickasuky Indians in their flight. The witness also testified to the following letter, marked 'A', and referred to in the specification of the second charge, as the writing of the prisoner.

A.

"ROBERT C. AMBRISTER TO GOVERNOR CAMERON.

"Sahwahnee, near St. Marks Fort,
"March 20th, 1818.

"Sir—I am requested particularly by all our Indian Chiefs, to acquaint your excellency, that the Americans have commenced hostilities with them two yerrs ago, and have advanced some considerable distance in this country, and are now making daily progress. They say they sent a number of letters to your excellency, but have never received one answer, which makes them believe that he never delivered them; and will oblige them much if you will let me know whether he did or not. The purport of the letters were, begging your excellency to be kind enough to send them down some gun powder, musket balls, lead, cannon, & c. as they are now completely out of those articles. The Americans may march through the whole territory in one month and without arms, & c. they must surrender. Hillis Hajo, or Francis, the Indian Chief, the one that was in England, tells me to let your excellency know that the prince regent told him that, whenever he wanted ammunition, your excellency would supply him with as much as he wanted. They begged me to press upon your excellency's mind to send the above mentioned articles down by the vessel that brings this to you, as she will sail for this place immediately—and let the prince regent know of their situation. Any letters that your excellency may send down, be good enough to direct to me, as they have great dependance in my writing. Any news that your excellency may have respecting them and America will be doing a great favor to let me know, that I may send among them. There is now a very large body of Americans and Indians, who I expect will attack us every day, and God only knows how it will be decided. But I must only say, this will be the last effort with us. There has been a body of Indians gone to meet them and I have sent another party. I hope your excellency will be pleased to grant the favor they request.

"I have nothing further to add, but am, sir, with due respect, your obedient, humble servant,

"Robert C. Ambrister.

"Ques. By the Prisoner: Did you hear me say that I came on Woodbine's business?

"Ans. I did.

"Question by the Prisoner. Were not the negroes alluded to at Arbuthnot's store before I arrived?

"Ans. No, you came with them.

"Peter B. Cook, a witness on the part of the prosecution, being duly sworn, stated, that he never heard the prisoner give any orders to negroes or Indians; that the prisoner distributed Arbuthnot's goods, and also, paint to the negroes and Indians.

"Also, that some powder was brought from the vessel to Suwany by the prisoner, and distributed among the negroes by

Nero. Sometime in March, the prisoner took Arbuthnot's schooner, and with an armed party of negroes, 24 in number, set out for St. Marks, for the purpose of taking Arbuthnot's goods at that place, and stated that he would compell the commandant to deliver them up. On hearing of the approach of the American army the prisoner told the negroes it was useless to run, for if they ran any farther they would be driven into the sea.

"The prisoner told the witness that he had been a lieutenant in the British army, under Col. Nicholls. The Prisoner was sent by Woodbine to Tamper to see about those negroes he had left there. The prisoner told the witness that he had written a letter to Governor Cameron for ammunition for the Indians some time in March, and also told the witness that he had a commission in the patriot army, under McGregor, and that he had expected a captaincy. The witness testified to the letters, marked A, B, C, and D, and referred to in the specification in the second charge, were in the handwriting of the prisoner and one marked E.

D

"FROM ROBERT C. AMBRISTER TO GOVERNOR CAMERON, &c.

"Suhwahnee, 20th March, 1818.
Near Fort St. Marks.

"Sir—I am requested by Francis and all the Indian chiefs to acquaint your excellency, that they are at war with the Americans, and have been sometime back. That they are in great distress for want of ammunition, balls, arms, &c. and have wrote by Mr. Arbuthnot, several times, but they suppose he never delivered them to your excellency. You will oblige tham much to let them know whether he did or not.

"I expect the Americans and Indians will attack us daily. I have sent a part of men to oppose them. They beg on me to press on your excellency's mind to lay the situation of the country before the prince regent and ask for assistance.

"All news respecting them, your excellency will do a favor to let us know by the first opportunity, that I may make them acquainted. I have given directions to the captain to let your excellency know when the vessel will sail for this place. I hope your excellency will be pleased to send them the ammunition. I expect, if they do not procure some very shortly, that the Americans will march through the country.

"I have nothing further to add.

"I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"Robert C. Ambrister.

E

"FROM ROBERT C. ANBRISTER TO PETER B. COOK.

"Mouth of the River.

"Dr. Cook: The boat arrived here about three o'clock on Thursday. The wind has been ahead ever since; I have been down.

The rudder of the vessel is in a bad codition; but I will manage to have it done tonight. The wind, I am in hopes, will be fair in the morning, when I will get under weigh, and make all possible dispatch. I will make old Lewis pilot me safe. If those Indians dont conduct themselves, straight, I will use rigorous means with them. Beware of Mr. Jerry; I found him on board when I came. Keep a good look out. I have sent two kegs of powder and bar of lead.

“Yours &c.

“R. A.

“TUESDAY 3 O’CLOCK.

“Ques. by the Prisoner: Did you not frequently hear me say that I would have nothing to do with the Indians in exciting them to war with the United States?

“Ans. I do not recollect.

“Question by the prisoner. Are you acquainted with Lewis Phenix, and have you not heard him express ill will against me, in consequence of my wishing him to pilot me to St. Marks?

“Ans. I never did.

“Ques. Do you know of my sending troops at any time to fight against the United States; and I have not been constantly with you, so that you would have had an opportunity, of knowing if there had been any sent by me?

“Ans. I have not: they might have sent them without my knowledge.

“Jacob Harrison, a witness on the part of the prosecution being duly sworn, that some time in the latter end of March, or first of April, the prisoner took possession of the Schooner Chance, with an armed party of negroes, and stated his intentions of taking St. Marks. On his way thither, going ashore, he learned from some Indians that Arbuthnot had gone to St. Marks, which induced him to return. The witness also stated that, while the prisoner was on board, he had complete command of the negroes, who considered him as their captain. The prisoner took the cargo of the vessel up towards Suwany, which consisted of, with other articles, nine kegs of powder and 500 pounds of lead.

“The evidence on both sides closed, the prisoner was allowed until 5 o’clock this evening to make his defense.

“The time allowed the prisoner for the preparation of his defence having expired, he was brought before the court, and made the defence marked M, which is attached to these proceedings.

“The court was then cleared, and the proceedings read over by the recorder, when, after due deliberation on the testimony brought forward, the court find the prisoner, Robert C. Ambrister, guilty of so much of the specification to the first charge, as follows, viz: “and did excite to war with the United States; by sending their warriors to meet and fight the American army, he being a subject of Great Britian, which government was at peace and friendship with the United States, and all her citizens but not guilty of the

other part of the specification, guilty of the specification of the second charge, and guilty of the second charge; and do, therefore, sentence the prisoner, Robert C. Ambrister, to suffer death, by being shot, two-thirds of the court concurring therein.

“One of the members of the court requesting a reconsideration of his vote on the sentence, the sense of the court was taken thereon, and decided in the affirmative, when the vote was again taken, and the court sentence the prisoner to receive fifty stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain to hard labour for twelve calendar months.

“The court adjourned, sine die.

“Edmund P. Gaines.

Major-General by brevet, President of the Court.

“J. M. Glassell, Recorder.

“DEFENCE M.

Fort St. Marks, April 28th, 1818.

“United States of America,

vs.

Robert Christy Ambrister,

“Who being arraigned before a special Court Martial, upon the following charges towit:

“First. Aiding, abetting, and comforting (the Indians), supplying them with the means of war, he being a subject of Great Britian at peace with the United States, and lately an officer in the British colonial marines.

“Charge 2nd. Leading and commanding the Lower Creek Indians in carrying on war against the United States.

“To the first charge the prisoner at the bar pleads not guilty, and, as to the second charge, he pleads guilty, and justification. The prisoner at the bar feels grateful to this honorable court for their goodness in giving him sufficient time to deliberate, and arrange his defense on the above charges.

“The prisoner at the bar, here avails himself of the opportunity of stating to this court, that, inasmuch as the testimony which was introduced in this case, was very explicit, and went to every point the prisoner could wish, he has nothing further to offer in his defense, but puts himself upon the mercy of the honourable court.

“Robert C. Ambrister.

“HEADQUARTERS, DIVISION OF THE SOUTH, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Camp 4 miles north of St. Mark's, April 29th, 1818.

“GENERAL ORDER.

“At a special court martial, commenced on the 26th inst. at St. Marks, and continued until the night of the 28th, of which brevet Major-General E. P. Gaines is President, was tried A. Arbuthnot, on the following charges and specifications, viz:

“Charge 1st. Exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States and her citizens, he, A. Arbuthnot, being a subject of Great-Britian, with whom the United States are at peace.

“Charge 2d. Acting as a spy; aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war.

“Charge 3d. Exciting the Indians to murder and destroy William Hambly and Edmund Doyle, confiscate their property, and causing their arrest, with a view to their condemnation to death, and the seizure of their property, they being citizens of Spain, on account of their active and zealous exertions to maintain peace between Spain, the United States and the Indians.

“To which charges the prisoner pleaded not guilty.

“The Court, after mature deliberation on the evidence adduced, find the prisoner A. Arbuthnot, guilty of the first charge and guilty of the second charge, leaving out the words ‘acting as a spy.’ and, after mature reflection, sentence him, A. Arbuthnot, to be suspended by the neck, until he is dead.

Was also tried, Robert C. Ambrister, on the following charges, viz:

“Charge 1st. Aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war, he being a subject of Great-Britian, who are at peace with the United States, and late an officer in the British colonial marines.

“Charge 2nd. Leading and commanding the lower Creek Indians in carrying on a war against the United States.

“To which charges the prisoner pleaded as follows: to the 1st charge, not guilty; to the 2nd. charge, guilty, and justification.

“The court, on examination of evidence, and on mature deliberation, find the prisoner, Robert C. Ambrister, guilty of the 1st. and 2nd. charges; and do, therefore, sentence him to suffer death, by being shot. The members requesting a reconsideration of the vote on this sentence, and it being had, they sentence the prisoner to receive fifty stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain, to hard labour, for twelve calender months.

“The Commanding General approves the finding and sentence of the court in the case of A. Arbuthnot, and approves the finding and first sentence of the court in the case of Robert C. Ambrister, and disapproves the re-consideration of the sentence of the honourable court in this case.

“It appears, from the evidence and pleadings of the prisoner, that he did lead and command within the territory of Spain (being a subject of Great-Britian) the Indians in war against the United States, those nations being at peace. It is an established principle of the laws of nations, that any individual of a nation making war against the citizens against any other nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance and becomes an outlaw and pirate. This is the case of Robert C. Ambrister, clearly shown by the evidence aduced.

“The Commanding General orders that brevet Major A. C. W. Fanning, of the corp of artillery, will have, between the hours of

8 and 9 o'clock A.M., A. Arbuthnot suspended by the neck with rope until he is dead, and Robert C. Ambrister to be shot to death, agreeable to the sentence of the Court.

"John James Arbuthnot, will be furnished with a passage to Pensacola, by the first vessel.

"The Special Court, of which brevet Major-General E. P. Gaines is President, is dissolved.

"By order of Major-General Jackson.

"Robert Butler, Adjutant-General."

CHAPTER 6.

John Howard Payne, Author of "Home Sweet Home", made a prisoner by the Georgia State Guard; extracts from his communication in Knoxville Register on his imprisonment; offered a public entertainment at Knoxville but declines; he is endorsed by public meeting at Knoxville; letter to his sister.

The whole civilized world is interested in anything that pertains to John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," but a very small part of that world knows of his arrest in 1835 with John Ross, the Cherokee Chief, by the Georgia Guard, at the time that feeling was acute and bitter between the State Government of Georgia and the Cherokees and any one who sympathized with them. The arrest and imprisonment made a sensation, not only among the friends and enemies of the Cherokees, but in literary circles in all parts of the Country. The arrest was in gross violation of Payne's rights as a citizen, and even among the enemies of the Cherokees (who were also Payne's enemies) the act was denounced, and no one assumed to defend it. We present some interesting quotations both from Payne himself and from newspapers in reference to the incident.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE

"We have received an extra sheet from the office of the Knoxville Register, published by Frederick S. Heiskell, containing, in an appeal from Mr. Payne to his countrymen, the story of the barbarous wrongs inflicted upon this respectable gentleman by a band of persons calling themselves "the Georgia guard," but who appear to have acted upon suggestions from higher authority, in the persons of U. States' agent sent to make treaties with the Cherokees. This appeal, though chiefly directed to the citizens of Georgia, whose authority has been abused, and to those of Tennessee, whose territory has been violated, should be inserted at length in our columns if they were not so much occupied just now with heavy documents of a national character as to prevent it. The reader will perceive, by the subjoined articles from the Knoxville paper, however, that the people of that state entertain a proper sense of the indignity which Mr. P. has suffered, and of the



JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.
Author of "Home Sweet Home."

outrage which, in his person, has been perpetrated by these lawless persons upon the sovereignty of the state of Tennessee. There can be no doubt of an equal indignation being roused in the breasts of the people of Georgia against the persons who have trespassed, in the name of that state, on the clearest and dearest rights of an American citizen." (National Intelligencer)

BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER AND PATRIOT,
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1835.

"John Howard Payne, who was arrested by the Georgia Guard in the Cherokee country, has been released after a detention of three weeks.

"DECEMBER 22, 1835.

"*Mr. John Howard Payne.*— This gentleman has published in a Knoxville paper a narrative of his late imprisonment by the Georgia Guard in the Cherokee Territory. The narrative is of too great a length to admit of our publishing it entire. We shall, however, select such passages of it as will enable the reader to judge of the pretenses on which he was seized, and the treatment which he received. It seems that Mr. Payne was traveling for the purpose of collecting historical and other information, to be used in certain publications which he has in view, and in pursuit of this purpose he made a visit to Mr. John Ross, the principal Chief of the Cherokees, whose residence was in the limits of the State of Georgia. Mr. Ross received him with great kindness, and gave him free use of manuscripts collected by himself, and by his predecessor in office. The rest of Mr. Payne's story may be collected from the following extracts from his narrative.

"I pressed Young to let us know on what grounds we were arrested. 'Why,' he said, 'I can tell you one thing they've got agin you, only you needn't say nothing that I told you. They say you're an Abolitionist.' I could not help laughing at the excessive absurdity of this, and considered it as mere dream of the man whose brain often seemed in the wrong place. At the same time he told Mr. Ross that the charge upon him was that he had impeded taking the census. Mr. Ross repelled the accusation indignantly, and required to know his accuser. Young said all he could tell was that Major Currey gave him the order for our arrest; that he had not only a written but a verbal order from Major Currey, and upon that we were taken. What the verbal order was, he would not tell to anybody.

"Mr. John Ridge was in the enclosure and closeted with Col. Bishop. It was said he was at first denied an interview with Mr. Ross; but at length Mr. Ross was sent for to meet Ridge and Bishop. After a few words, Bishop suddenly arose and left them together. When Mr. Ross returned, 'It is all out now,' he exclaimed to me. 'We are both Abolitionists and here for a capital offense. We are the agents of some great men, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Judge White, Mr. Poindexter, and the Lord knows

who, — and we have both plotted in concert with them to raise an insurrection among the negroes who are to join the Indian against the whites!' I could not even yet regard the charge as having ever been made seriously, but Mr. Ross was assured it had been; and he added, 'Bishop wishes to screen Currey and take the arrest upon himself; so we had better say nothing about that.' In the evening Mr. Ridge had another interview; and on Monday, Nov. 16th, all were closeted for some hours. About four, Mr. Ross entered our room with a bundle in his hand. 'I've got my papers,' he exclaimed, dashing them into the bunk, and we went to dinner. Bishop and his brother sat opposite. They were silent, and all the party appeared nettled. I will do the brace of Bishops the justice to own that they both, from first to last, seemed in their hearts ashamed to meet my glance, notwithstanding much outward swagger. When dinner was ended Col. Bishop, giving a sort of menacing look at me, exclaimed to the sentinel, with an emphatic gesture, 'Mr. Ross is discharged.'

"On Friday morning, Nov. 20th, I perceived preparations for something unusual. The men were all summoned to be ready at the roll of the drum. My horse was ordered out, as I understood, to be taken to water. But I was convinced, from many signs, that I myself was the object of the mysterious movements. A son of the Colonel kept staring around at me with intense curiosity, and many looked on in silence, as persons look upon any one about to undergo some terrible ordeal. The Colonel's horse was saddled and put in readiness; and another horse was also prepared, and Mr. Joshua Holden appeared, equipped for a campaign. At length, the drum beat. I heard the sergeant say, recommending some one to the Captain, — 'Colonel, *he* may be trusted.' And now one of the guard ran to me — 'Your saddle bags — your saddle bags.' 'Why?' 'You're going out.' I went to the bunk. 'Is there not some mischief intended?' asked I. 'I can't tell; but you'd better make me a present of that buffalo hide.' 'No,' answered I, 'it was given to me, and has been too good a friend to me in trouble.' The guard took the saddle bags and buffalo skin, and with it a very large and cumbersome cloak and some loose clothes. I found them heaped upon my horse. 'The straps to fasten these are not here.' 'I can't help it,' was the answer. — 'Get on — get on.' 'I cannot over this pile of things.' — 'You must.' 'This is not my bridle — mine was a new one and double — where are my martingales? my Straps?' 'Get on — get on.' I was compelled to mount; the mass of unfastened things was piled up before me; the saddle was loosely girted, and the horse was startled, and, as if on purpose, covered with mud. I still claimed my bridle, but was conducted in front of the paraded guard, — he who led my horse muttering as he went, 'that's the bridle they *said* was yours.' The Captain-Colonel stood in front of his men.

'Halt your horse there, sir, and beware how you speak a word.' I attempted to speak, — but he shouted — 'Be silent, sir. Look upon them men. Them's the men you in your writtings have called banditti.'

"Whether the eloquent Captain-Colonel imagined I meant to reply, I cannot say; but he repeated, eagerly, 'Don't speak, sir.'

"And I did *not* speak, but I *did* look upon the men; and, if ever I compared them in appearance to Banditti, the glance of that moment made me feel that I ought to ask of any Banditti the most respectful pardon. Spirit of Shakespeare, forgive me, too; for if thy Falstaff and his ragged regiment came into my mind at such a moment, it was my misfortune, not my fault. But I will proceed.

"You've came into this country to pry, ever since you *arriv*, into things you've no business with. You're a d - d incendiary, sir. You've come into this country to rise up the Cherokees against the whites. You've wrote agin these worthy men (pointing to the Guards); You've wrote agin the State of Georgia. You've wrote agin the ginerel Government of the United States. Above all, sir, You've wrote agin ME! Now, sir — "

"Then turning — with an aside speech with some bystander, I think it was Mr. Joshua Holden — 'Hand the things,' said the Captain-Colonel; and a bundle with a loop, carefully prearranged so as to let the arm through, was given to me.

"Now, sir, take your papers. Hang'em on your arm, sir, and I order you to cut out of Georgia. If ever you dare again shew your face within the limits of Georgia, I'll make you curse the moment with your last breath. With your foul attacks upon me you've filled the Georgia papers."

"I could not very well endure to hear assertions so utterly unfounded, and took advantage of the pause of the eloquent Captain-Colonel for breath, and exclaimed, rather vehemently, — 'Upon my honor, no, sir!'"

"Hold your tongue, I say," resumed my jailor. "The minute you hear the tap of the drum, I tell you to cut out of this yard, and I order you never, while you exist, to be seen in this State of ours any more; for if you are, I'll make you rue it. Let this be a lesson for you, and thank my sympathy for a stranger that you have been treated with extraordinary kindness; and now, sir, clear out of this State for ever, and go to John Ross, G-d d—n you!"

"I looked upon this pitiable exhibition with more of compassion than of resentment; and it seemed to me as if most of the guard felt sorry for their leader. Never before so forcibly did I realize the truth of that beautiful passage:

"Frail man, frail man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As makes the angels weep!"

"I claimed my bridle again, but in vain; and I then moved of necessity slowly from the place, because I had great difficulty in detaining the things which were piled upon my horse. When I got outside of the lines, some of the affairs dropped off, and I stopped to ask a person to hand them to me, and at the same time to enquire the route to Big Spring. On turning a corner, a stranger told me I had better stop and dismount and arrange my baggage; and just then a gentleman called that he wished a word with me, and approached. He said he had a letter to show me. I asked him the direction towards the residence of Mr. Ross. I saw that the letter he handed was from Mr. Ross, and related to my route. At that moment Col. Bishop and Mr. Joshua Holden dashed up like fiends. Bishop cursed me, threatened me, if I dared to speak to any 'd—d Nullifier,' and menaced to make an example of me if I did not get instantly out of the State.

"My stay with Mr. Ross having been so unexpectedly protracted, of course the range of my collection was extended. In addition to the literature and anecdote of the nation, I involuntarily became well acquainted with its politics, because I had transcribed nearly all the documents relative to the recent negotiations for a Treaty. I thought these curious, not only as historical evidence, but as specimens of Indian diplomacy, more complete than any upon record in any age or country. I confess I was surprised at what these papers unfolded regarding the system pursued by the agents of our Government, and I thought if the real position of the question were once understood by our own country and its rulers, their ends would be sought by different and unexceptionable means. Though no politician, as a philanthropist, I fancied good might be done by a series of papers upon the subject. I conceived, as an American, it was one of the most precious and most undisputed of my rights, to examine any subject entirely national, especially if I could render services to the country by such explanations as peculiar circumstances might enable me to offer. For this purpose I commenced such a series as I have spoken of, but having written one number, I thought I would lay it by for consideration, and forbear to make up my mind finally until I saw how matters were carried on at the Council then approaching. The number in question was consequently put aside — and no second number was ever written.

"It had been suggested that great service might be done by an address to the people of the United States from the Cherokees, explaining fully and distinctly all their views and feelings. I was told that no one had ever possessed such opportunities as mine had been for understanding these. I took the hint and felt gratified in the opportunity of enabling the nation to plead its own cause. I promised to prepare such an address, and if approved it was to be sent round by runners for the signature of every Cherokee within the country. I confess I felt proud of an advocacy in which some of the first talent of the land had heretofore exulted to engage. I only lamented that my powers were so unequal to my zeal.

The council adjourned. Mr. Ross pressed me to return to his house, which I did for the purpose of awaiting the journey of the messenger, whom he had promised to send some eighty miles across the country, for a complete file of the Cherokee Phoenix newspaper, of which after long search, I had made the discovery and obtained the offer. During the absence of the messenger I renewed my transcription of documents. I also completed the address for the Cherokee nation. It was approved, and measures were to be taken for obtaining the signatures of all the people. It was now Saturday evening, November 7. I had determined on Monday morning to depart, taking, on my road back through Athens, the Stone mountain of Georgia, a view of which had been one of the leading objects of my journey.

"My papers were piled upon the table, ready to be packed for my approaching journey. At about eleven, I was in the midst of a copy from a talk held by Gen. Washington in 1794 with a delegation of Cherokee Chiefs. Suddenly there was a loud barking of dogs; the quick tramp of galloping horses, the rush of many feet; and a hoarse voice just at my side shouted, Ross! Ross!" Before there was time for reply, the voice was heard at the door opposite, which was burst open. Armed men appeared. "Mr. Ross," "Well, gentlemen." "We have business with you, sir."

"The room was filled with the Georgia Guard — their bayonets fixed, and some, if not all, with their pistols and dirks or dirk knives. An exceedingly long, lank man, with a roundabout jacket, planted himself by my side, his pistol resting against my breast. 'You are to consider yourself a prisoner,' said he to Mr. Ross. 'Well, gentlemen, I shall not resist, but what have I done? Why am I a prisoner? By whose order am I taken?' "You'll know that soon enough. Give up your papers and prepare to go with us.' And then a scramble began for papers. I had not moved from my place, when the long, lank man, whom I afterwards found was Sergeant Young, leader of the gang, began to rummage among the things upon the table. 'These, sir,' observed I, 'are *my* papers. I suppose you don't want these.' Young, his pistol pointed, struck me across the mouth. 'Hold your d—d tongue,' he vociferated. 'You are here after no good. Yours are just what we *do* want. Have your horse caught and be off with us. We can't stay.' It was useless to reply.

"We went to our prison. It was a small log hut, with no window and one door. At one end was what they call a bunk — a wide case of rough boards filled with straw. There were two others on one side of the room, and opposite to them a fire place. Overhead were poles, on which hung saddle bags, old coats, and various other matters of the same description. In one corner sat an Indian chained to a table, by the leg, his arms tightly pinioned. We found it was the son of the Speaker of the Council, Going Snake. They had charged him with refusing to give his name and the number of his family to the United States Census taker. He

denied the accusation but this denial was unheeded. He smiled and seemed patient. They removed him, and left us the only prisoners; but never alone. The door was always open. The place was a rendezvous for all the guard and all their friends. Two sentinels with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed kept us always in view; the place of one was in the house, and of the other outside. I was wet to the skin, fatigued, and unconsciously sighed; at that moment I saw two of the young men exchange looks and laugh. Throughout the day I heard dark phrases which I interpreted to betoken some intended mischief.

(Note: These extracts, with same introductory paragraph, are published in the Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, December 23 1835.)

FROM NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER, BALTIMORE,

sept. 5, 1835.

"Mr. John Howard Payne, a gentleman well known to the literary world, has been arrested under the suspicion of his having conspired with Ross, against the welfare of Georgia, and it is said his papers give evidence of the fact. We have no precise information on the subject; but we fear that this gentleman has suffered injustice from the excited temper of the times.

PAYNE'S ADDRESS TO CITIZENS OF GEORGIA.

'Calhoun, Tenn. Nov. 23d, 1835.

"John Howard Payne respectfully begs the citizens of Georgia to suspend their opinion for a few days, upon the subject of a recent arrest within the chartered limits of Tennessee by the Georgia guard, of Mr. Payne, in the company with Mr. John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokee nation. Mr. Payne, of course, cannot identify the state of Georgia with this gross violation of the constitution of the United States, or the right of an American citizen, and of the known hospitality of the south to strangers. But as he is conscious that every act which can be devised will be resorted to for the purpose of endeavoring to cover such an act from public indignation, he thinks it due to justice to promise that a full and honest statement be submitted the moment it can be prepared."

—From the Georgia Constitutionalist.,

PAYNE OFFERED A PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT AT KNOXVILLE.

"Knoxville, Nov. 30, 1835.

"John Howard Payne, Esq.

"We sincerely regret the late circumstances which occurred on the border of our state, in which your person and rights were violently outraged by a band of lawless soldiers; and assure you of our cordial sympathy in the feeling of just indignation which such conduct cannot but have created in your own breast. We acknowledge with unfeigned satisfaction the justice of that well-earned fame which the author of 'Brutus' has obtained, both in Europe

and America, and holding your literary worth and attainments in the highest esteem, and wishing to render them humble testimony of our approbation, we respectfully invite your attendance at a public entertainment at the Treamont house, at such time as may best suit your convenience. Very respectfully,"

(Signed by a committee on behalf of the citizens of Knoxville, consisting of sixteen of the most respectable names of the town.)

"Knoxville, Nov. 30, 1835.

"GENTLEMEN: I beg to return you my sincerest thanks for the attention of your letter and for the distinction which you propose. Your kindness is valuable to me for more than the compliment involved in it to me personally. I prize it as an encouraging evidence, given at a very critical moment, that no considerations of party politics will prevent you from declaring your indignation at a wanton and arbitrary and lawless outrage upon the sacred rights of an American citizen. In your expression of that proper feeling as compatriots of my own, I feel consoled for what I have been made to suffer by those who dragged me from the chartered limits of your state to insulting captivity elsewhere. You will, therefore, do me the justice to believe, that, in declining the honor you suggest, I do not the less appreciate the motive. It is only because I find it indispensable to pursue my journey without delay, that I must excuse myself from an invitation, which, under any circumstances, would be flattering, but under those which surround me now is doubly endeared to, gentlemen, most respectfully, your obliged countryman,

"John Howard Payne.

"To Thomas W. Humes, Esq. and" other gentlemen of Knoxville.

"PUBLIC MEETING.

"At a public meeting of the citizens of Knox County, at the court house in Knoxville, on the 2d day December, 1835, on motion of Thomas W. Humes, Robert M. Anderson, Esq., was called to the chair, and David A. Deaderick appointed secretary. The object of the meeting was explained by the chairman.

"Spencer Jarnagin, Esq., presented the following preamble and resolutions, to wit:

"Intelligence having reached this place of the lawless action, within the chartered limits of the state of Tennessee, of our countryman and literary friend, John Payne, of the state of New York, by an armed force from the state of Georgia; of his subsequent detention for thirteen days, and brutal treatment in a guard house at Spring Place, in Georgia, all confirmed by the published statement of Mr. Payne, and feeling that this insult to the laws of Tennessee, and outrage upon her protection and hospitality, this wanton violation of the sacred rights of personal liberty and security of an American citizen, call loudly for an expression

of public indignation, we, the citizens of Knox county, in the exercise of our rights as freemen, have adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That it is proper for the state of Tennessee to assert and maintain the integrity of her territory and laws, demonstrating that obedience to those laws will insure protection to all who may visit her for literary or other lawful purposes.

"Resolved, That we learned with unfeigned regret, the lawless arrest and detention of John Howard Payne, by an armed force, pretending to act by public authority; that his situation command the sympathy of all but the lawless, and he has our praise for his philosophic endurance of insult, outrage and violence.

"Resolved, That the noble and chivalric character of the state of Georgia is not to be compromised by the lawless deeds of persons pretending to act by her authority, and that we deem her incapable of a wilful violation of the territorial jurisdiction, laws and rights of Tennessee, and we trust she will promptly inquire into the alleged outrage, and do herself justice.

"On motion of Joseph Scott, Esq., seconded by the Hon. Jacob Peck, one of the judges of the supreme court, the following was added:

"Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions, together with the published statement of facts by Mr. Payne, be sent to the president of the United States, the governors of the states of Georgia and Tennessee and to speakers of each branch of the legislature of Tennessee.

"On motion of Dr. Donald McIntosh, seconded by Dr. William J. Baker, the following was added:

"Resolved, the secretary of this meeting furnish John Howard Payne with a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions.

"The foregoing preamble and resolutions were then read and unanimously adopted.

"The governor of Georgia transmitted the following message to the legislature of that state on the 28th instant:

"Executive department, Ga. Milledgeville, Nov. 28, 1835. A resolution of senate, passed on the 24th inst. was handed to me yesterday, requesting 'the governor to lay before that branch of the general assembly, all the information in his possession relative to the arrest and detention of John Howard Payne, Esq., and John Ross, by the Georgia guard, and, what orders or directions may have been given him since the information has been received at the executive department, if any.'

"In answer to this request I state, that no official information upon the subject has reached this department. The letter received from four Cherokees is all the information, official or unofficial, which has been received, and was communicated to the senate on the day of the date of the above resolution. No 'orders or directions' have been given, because there were no facts made



MONUMENT TO JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

Erected by W. W. Cochran of Washington, D. C., in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington.

known in the executive, upon which 'orders or directions' could be given in relation to matter, resting, as it did only in the common street rumor of the day.

"Arrangements have been made to ascertain the truth or falsehood of these reports; and so I have informed the senate in my communication of the 24th instant.

"W. M. Schley."

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE TO HIS SISTER.

"Macon, Georgia, August 9, 1885

"My dear Sister: You find me much in arrears with you for letters; that is, I have only written you several to none, and therefore, of course, you have reason to complain. But it is not too late to make atonement for my sins of omission. Here I am all alone in a strange place—Macon in Georgia—a good sized handsomely built town nearly twelve years old, and with 4,000 inhabitants. I arrived about eleven last night. I have no acquaintances here yet, so, for the sake of company, I will brush up my recollection of some of my adventures. I have been among the Indians for a few days lately. Shall I tell you about them? You make no answer and silence gives consent, so I will tell you about the Indians.

"The State of Alabama, you will remember, has been famous as the abode of the Creek Indians—always regarded as the most warlike of the Southern tribes. If you will look upon the map of Alabama, you will find on the west side of it, nearly parallel with the State of Mississippi, two rivers—one, the Coosa and the other Tallapoosa, which, descending, unite in the Alabama. Nearly opposite to these, about one hundred miles across, you will find another river, the Chattahoochee, which also descends, to form, with certain tributaries, the Apalachicola. It is within the space bounded by these rivers, and especially at the upper part of it, that the Creeks now retain a sort of sovereignty. The United States have in vain attempted to force the Creeks to volunteer a surrender of their soil for compensation. A famous chief among them made a treaty a few days ago to that effect; but the nation arose against him, surrounded his house, ordered his family out and bade him appear at the door, after all but he had departed. He did so. He was shot dead and the house burned. The treaty only took effect in part, if at all. Perpetual discontents have ensued. The United States have assumed a sort of jurisdiction over the territory, leaving the Creeks unmolested in their national habits, their property—with this exception in their favor, beyond all other tribes, but the Cherokees—they have the right if they wish to sell, to sell to individuals at their own prices, but are not bound to treat with the republic at a settled rate, which last mode of doing business they rather properly looked upon as giving them the appearance of a vanquished race and subject to the dictation of conquerors. So, what the diplomatists could not achieve, was forthwith attempted by speculators, and among these

the everlasting Yankee began to appear and the Indian independence straightway began to disappear. Certain forms were required by government to give Americans a claim to these Creek lands. The purchaser was to bring the Indians before a government agent: in the agent's presence the Indian was to declare what his possessions were and for how much he would sell them. The money was paid in the presence of the agent, who gave a certificate, which, when countersigned by the president, authorized the purchaser to demand protection from the national arms, if molested. All this was well enough; but it was soon discovered that the speculators would hire drunken and miscreant Indians to personate the real possessor of the lands, and having paid them the money, they would take it back as soon as the purchase was completed, give the Indian a jug of whiskey or a small bag of silver for the fraud, and so became lords of the soil. Great dissatisfaction arose and lives were lost. An anonymous letter opened the eyes of the government. The white speculators were so desparate and dangerous that any other mode of information was unsafe. Investigators were appointed to examine into the validity of Creek sales, and the examiners met at the time I went to see the Indian festival. It was necessary for me to be thus prolix to make you understand the nature of the society and a sort of danger by which we were surrounded; on the one side, white rogues—border cut-throats contending, through corrupted Indians, for the possessions of those among them who are honest and unwary. The cheated Indian, wheedled by some other white cheat into a promise to sell, payable in over-charged goods, at a higher price, to the one who should expose the fraud—and, when the decision was reversed in favor of the pretended friend, the foiled thief flying at the over-reaching one with fist and knife, and both in good luck if either could live to see what both had stolen. I beheld a fine, gentle, innocent-looking girl—a widow, I believe, come up to the investigator to to assert that she had never sold her land, She had been counterfeited by some knave. The investigator's court was a low tavern bar-room. He saw me eyeing him and some one had told him I was traveling to take notes. He did not know but government had employed me as a secret supervisor. He seemed to shrink and postponed the decision. I have since heard that he is as great a rascal as the rest. This illstarred race is entirely at the mercy of interpreters, who, if not negro slaves of their own, are half breeds, who are generally worse than the worst of either slaves or knaves.

"In the jargon of the border, they call them linkisters; some say, because they, by interpreting, form the link between the nations; but I should think the word a mere corruption of linguist. The Indians become more easily deluded by the borderers than others, because the borderers know that they have no idea of any one being substantial, who does not keep a shop; your rascal of the frontier sets up a shop and is pronounced a sneezer—if his shop be large, he is a sneezerchubco—if larger than any other, he is a sneezer-

chubco-mico; but in any of his qualities, sneezer is always considered as a personage by no means to be sneezed at. The sneezer will pay for the land in goods, and thinks himself very honest, if he charges his goods at five hundred times their worth, and can make it appear by his account against the Indian's claim, that he has paid him thousands of dollars, when, in fact, he may scarcely have paid him hundreds of cents.

THE GREEN CORN DANCE

"Well, now for the festival.

"When the green corn ripens, the Creeks seem to begin their year. Until after certain religious rites, it is considered an infamy to touch the corn. The season approaching, there is a meeting of the chiefs of all the towns forming any particular clan. First, an order is given out for the manufacture of certain articles of pottery for a part of their festival. A second meeting gives out a second order. New matting is to be prepared for the seats of the assembly. There is a third meeting. A vast number of sticks are broken into as many parts as there are days intervening previous to the one appointed for the gathering of the clan. Runners are sent with these, made into bundles for each clansman. One is flung aside each day and every one is punctually on the last day at the appointed rendezvous. I must now mention the place where they assemble.

"It is a large square, with four large, long houses, one forming each side of the square, at each angle, a broad entrance to the area. These houses are of clay and a sort of wicker work, with sharp-topped sloping roofs like those of our log houses, but more thoroughly finished. A space is left open all around at the back and sides of each house, to afford a free circulation of air; this opening came about up to my chin and enables one to peep in on all sides. The part of the house fronting the square, is entirely open. It consists of one broad raised platform, a little more than knee-high, and curved and inclined so as to make a most comfortable place for either sitting or reclining. Over this is wrought the cane matting, which extends from the back to the ground in front. At each angle of the square, there is a broad entrance. Back of one angle is a high, cone-roofed building, circular and dark, with a sloping entrance through a low door. It was so dark that I could not make out the interior, but some one said it was a council-house. It occupied one corner of an outer square next to the one I have described; two sides of which outer squares were formed by thick and tall corn-fields, and a third by a raised embankment apparently for spectators, and a fourth by the back of one of the buildings before described. In the center was a considerably high circular mound. This, it seems, was formed from the earth accumulated yearly by removing the surface of the sacred square, to this centre of the outer one. At every Green-corn festival the sacred square is strewn with soil yet untrodden; the soil of the year preceding being taken away, but preserved, as I explain. No strang-

er's foot is allowed to press the new earth of the sacred square until its consecration is complete. A gentleman told me that he and a friend had chanced once to walk through, along the edge, just after new soil was laid. A friendly chief saw him and remonstrated and seemed greatly incensed. He explained that it was done in ignorance. The chief was pacified, but ordered every trace of the unhallowed steps to be upturned and fresh covering in the place.

"The sacred square being ready, every fire in the towns dependent on the chief of the clan is, at the same moment extinguished. Every house must, at that moment, have been newly swept and washed. Enmities are forgotten. If a person under a sentence for crime can steal in unobserved, and appear among the worshippers, his crime is no more remembered. The first ceremony is to light the new fire of the year. A square is brought with a small circular hollow in the centre. It receives the dust of a forest tree of dry leaves. Five chiefs take turns to whirl the stick, until the friction produces a flame. From this sticks are lighted and conveyed to every house of the clan. The original flame is taken to the centre of the sacred square. Wood is heaped there and a strong fire lighted. Over this fire, the holy urns of new made pottery are placed; drinking gourds, with long handles, are set around on a bench, officers are over the whole in attendance, and here, what they call the black drink, is brewed with many forms and with intense solemnity.

"I cannot describe to you my feelings as I first found myself in the Indian country. We rode miles after miles in the native forest, neither habitation nor inhabitants to disturb the solitude and majesty of the wilderness. At length we met a native in his native land. He was galloping on horseback. His air was oriental; he had a turban, a robe of fringed and gaudily figured calico, scarlet leggings, and beaded belts and garters and pouch. We asked how far it was to the square. He held up a finger and we understood him to mean one mile. Next, we met two Indian women on horseback, loaded with water-melons. We bought some. In answer to our question of the road, they half covered a finger to say it was half a mile further, and, smiling, added "sneezer-much"—meaning that we should find lots of our brethren, the sneezers, to keep us company.

"We passed groups of Indian horse' tied in the shade, with cords long enough to let them graze freely; we then saw the American flag (a gift from the government) floating over one of the hut-tops in the square; we next passed groups of Indian horses and carriages and servants, and under the heels of one horse, a drunken vagabond Indian asleep, or half asleep; and at length we got to the corner of the square, where they were in the midst of their devotions. I stood upon a mound at the corner angle to look in. I was told that this mound was composed of ashes from such fires as were now blazing in the centre, during many preceding years; and that these ashes are never permitted to be scattered, but must thus be gathered up, and carefully and religiously preserved.

"Before the solemnities begin, and, I believe, ere the new earth is placed, the women dance in the sacred square. The preliminary dance of theirs is by themselves; I missed this. They separate from the men and remain apart from them, until after the fasting and other religious forms are gone through.

"On my arrival, the sacred square, as I gazed from the corner mound, presented a most striking sight. Upon each of the notched posts, of which I have already spoken as attached to the houses of the sacred square, was a stack of tall cones, hung all over with feathers, black and white. There were rude paint-daubs about the posts and roof-beams of the houses fronting on the square, and here and there they were festooned with ground-vines. Chiefs were standing around the sides and corners along and opposite to each other, their eyes riveted on the earth and motionless as statues. Every building within was filled with crowds of silent Indians, those on the back rows seated in the Turkish fashion, but those in front with their feet to the ground. All were turbaned, all fantastically painted; all in dresses varying in ornament, but alike in wildness. One chief wore a tall black hat, with a broad, massy silver band around it, and a peacock's feather; another had a silver skull-cap, with a deep, silver bullion fringe down to his eyebrows; and plates of silver from his knee, descending his tunic. Most of them had the eagle-plume which only those may wear who have slain a foe; a number wore military plumes in various positions about their turbans; and one had a tremendous tuft of black feathers declining from the back of his head, over his back; while another's head was all shaven smooth, excepting a tuft across the centre from the back to the front, like the crest of a helmet. I never saw an assembly more absorbed with what they regarded as the solemnities of the occasion.

"The first sounds I heard was a strange, low, deep wail—a sound of many voices, drawn out in perfect unison, and only dying away with the breath itself, which, indeed, was longer sustained than could be done by any singer whom I ever yet heard. This was followed by a second wail in the same style, but shrill, like the sound of musical glasses, and giving the same shiver to the nerves. And after a third wail, in another key, the statue-like figures moved and from two diagonal lines opposite to each other, their backs to opposite angles of the square. One by one, they then approached the huge bowls in which the black drink was boiling, and in rotation dipped a gourd, and took with a most reverential expression a long, deep draught each. The next part of the ceremony with each was somewhat curious, but the rapt expression of the worshippers and the utter absence of anything to give a disagreeable air to the act, took away the effect it may produce even in description. By some knack, without moving a muscle of the face, nor joint, they moved about like strange spectres, more than human beings. But soon the character of the entertainment changed, and I more particularly observed two circular plates of brass

and steel, which appeared to be the remains of very antique shields. They were borne with great reverence, by two chiefs. The nation do not pretend to explain whence they came, they keep them apart, as something sacred; they are only produced on great occasions. I was told, too, that ears of green corn were brought in at a part of the ceremony today which I did not see, and presented to a chief. He took them, handed them back with an invocation that corn might continue plenty through the year among them. This seemed to be the termination of the peace-offerings, and the religious part of the affair was now to wind up with emblems of war. These were expressed in what they call a Gun Dance. When dispositions were making for it, some persons in carriages, were desired by white likister to draw back, and to remove their horses to a distance. Some ladies especially were warned. 'Keep out of the way, Ma'rm,' said the likister to a lady, 'for when they come racing about here with their guns, they gits powerful sarcy.' I saw them dressing for the ceremony, if it may be called dressing to throw off nearly every part of a scanty covering. But the Indians are especially devoted to dress in their way. Some of them went aside to vary their costume with nearly every dance.

'Now appeared a procession of some forty or fifty women. They entered the square and took their seats together, in one of the open houses. Two men sat in front of them, with gourds filled with pebbles. The gourds were shaken so as to keep time, and the women began a long chant, with which, at regular intervals, was given a sharp, short whoop, from male voices. The women's song was said to be intended for the wail of mothers, wives and daughters, at the departure of the warriors for the fight; the response conveyed the resolution of the warriors not to be withheld, but to fight and conquer. And now appeared two hideous-looking old warriors, with tomahawks and scalping knives, painted most ferociously. Each went half round the circle, exchanged exclamations, kept up a sort of growl all the while, and at length stopped with a war-whoop. We were now told to hurry to the outer square. The females and their male leaders left their place inside, and went to the mound in the centre of the outer square. This mound their forms entirely covered, and the effect was very imposing. Here they resumed their chant. The spectators mounted on the embankment. I got on a pile of wood, holy wood, I believe, and heaped there to keep up the sacred fires. There were numbers of Indian women in the crowd. Four stuffed figures were placed erect, in the four corners of the square.

'We now heard firing and whooping on all sides. At length in the high corn on one side we saw crouching savages, some with guns of every sort, some, especially the boys, with cornstalks to represent guns. A naked chief with a long sabre, the blade painted blood-color, came before them, flourishing his weapon and haranguing vehemently. In another cornfield, appeared another

party. The two savages already mentioned as having given the war dance in the sacred square, now hove in sight, on a third side, cowering. One of these, I understood, was the person who shot the chief I mentioned in the first part of this letter, the chief who made an objectionable treaty, and whose house was burned. Both these warriors crept slyly towards the outer square; one darted upon one of the puppets, caught him from behind, and stole him off. Another grasped another puppet by the waist, flung him in the air, as he fell, tumbled on him, ripped him with his knife, tore off the scalp and broke away in triumph. A third puppet was tomahawked and a fourth shot. These were the emblems of the various forms of warfare. After the first shot, the two parties whooped, and began to fire indiscriminately, and every shot was answered by a whoop. One shot his arrow into the square, but falling short of the enemy, he covered himself with corn and crept thither to regain it and bore it back in safety, honored with a triumphant yell as he returned. After much of this brush-skirmishing, both parties burst into the square. There was constant firing and war-whooping, the music of chanting and of the pebbled gourd going all the time. At length the fighters joined in procession, dancing a triumphal dance around the mound, plunging thence headlong into the sacred square and all around it, and then scampering around the outside and pouring back to the battle-square; and the closing whoop being given, all then from the battle-square rushed helter-skelter, yelping, some firing as they went and others pelting the spectators from their high places with the corn stalks which had served for guns, and which gave blows so powerful that those who laughed at their impotence before, rubbed their shoulders and walked away ashamed. We resumed our conveyances homeward and as we departed, heard the splashing and shouting of the warriors in the water. Leave was now given to taste the corn, and all ate their fill, and, I suppose, did not much refrain from drinking, for I heard that every pathway and field around was strewed in the morning with sleeping Indians.

"We passed the next day in visiting the picturesque scenery of the neighborhood. We saw the fine falls of the Tallapoosa, where the water tumbles over wild and fantastic precipices, varying from forty to eighty or a hundred feet; and, when wandering over the rocks, passed an old Indian with his wife and child, and bow and arrows. They had been shooting fishes in the stream, from a point against which the fishes were brought to them by the current. The scenery and the natives would have made a fine picture. An artist in the neighborhood made me a present of a picture of these falls, which I can show you when we meet.

"The next part of the festival consisted, as I was told, in the wives urging out their husbands to hunt deer. We went down to the square towards night. We met Indians with deers slung over their horses. The skin is given to a priest, who flings it back to the young man who gave it the first shot, to retain as a trophy; and at

the same time asks from the great Spirit that this may be only the harbinger of deer in abundance, whenever wanted. There was some slight dancing in the evening; but all were reserving themselves for the winding-up assembly of the ladies on Sunday morning. Some of our party remained after I left. They found a miscellaneous dance at a house in the vicinity, negroes, borderers, and reprobate Indians, all assembled in one incongruous mass. A vagabond frontier man asked a girl to dance. She refused, and was going to dance with another. He drew his pistol and swore, if she would not dance with him, she should not dance at all. Twenty pistols were clicked in an instant, but the borderer swore there was not a soul who dared against him to draw a trigger. He was right; for the pistols were dropped and the room cleared in an instant, whereupon he clapped his wings and crowed and disappeared.

"The assemblage of the females I was rather anxious to see, and so I was at my post very early. I had long to wait. I heard the fathering cry from the men on all sides in the corn fields and bushes; it was like the neighing to each other of wild horses. After awhile, the ladies began to arrive. The spectators crowded in. The Indian men went to their places; and among them a party to sing while the women danced; two of the men rattling the gourds. The cauldrons had disappeared from the centre of the sacred square.

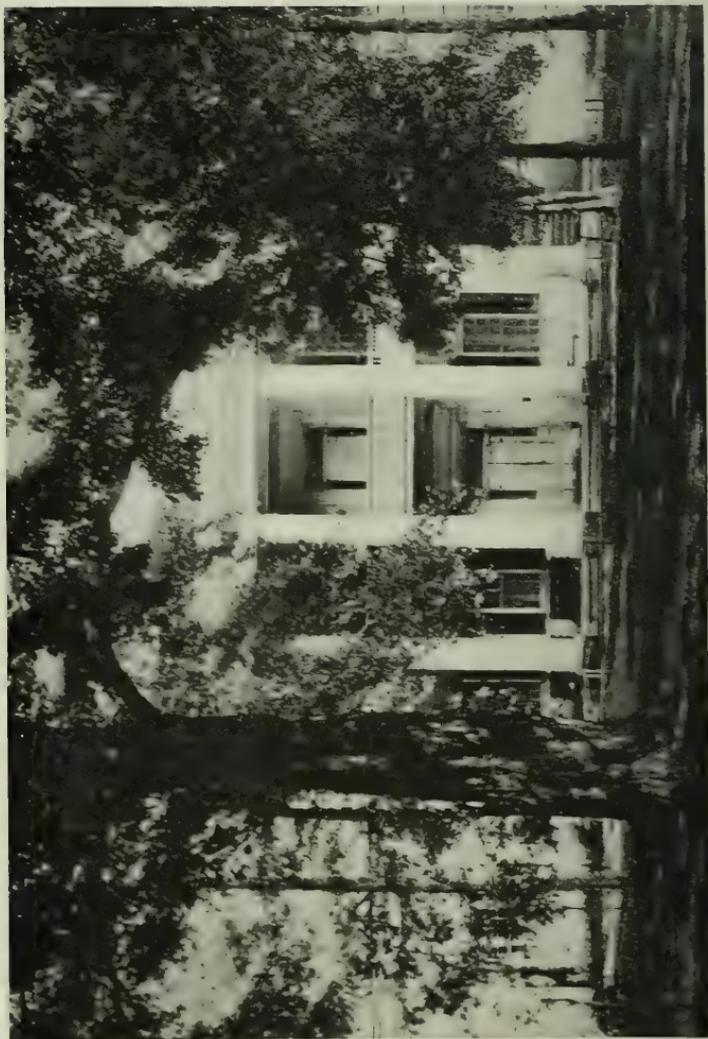
"And now entered a long train of females, all dressed in long gowns, like our ladies, but all with gay colors and bright shawls of various hues, beads innumerable upon their necks and tortoise-shell combs in their hair; ears bored all around the rim, from top to bottom, and from every bore a massy eardrop, very long, and generally of silver. A selected number of dancers wore under their robes, and girded upon their calves, large squares of thick leather, covered all over with terrapin shells, closed together and perforated, and filled with pebbles, which rattled like so many sleigh bells. These they have the knack of keeping silent, until their accompaniment is required for the music of the dance. The dresses of all the women were so long as nearly to conceal the feet, but I saw some had no shoes nor stockings, while others were sandaled. The shawls were principally worn like mantles. Broad ribbons, in great profusion and of every variety of hue, hung from the back of each head to the ground, and, as they moved, these and the innumerable sparkling beads of glass and coral and gold, gave the wearers an air of graceful and gorgeous, and at the same time unique, wildness.

"The procession entered slowly, and wound around the central fire, which, although the cauldrons were removed, burned gently, and the train continued to stretch itself out, until it extended to three circles and a half; the shorter side then became stationary and kept facing the men seated in that building which contained the chanters; and in this line of dancers seemed the principal

wearers of the terrapin shell leg-bands. These make their rattles keep time with the chant. Two leaders at each end of the line (one of them an old woman and the other not so young), had each a little notched stick with two feathers floating from them. At a particular turn of the dance, they broke off, and went the outside round alone and more rapidly than the rest. The body of the dancers slowly proceeded round and round, only turning at a given signal to face the men, as the men had turned to face the emblem of the Deity, the central fire. Every eye among the women was planted on the ground, I never beheld such an air of universal modesty, it seemed a part of the old men's privilege to make comments aloud, in order to surprise the women into a laugh. These must often have been very droll and always personal, I understand, and not always the most delicate. I saw a few instances among the young girls where they were obliged to smother a smile by putting up their handkerchiefs. But it was conquered on the instant. The young men said nothing, but the Indian men all seemed to take as much interest in the show as we. The chief, Apotheola, had two daughters there. Both were very elegant girls, but the eldest delighted me exceedingly. She seemed about seventeen or eighteen; she is tall and of a fine figure. Her carriage is graceful and elegant and quite European. She had a white muslin gown, a small black scarf embroidered with flowers in brilliant colors, and embroidered white collarette (I believe you call it), gold chains, coral beads, gold and jeweled ear-rings, (single ones not in the usual Indian super-abundance) her hair beautifully dressed in the Parisian style, and a splendid tortoise shell comb, gemmed, and from one large tuft of hair upon one temple to that upon the other, there passed a beautiful gold ornament. Her sister's head-dress was nearly the same. The elder princess, Apotheola, I am happy to say, looked only at me. Some one must have told her that I meant to run away with her, for I had so said before I saw her, to many of her friends. There was a very frolicsome, quizzical expression in her eyes; and now and then it seemed to say, 'No doubt you think all these things very droll; it diverts me to see you so puzzled by them.' But, excepting the look at me (which only proved her taste), her eye dwelt on the ground, and nothing could be more interestingly reserved than her whole deportment. The dance was over, all the ladies went from the square in the same order that they entered it. In about an hour, it was repeated, and after that, signal was made for what they call the dance of the olden time, the breaking up of the ceremonial, when the men and women are again allowed to intermingle. This was done in a quick dance around and around again, all the men yelping wildly and merrily as struck their fancy, and generally in tones intended to set the women laughing, which they did and heartily. The sounds most resembled the yelpings of delighted dogs. Finally came the concluding whoop, and all the parties separated.

“Between these two last dances, I sent for a chief, and desired him to take charge of some slight gifts of tobacco and beads which I had brought for them. The chief took them. I saw the others cut the tobacco, and share it. Ere long my ambassdor returned saying, the chiefs are mighty glad and count it from you very great friendship. I had been too bashful about my present. If I had sent it before, I might have seen the show to more advantage. As it was, I was now invited to sit inside of the square, and witnessed the last dance from one of the places of honor. But I was obliged to depart at once, and give up all hopes of ever again seeing my beautiful princess Apotheola. My only chance of a guide through the wilderness would have been lost, had I delayed. I reluctantly mounted my pony and left the Indians of Tuckabatchie and their Green-corn festival and their beautiful princess Apotheola.

“It was a great gratification to me to have seen this festival; with my own eyes to have witnessed the Indians in their own nation; with my own ears to have heard them in their own language; nor was it any diminution of the interest of the spectacle to reflect that this ceremony, so precious to them, was now probably performing in the land of their fore-fathers for the last, time. I never beheld more intense devotion; the spirit of the forms was a sight, and a religious one: It was beginning the year with fasting, with humility, with purification, with prayer, with gratitude; it was burying animosities, while it was strengthening courage; it was pausing to give thanks to Heaven before daring to partake its beneficence. It was strange to see, this, too, in the midst of my own land; to travel, in the course of a regular journey, in the new world, among the living evidences of one, it may be, older than what we call the old world; the religion and the people and the associations of the untraceable part, in the very heart of the most recent portion of the most recent people upon earth. And it was a melancholy reflection to know that these stranger people were rapidly becoming extinct, and that, too, without a proper investigation into their hidden past, which would perhaps unfold to man the most remarkable of all human histories.”



FRONT VIEW OF THE HERMITAGE.

A duplicate of this house was built in 1819, burned in 1834 and rebuilt in 1835. LaFayette was entertained here in 1825.

CHAPTER 7.

Letters beginning in 1808 from and to
Andrew Jackson.THE JACKSON LETTERS AND KINDRED DOCUMENTS IN THE
CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY, WASHINGTON, D. C.—LETTERS
FROM AND TO JACKSON

On September 26, 1921, the Manuscript Division of the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., gave the following statement in reference to the Jackson papers in the Library:

"There are 150 volumes in the Jackson Collection comprising 40,000 folio sheets of manuscript by general estimate.

"In addition to the above there are from 800 to 1,000 letters and papers in the Andrew Jackson-Donelson collection.

"The 5,000 letters referred to in Mr. Heiskell's letter (written heretofore) are letters written by Jackson. There are from 3 to 5 letters to Jackson for every letter from Jackson."

Jackson's tremendous labor in writing letters can be more fully appreciated when it is considered that stenographers and typewriters were not used and typewriters were even unknown. All writing was in longhand and Jackson's letters at this day would be considered long—unnecessarily long. But long letters then was the order of the day. More than one person wrote letters for Jackson on his dictation. His letters in his own writing are generally hard to read and sometimes illegible. Some of the letters in this volume in his hand were copied for the author by photostat by copyists in the Manuscript division of the Congressional Library and make difficult reading and some of it impossible.

A complete publication in book form of the entire Jackson and kindred collections in the Congressional Library, documents and letters from and to Jackson and directly connected with him, would make a great publishing undertaking, of many volumes.

The author at one time considered the idea of publishing all of Jackson's own letters, but 5,000 letters would be a great undertaking in themselves, to say nothing of explanatory notes and references that would be necessary for some of them; so the idea was abandoned and this volume substituted. The author is informed that the Carnegie Foundation of New York has retained Mr. John Spencer Basset to make a complete collection and publication in 10 volumes of all of Jackson's letters and state papers. This would be the last word in Jacksonian history. Such an un-

dertaking, carefully and successfully carried out, would make an incalculably valuable use of a part of the millions left behind by the great Scotch Iron King.

In writing to his friends Jackson was one of the frankest of men. In fact frankness in letters was just as habitual with him as frankness in speech, and it is doubtful if he ever concealed his views to any extent whatever on any subject in which the public had an interest. Jackson shows to fine advantage in his letters in not only his frankness, but in that old-fashioned high bred courtesy that exhibits one of the most attractive phases of his character. That courtesy and his unfailing recognition of a higher power directing and governing the destinies of man, are two curious concomitants in the make-up of a man to whom history has attributed such war-like and violent proclivities; and they justify, together with his perfect home life, the statement made elsewhere in this work that there were two Jacksons of radically contrasting attributes.

S. WILLIAMS TO JACKSON.

“Carthage, April 25, 1808.

“Dear Sir:

“Since you left here politics have ceased and the greatest harmony imaginable pervades all ranks. The only two converts you made while here have retrograded, or in other words they say that they only supported Monroe out of politeness to you because that you were a stranger, and I can assure you Sir without you or some other friend of Monroe's return to this quarter, he will have but few friends. At present I know of none nor do I suspect but one.

“I know that you have been at considerable trouble and expense in electioneering for him and I though it a duty that I owe you from our long and friendly acquaintance to inform you that any further exertion in his favor will be lost, for your friend cannot come in this heat.

“Your friend Fite says that he cannot stand alone and at present he does not know who he shall support for Elector, and without James Lyon declares unequivocally in favor of Madison, he shall not vote for him: but let the presidential election terminate as it may, my friendship for you is the same it ever was and will not cease until I have reasons to change my present opinion. You know caucusing is necessary on extraordinary occasions. At all events my sincere wish is that the best man may be elected and if I should be mistaken in my choice and hereafter be convinced as I heretofore have been I shall acknowledge my error and repent for the injury done my Country and try to repair it on some future occasion, which is all I think that is required of sinners. But I hope that we shall get all right after a while.

“Accept Sir the Assurances of my Esteem and believe me to be a true Republican of 76.

“S. WILLIAMS.”

JACKSON TO GOV. WM. BLOUNT.

"Camp Jackson, March 15, 1813

"Dear Sir:

"I had on yesterday my feelings more awakened than I have ever had before. It was on the receipt of the enclosed extraordinary Order from the Secretary of War ordering the dismissal of the Detachment under my Command.

"The Order was addressed to me at the city of New Orleans, presuming that I had marched my Detachment there according to your order. What do you think of the justice of Government to make a requisition of so many men, have them assembled in an inclement season, and marched more than a thousand miles amidst ice and snow and the dangers of the river, and then desert them without making provision for their return?

"Would you be willing for those brave and patriotic men, whom I have the honour to command, to be deserted in a strange and inhospitable country, where there are no resources to support them and where they would be a prey to the diseases of this unwholesome climate?

"The measures of government are dictated by policy more than generous motives. If our brave countrymen had been discharged here, there would have been a fine harvest for petty recruiting officers to have taken advantage of their necessities, which would constrain them to enlist, in order to get the means of subsistence.

"If we have not rendered the Government any important services, it was their own fault in not pointing out an object for us. We have shewn our willing dispositions to serve them, by making many sacrifices of our domestic comforts. Yet they abandon us in a strange country, and have ordered us to be divested of all public property. There is no reservation not even a tent for the canopy of a sick man's bed.

"I have, however, from the necessity of the case determined to keep some of the tents and to march the men home in as good order as possible, and I will make every sacrifice to add to their comfort. I have required of the contractor here twenty days rations which take my men to Colberts, and I must trust in Providence and your exertions to furnish them with supplies from there to Nashville. If I fail in those, there is one alternative left which altho' it might alarm those who are enjoying plenty and comfort at home, yet it will be resorted to by soldiers who think that their country is not grateful, and who are pinching under lean gripe of hunger. Provisions I must have and hope you will save me from the unpleasant necessity of procuring them *Vi et Armis*.

"Will you be good enough to concert measures with the contractor and Ass. Dep. Qr. Master about furnishing supplies sufficient for our march from Colberts to Nashville.

"Arrangements will also have to be made for the payment of my troops when they arrive at Nashville.

"I have the honour to be with sentiments of very friendly esteem Yr. Ob. Servt.

"Andrew Jackson."

JACKSON TO GOV. HOLMES.

"Nashville, April 24, 1813.

"Dear Sir:

"When I marched from your territory I did intend to keep you duly notified of my progress, but the want of candles in the night and the attention to the sick in the day, prevented me, and the only letter I was able to write you was from the Tennessee advising you of my arrival at that place, meeting supplies, and that I would return your tents in the hands of the Inft., so liberally and humanely furnished for a covering to my sick. I have now the pleasure to inform you that on the evening of the 19th I reached Columbia, there meeting Major Hynes who I had sent on and finding from him that there was no orders from government for the payment of my troops, I there halted on the 20th and discharged the 2nd. Regt. of Infantry and part of the first, on the 21st proceed with the residue and reach Nashville on the 22d instant (a distance of 45 miles) and on that day discharged the residue of the Infantry and the guards, and on this day to meet the cavalry 9 miles distant and muster and discharge them. I have the pleasure to inform you, that this moment I have recd. advices from the war department which goes to shew that if we were for a moment neglected by the government, we were not forgotten and that the return of my detachment to Tennessee, as I have marched them fully, meets the wishes of government, they are directed to be paid and all expenses of the return march. This will surprise your D. Q. Master and astonish the officer who ordered recruiting officers to my encampment to enlist my brave fellows, then in the service, of their country. Inclosed you will find the wagoner's receipt for the tents returned by him. Those in the hands of the cavalry will be sent to you in good order by the first safe conveyence.

' Be pleased to present me to Mr. Dangerfield and lady, Major Freeman, if with you, Capt Guildart, lady and family, including my friend Miss Stark, and accept for yourself, my best wishes.

"Andrew Jackson

MAJ. W. B. LEWIS TO GEN. JOHN COFFEE.

"Nashville, Apl. 14th, 1813.

"My dear friend:

"Yours dated in Franklin has been recd. Your conjectures as to my not being authorized to furnish the cavalry with forage are well grounded. I cannot act unless it be from the instructions of Governor Blount, who, tho' now absent, will be in this place within 8 or 10 days, which will be time enough, in case he should authorize

me, to furnish the supplies required; however, we will talk this business over more fully on your arrival here next week, until then believe me.

"Your very humble and most Obt. Servt.

"W. B. Lewis.

"Col. John Coffee."

JACKSON TO ROBERT ANDREWS, D. Q. M. G.

"Nashville, July 12th, 1813.

"Sir:

"I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of an order to you from the Secretary of War of date the 14th of June, directing you to 'Settle and discharge the accounts for the transportation of the Tennessee Volunteers on their return march.'

"I have no doubt but you will obey this order, as you are now placed clear of any control of Col. Shomburgh; from your letters to me and from the information recd. from Col. Purdy I have cause to believe that you were disposed to have done right at first but you conceived you were under the immediate orders and control of Shomburgh. From the tenor of your orders you are the proper officer to pay the accounts (of the officers) for the transportation of the baggage of any detachment, and as you well know, transportation for their baggage was not furnished, you will point out to me what vouchers is necessary under the new regulations to authorize the officers to receive payment from you for the transportation of their baggage.

"You will also have the goodness to point out to me, the necessary vouchers upon which you will be authorized (under the new rules) to pay me for the forrage furnished to the 13 wagons and twenty-six pack horses employed in transporting the sick and the baggage of my detachment to the Tennessee river. I hope Sir as you refused to furnish the cash promised to the wagoners to lay in their supplies that no difficulty will arise in remunerating me for the cost advanced for forage for the teams and packhorses. You will please make this order public that all concerned may have notice to attend and receive payment. Upon the receipt of this I shall expect to receive your answer.

"I am respectfully Yr Obd. Servt."

"Andrew Jackson."

JACKSON TO COL. ROBERT HAYS.

"New Orleans, January 26, 1815.

"Head Quarters

"7 M. District

"Dear Col.:

"I have this moment recd. yours of the 17th. Am happy to find the ladies have started at last. I hope there will be no danger from a return of the enemy. You say you wish I would write often. Were you to see the business with which I am surrounded you would

I know readily excuse me. I rejoice to hear of the health of our friends there and thank my God we have all escaped here although I do not enjoy good health at present. I thank you for your attention to my farm, and beg you to see it now and then. Tell Knot to take care of my stock, my colts and lambs particularly.

"I inclose you a paper including my address and Genl. order to the troops since which, about eighty prisoners has been taken, who state that the total loss of the enemy amounts to six thousand five hundred, and Major General Kean has died of his wounds. It appears that the unerring hand of Providence shielded my men from the showers of balls, bombs and rocketts, when every ball and bomb from our guns carried with them the mission of death. Tell your good lady and family god bless them and give my respects to all friends. Adieu.

"Andrew Jackson.

"(Addressed): Col. Robert Hays."

GEN. ANDREW HAYNES TO JACKSON.

"Nashville, Oct. 24, 1815.

"Dear Gen'l:-

I have but a few days since returned from Kentucky, and while there I heard your name often mentioned most respectfully, yet there are some who still pretend to be dissatisfied, because the same need of praise was not bestowed on the Kentuckians as was on the Troops of Tennessee. The portion of the discontented are so small that they form but a few black specks in the mass of the people.

"I was in Lexington when the Hon. Henry Clay arrived. There was great joy manifested on the occasion. His return was greeted by the most kindly welcome.

"On my return, I stayed all night at Gen. Adair's and he really appears very well disposed towards you. He spoke of you in an anxious manner, and said that he had but little doubt with the proper management of your friends, that you might be elevated to the highest office in the American Government.

"I do not know your sentiments or disposition on the occasion and I know your delicacy will not permit you to speak or write about it. Yet if the people of the United States should wish it you no doubt will acquiese.

"Not only Gen. Adair, but many others of Kentucky are anxious for your elevation among whom are many of my friends at Bardstown. Yet I am sorry to say that the Representative from that place, Mr. Benj. Hardin, possesses such a cynical turn that he delights to find fault with everybody. You may however get acquainted with him, and a few social jokes or a little familiar conversation will make him very friendly.

"I rec. not long since the enclosed letter from Mr. Fletcher. It is confidential and the information therein contained you can use as you think proper.

"So soon as Mr. Worsley's disposition towards you is ascertained, perhaps some of your friends in this quarter may furnish the Reporter something on the above subject, which shall be published as coming from a citizen of Kentucky.

"Whatever may be the present sentiments of the people of America, I will venture to pronounce they will be entirely swayed by the nomination of the Caucus of Members of Congress at Washington and the broad field of Elective prerogative will be reduced down to the capricious opinions of a few men.

"I hope you will give a hearty response to all the kind attentions which may be paid you by members of congress. Altho' they may not be great men, yet they have power in the Nation.

"I have many friends in Baltimore and Philadelphia and I have understood several of them are of the same sentiments of Mr. Carswell, but not having seen them personally for about two years I can hardly know their dispositions.

"Will you be good enough to call on those gentlemen to whom the enclosed letters are addressed, Macdonald & Ridgeley and Luke Turnan & Co (eminent merchants) and let yourself be known to them. They are my particular friends and they are popular merchants.

"Should Mrs. Jackson be willing to spend a retired hour in the company of a plain quaker woman whom she will find an affectionate friend, I hope she will call on Mrs. Catherine Smith, and for that purpose I have given you a letter to her husband, Matthew Smith. I only mention those two last as displaying the greatest simplicity of manners, which you may contrast with the gay extravagance which will surround you at other places. They are not considered among the fashionables and as the rich and the gay will be emulous to entertain you, you may not be doing right to mingle with the humble. Permit me to remark that Mr. Turnan is a Catholic and has great weight among that people and by his wealth and sterling integrity is universally esteemed. MacDonald & Ridgeley are popular with the Irish and have long been and are now the most particular friends of Maj. Jas Smiley of Bardstown.

"I will probably have it in my power to pay you and Mrs. Jackson a visit during your tour in the north this winter.

"I am respectfully Yr. friend,

"And. Haynes."

GEN. ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

"Clarksville, Nov. 7, 1815.

"My dear General:-

"Upon my arrival at Russelville I met with your letter in reply to mine written you from Limestone: I regret it was not in my power to have seen you before you left home; the subject I wished to converse upon was no less important than who should be the next President? On my way through Pennsylvania and Virginia

I had numerous conversations with persons of the first consideration both for their talents and their standing in the community, and I found a strong disposition manifested to run your name for the Presidency. In those conversations some of which were held with members of congress, I heard no dissenting voice: to communicate these facts, was one object of the interview requested. And one other object (and not the least important with me), was to use whatever influence I could have with you to induce you to stand a candidate if solicited to do so whilst you were at Washington City. Upon this subject I have no doubt that I entertain and indulge that interest which a sincere regard for the individual concerned will always excite in an ardent and honest mind, and that under such circumstances the partialities of private friendship have their weight. Yet I am equally certain that the paramount motive in this case is my country's welfare to which all other considerations will be made to yield when an object so important shall engage my attention. Our country for some time past, as you know, has been unfortunately under the dominion of men who altho' extremely well fitted for the calm of peace were illy calculated to guide the affairs of the nation in war. The war we have just concluded, has to be sure, by a fortunate *tho' late selection* of leaders terminated honorably and gloriously for our arms. Yet the conduct of that war taken as a whole, proves most strikingly the proposition I laid down of the unfitness to rule us in time of war, either by providing means, or an independent selection of instruments best calculated to secure success and cover the nation with glory. The state of affairs in Europe call upon us to be prepared for every emergency, and requires most especially that a man should be placed at the head of our government whose firmness and judgment in deciding on measures, and whose boldness in execution, would unite the nation around him. Every man in the U. S. looks to you as this individual and whatever might be your private wishes on this subject you would owe it to your country as a patriot not to refuse the station if offered to you. I have written you upon this topic lest my journey to the city should be so long delayed as to prevent me from offering the suggestions of my mind, untill the time was past. I feel no doubt that the affair will be mentioned to you very shortly after your arrival and if it be I pray you in the name of our country pause and weigh well the subject before you refuse the tender. Many vacancies I learn are to be filled up in the peace establishment, if so, permit me to recommend to your patronage some young men ardently devoted to the profession of arms and who are an ornament to their country, but who for want of friends at court have been neglected for many less worthy. Captain Gray, late of the 24th. Infantry (Anderson's regiment), is a man of fine mind and ardent character. I pray you endeavour to have him a Captain. 1st. Lieutenant Thomas Edmondson, late of the 28th. Infantry, is also an intelligent, gallant, honorable man who would do credit

to himself, and honor to the country. He would also be glad to remain in military life. In fine, should the peace establishment be augmented, and you can have me appointed with my former rank to any of the new regiments under your command, I would immediately accept. Write me the news of the Capitol and believe me respectfully and truly your friend

"A. Butler

"Major Gen. Andrew Jackson,
"Washington City.
"Mail."

"Chickasaw Agency,
"Sept. 5, 1816.

JACKSON TO COL. R. BUTLER.

"Sir;

"By Major Thos. L. Butler, I wrote you inclosing a letter to Genl. Coffee requesting certain papers to be forwarded. If papers requested are not already forwarded, you Must have them forwarded to Genl. Coffee, by expres at the earliest opportunity. The council begins this day, & we Must have them as early as possible. These papers we find will be of the utmost importance. The Creek Chiefs not being here we Must have them in a few days. If all influence but the Native Indian was out of the way, would have but little trouble. But a letter from the Secretary of War to the agent, which had been recd. and read to the Naion in council before our arrival, has done Much Mischief, To counteract this will give as Much trouble, and makes the possession of these papers promised by Genl. Coffee of the utmost importance. Mr. Bell etc. is now here. I delivered your mesage to him; he says he will comply with it. Tell Major Eaton I have Recd his letter will answer it in due time. But my whole time and thoughts are occupied finding out the wiles of the deceitful, to obtain if possible the object in view, and finally disappoint the *would be President*.

"Say to Mrs. J. I am well, will write her when I have anything to communicate. I wish Gen. Coffee was here.

"Tell my son to be a good boy and learn his books & give my affectionate good wishes to all. Adieu.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Col. Robert Butler, Adjt. Genl. of D.

GEORGE POINDEXTER TO JACKSON.

"WASHINGTON CITY,

"DEC. 12, 1818.

"My Dear General:

"I owe you an apology for not having called on your lady, agreeably to your friendly invitation. Mr. Graham and myself were both anxious to reach the end of our journey, and it was not until the 14th ultimo, that I arrived in this city. You have doubtless

seen the notice taken of the events of the Seminole war in the message of the President. So far as I am enabled to Judge it breathes a spirit of amity towards yourself. The communication has been distributed in the usual manner, among a variety of select committees; but each of them seem desirous of casting off the burden and responsibility of this part of the message. The Military Committee allege that it belongs to our foreign relations, and the committee on foreign affairs deem the whole subject purely military. A motion was made the other day to obtain the sense of the House upon the conflicting duties of these committees, which gave your *Georgia friends* an opportunity of showing the *cloven foot*. Mr. Cobb moved a special instruction to the committee to enquire whether the Constitution and Laws of the United States and the Laws of Nations had not been violated. The House without understanding the force of the amendment adopted it, and then ordered the Resolution to lie on the table. The next morning, I went to the House prepared to move additional instructions to the committee which I take liberty of inclosing you. I however, thought it prudent, first to try the effect of a motion to postpone to a subsequent day the consideration of the subject, which on the suggestion of my friend, Doct Floyd of Virginia, was modified, so as to postpone it indefinitely. Some of your friends were anxious to broach the discussion and give vent to the feelings which the conduct of a few members had excited, but I did not think the moment had arrived when such a discussion ought to be urged; I therefore persisted in the motion which was carried by a very large majority. You may rely on it there is a "back stairs" influence exerted to induce the adoption of some measure by Congress which will have a tendency to withdraw from you the confidence and affection of the American people. I do not mean this hint to extend to the President, for I am sure he is your friend, and if he was not he would scorn to descend to such mean contrivances by which to produce a result unfavorable to your fame. Time will probably show who they are, you need not be surprised if you find among them some of your most enthusiastic flatterers. Certain individuals are on the alert to find on which side the current will set, that they may float down it, without encountering the hazard of shipwreck.

"Should either committee make a report calculated to implicate your feelings or reputation, you may be assured of the feeble aid which my best exertions can afford you. And I feel confident that you will be supported by Congress and the Nation. When I last saw you something was said concerning, a massacre which had been committed on the Tombigbee, of an innocent family, headed by the Alabama chief who was taken to the Havanna. Will you be so good as to give me the particulars, when you have a moment of leisure? I am anxious to lay this whole matter fairly before the American people and the world.

"I am well aware, General, that some efforts have been made, to excite in your mind prejudice against me. They may have had weight with you in the absence of the explanations of which my conduct is susceptible. I have marked some individuals whom it is unnecessary to name as the promoters of this object. They are called on them and have their written assurances that they are innocent of any attempt. I have done with them, and only mention it now that you know, that I never suffer fleeting circumstances of this kind to change my opinion of men or measure. Calumny when directed against a man of honest views and intentions, invariably recoil on those with whom it originated.

"Wishing you long life, health & happiness,
I remain, yr. friend with sincerity

"Geo. Poindexter.

"(Addressed): Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, Nashville.

EATON TO JACKSON

"14 Dec., 1818.

"Dear Gen'l.:

"Yours 28 Nov. was recd. this morning & I have only time before the mail goes out to say that I am well. We are playing a sort of game of hide & seek here in relation to Florida, little subtleties and nice maneuverings are much practiced. The Sec. of War has laid before Congress a statement of the Seminole business, with "*an extract* of an order to Maj. Gen'l. Jackson" which you may, like me, deem little strange that we should only have given to us an extract from that which forms the ground of controversy on relation to that business. This tho' will not go down, for all & every thing appertaining to that business will be forced from their hiding place in the War Dept. and brought to view.

"I wrote you on Sunday last, in which I stepped first into the field of conjectures regarding many things. As others are brought to light you shall hear from me. You enquire if your presence should be here. I have frequently thought upon business & this has been my conclusion: that I would be glad you were with us if the inclemences of the journey could be dispensed with. But again you must & do know that here are little finesses and cunning practiced, a knowledge of which to you if here would excite the warmth of your feelings and lead to improper results. Were you present and could stand aloof, cool, collected & unruffled by what might be said by the little glum worry of others, I should be highly gratified, but knowing that this would by no means be congenial to your temper of feeling & mind, think it best for you to be absent, knowing and believing that you have friends here that so far as their feeble powers may go, will bring forth to the world an unvarnished view of all things.

"I regret you had not separated the functions in yr. treaty in relation to Ind. & Kent. Congress is bound to No. Carolina to extinguish the Indian title in Tennessee but not so as regards

Kentky. or her compact with Virga. This may give rise to difficulties. The treaty is not yet acted on but I hope will be in a few days.

"In haste, very respectfully,

"Yr. friend,

"Jno. H. Eaton.

"Maj. Gen. A. Jackson, Nashville, Tennessee.

"Broney & Butler are still here. Doc. Butler has also arived, & will suceed I think in his business. The papers of the city have and are published all things full & entire in relation to the Seminole war."

COL. R. BUTLER TO JACKSON.

"Washington City, December 15, 1818.

"Dear General:

"I yesterday read your letter to Doctor Cavanaugh with considerable interest, and we here previously determined that a state of things might exist here which would render your presence necessary, we hear much rumor that Georgia and New York have joined forces, and determined to injure the administration, if possible, on the Florida Question. There has been much warmth already manifested, but I think it is now subsiding on the documents being given to the world. If this attempt is made you are to be the wounded instrument on the occasion. This party is very few and from preparations making I think they will get lashed in the House beyond endurance.

"It is desirable you should jump into the stage and come on for several reasons.

"It is said Gen. Brown will be here, and much intrigue will be on foot in relation to the army.

"The Chickesaw Treaty is still in the Senate and I learned there will be some opposition to it on two grounds: 1st with regard to paying for the relinquishment of lands for Kentucky; secondly, establishing the principle of suffering reservations to be given in fee simple, thereby leaving open room for such stipulation in all future treaties. However futile these opinions are they have their supporters, but I fancy the thing will be brought without danger. Crittenden swears it shall go down and assigned a reason to me for delay which I think prudent.

"Agreeable to your note I shall not return until I see you here, or learn that you will not come on, for however disagreeable it is to me to be separated from my little family, yet considerations growing out of your military reputation would have induced me to remain even without your note.

"Please write me by return mail and present me affectionately to all friends.

"Health accompany you, adieu.

"Ralph Butler.

"Maj Gen Jackson."

MAJ. J. H. EATON TO JACKSON.

“Washington City, March 11, 1820.

“Dear Genl:

“In my letter a few days ago, I promised that shortly thereafter I would again write you. Your memorial was at that time postponed that gentlemen might have an opportunity to examine and see how far it would prove to them palitable and how far the language might be considered decorous; as you will have perceived by the news papers it was shortly afterwards called up, but interrupted upon the discussion by the *slave bill* which had been returned to us from the House of Representatives. That being disposed of, the memorial was again adverted to by Mr. King, and after about six or eight speeches, and divers animadversions on the character of the report of last year; and after the acremony & severity of your memorial had been descanted upon & defended, it was ordered to be printed.

“The advocates and the opposers you will have seen in the *Intelligencer*: amongst the number was Mr. Pinkney who advocated the memorial. He said it was true that it did not, as regarded the Committee, speak in laudatory phrase, or in suppliant style, nor would such language have been worthy of yourself—that it was a manly argumentative and dignified appeal, and a bold and free examination of an *Indictment* preferred at last session, and was drawn in a style & manner suited to the cause that produced it. He said it was a duty the Senate owed, after what had heretofore transpired, to give, under their sanction, publicity to the memorial, and by this official act to ward off assult from one whose reputation and character was the property of the nation and ought to be so considered.

“It must be to you a matter highly satisfactory that men so eminently distinguished, and at the same time so competent to judge as King and Pinkney, are discovered to be approvers of your course and conduct in the Seme. war, men who being almost strangers to you, can feel no other impulse than that which reason sanctions. . . . The opposition to printing was so feebly maintained, and the strength of argum:nt and numbers being on the side of the memorial, that in the end, before the discussion had closed, opposition was withdrawn, & six hundred copies were ordered to be printed; so soon as they are finished I will send you one.

“You will remember I stated to you, that Doct Bronagh and myself had transcribed and made some changes in the memorial. After this it was handed over to Mr. Pinkney and to Mr. King, who had desired to see it. They proposed, after having examined it, that some alteration or changes should be made in the first pages; and particularly desired that the sentences which alleged that you had ‘understood’ the report had not been drawn by any of the Committee should be crossed out & not printed. Th y said that anything the memorial might contain, directly personal would

in coming before the public prove injurious, not beneficial to the end, which ought to be the only one intended to be answered, (to wit) the placing the report of the Senate properly before the public. I at first refused, but on a second interview with them on the subject, this was my reply: that you would I well knew be satisfied with any freedom or course your friends might deem advisable and if they would state their opinions in writing, to be sent to you, & thereby unite with me in the responsibility, I would consent to the alterations proposed. Accordingly they were made; and when you shall see the memorial I am persuaded that in what has been done, there is nothing to which you will object. I will enclose you the writing referred to, as the basis of what was done, when next I write; it is not at hand or it would be now forwarded. The memorial will, I expect, be printed in eight or ten days hence.

“Those gentlemen and others warmly your friends are opposed to any further examination of this subject. There is no way to reach it but by reference of the whole matter again to a committee and they say that this ought not to be done—that the Report of last year is duly appreciated every where, & is without any the effects in relation to you, that you conjecture to have been produced;—that the Senate never made the report theirs by adoption, or did more than to direct, as a matter ordinarily usual, its printing: and that your memorial which is as full and satisfactory as any report that could be made, being also by the Senate ordered to be printed, is making the reparation commensurate with the injustice. They say it is not an answer and defense published by yourself, & therefore a private matter; but a reply presented to the Senate, who by the order made for its publication, sanction your opinion as much as they, by ordering the publication of the report, gave it sanction; and that, hence, the whole matter stands as tho’ the Senate never had acted on it as the opinion of three men. Added to all this a great majority concur with you, that it is a business with which the Senate had, and ought to have had nothing to do, and that a sacrifice of this opinion would be contained in pressing the enquiry again. Such being the opinions of those whose friendship is unquestionable gives additional weight. Of the good wishes of him who is principal actor in this business the presenter of the memorial you have heretofore had evidence—tho’ of Mr. Pinkney is no less than his.

“A further objection however to the reference is this, that (for you know they are chosen in the Senate by ballot) an unfavorably disposed committee might be selected. It is very easy in a body of 40, for 12 or 15 men acting in concert to appoint a committee of their own: their own ballots would be certain, while the scattering votes of those unapprised of the scheme might effect the purpose: true a similar concert by a majority might defeat it, but then here is the objection; you have presented the memorial and stirred the investigation, and for your friends under such circumstances to

attempt any concert of the kind would afford room for recrimination & censure to you; having a regard for your honor & feelings they could not venture upon such a course: and not to do so, but to trust the matter to those inimicably disposed, would be to venture at great hazard, in pursuit of an unprofitable result, and to afford an opportunity for the venting of any lurking spleen. Your memorial having been printed by order of, and bearing with it the sanction, of the Senate, s as full a report as *any Committee* could give, however favorably disposed.

“Besides the opinions entertained by many, that the Senate have not & never should have entertained jurisdiction, as you have well argued, would render an attempt to recommit the enquiry hazardous; & should it be made & fail of success it might produce an injurious effect. Upon the whole therefore, your friends have come to this conclusion, that the ‘strong’ spirited and dignified appeal you have made through the Senate, and by them under a feeble opposition ordered to be printed, will effectually put the ‘Lacock Report’ to rest, and ought forever to quiet your feelings upon the subject. My desire to consult and to pursue your own wishes upon this subject would be sufficient to attempt the reference but your friends deeming a different course advisable and proper, renders it prudent to forbear any further attempt; especially too as public opinion is now decidedly with you. The Committee on foreign relations in the Ho. Rep. yesterday made report authorizing the President to take possession of E & W Florida. Mr. Forsyth’s correspondence in addition to what you have seen was yesterday laid before both houses. His remonstrance, as he calls it, to the Spanish Secy. of State was referred & sent back as highly offensive. He informs Mr. Secty Adams that he shall retire from Madrid into France. Doubtless he has left the Spanish Court.

“Some of our profound politicians have shown a great knowledge of the situation of the affairs of their Country and if clothed with sensibility must feel a little mortified. A reference to the Intelligencer of yesterday will shew them debating on the reduction of the army & navy, & urging it as necessary, when lo, on the very next day, out comes a report for active measures of a warlike nature, which points to the necessity of an increase instead of a diminution.

“In the progress of my house bill for the relief of the Volunteers it has been urged that they were paid for clothing. There is an old law, during the war which directs volunteers tendering their services for one year, & accepted of by the President, to be supplied or paid for clothing; but this law is obsolete, & at any rate applied not to the Seminole volunteers who were to have the same pay &c as had been given to the Militia during the war, which was \$6 66/100 under the act of 1795 in lieu of everything. Pray did they receive clothing, & was it by your orders?

“The President says he has recd your letter. He said he wanted to have with me some conversation in relation to it, but it being a

levee evening & much crowded, no opportunity was then had. He desired me to say to you that he has been so taken up with the deep agitation here the (Missouri Bill) that he did not have time but that he would shortly write you. The agitation was indeed great I assure you, dissolution of the Union had become quite a familiar subject. By the Compromise, however, restricting slavery north of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees we ended this unpleasant question. Of this the Southern people are complaining, but they ought not, for it has preserved peace, dissipated angry feelings & dispelled appearances which seemed dark & horrible & threatening to the interest & harmony of the nation. The constitution has not been surrendered by this peace offering, for it only applies while a territory, when it is admitted, congress have the power & right to legislate, & not when they shall become states.

"I fear I have tired you, so good night. Present me respectfully to Mrs. Jackson & to my friend Capt Call.

"Yours truly,

"J. H. Eaton.

"Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, Nashville, Tennessee.

MAJ. J. H. EATON TO JACKSON.

"March 15, 1820.

"Dear Gen'l:

"Calling at the office to examine the proof that it might be correctly printed, I obtained a form of the first part of your memorial and now enclose it that you may see the style and character of it as it stands after the alterations which in my letter of Saturday last you were apprised had been made by certain of your friends. I stated to you in my last the desire entertained that some expressions should be altered, on my own responsibility while Doctor Bronaugh and myself were transcribing I felt an unwillingness to alter farther than to render it chaste and perfect as I could in many parts which owing to your haste in drawing it had been neglected. Mr. P and Mr. K on examining it suggested and desired that I might venture to make some changes which they thought would prove advisable. My course and reasons in this respect were suggested in my last letter and I now enclose you the paper which they signed to shew you how and wherefore any alterations were made. I am persuaded on examining the part I have sent you, it will be perceived that enough of strength and firmness remains to do ample justice to yourself upon this subject.

"The Senate have ordered 600 copies. Gentlemen are desirous to circulate them and an additional number has been printed making 1,000. In addition to this the memorial will appear in the Intelligencer and other papers, so that its circulation will be general and extensive.

"Your last letter is received. My — is not here; he promised to leave these accounts with me, but has gone to New York and carried them with him. I will as you desire see the Secretary of

War, and having conversed with him, will give a prudent and proper direction to the papers; and shortly will again write you.

“Adieu, Yours respectfully

“J. H. Eaton.

“The enclosed paper was signed with a view to be sent to you. It was at my room when I wrote before and was not enclosed.

MAJ. J. H. EATON TO JACKSON.

“Washington, April 2, 1820.

“Dear Gen'l:

“Yesterday your letter of March the 15th, reached me. Mine of the 11th, particularly explaining the course concluded on in relation to your memorial has ere this reached you, and has I hope been deemed satisfactory. The evidences of the public mind as derived thro' the different newspapers is expressive of the opinions entertained towards you, and of the character and style of your answer. Independent of these I can assure you that I have heard many, very many persons, from different parts of the union speak of it, and but one sentiment prevails; that it is a most able and dignified paper; and all concur in applauding as well the argument, as the decorous and covered severity with which it is drawn.

“The New York Evening Post, which you know during last winter and summer was decidedly and warmly opposed to you on this question has published your reply; and in the editorial remarks submitted, pronounced it an able paper, and declares himself converted by it. The Baltimore Federal Republican, I understand, tho' I have not seen it, says that it is for sound argument and conviction, superior to every thing that has ever been said in congress upon the subject. Other such similar opinions also you will find in the paper which is here inclosed. With these concurring testimonies on its side, where is the necessity of any reference of the matter in the Senate? There is no way to get at it but by appointing a committee to examine the whole ground anew, and then with the most favourable and flattering report, they could say nothing that you have not said; or contribute in the least to make the opinions of the people (every where) more favourable than they are already.

“Upon this subject tho' I have twice written to you, and when I assure you, that my conclusion has been made out of the best reflections for your interest and regard for your feelings; and with the concurrence too of such as are truly your friends, you will, I am persuaded, be satisfied with my decision. The memorial in Pamphlets and in newspapers will go to every part of the Union.

“The Secretary at War, says your transportation account is not objected to. As regards that for quarters and fuel I have said to him what you requested; that if he thought it improper and other officers had not received it; you wished it not to be insisted on. This reply to me is that none has ever been allowed for quart-

ers and fuel while at Washington except such officers as have been stationed here regularly; visitants have not been allowed it. That General Brown has been paid for such items heretofore accruing while at home; but that at present both his account and yours are suspended, because of some doubts lately suggested on the law in relation to this allowance. Mr. Calhoun requests that I would say to you, that the inclination of his mind at present is that the interpretation heretofore given was correct and that payment should be made, but that he should examine it fully, and before I left this place would apprise me of his determination.

"Col. Williams and Judge Overton will not I, expect, disagree when they shall understand each other. Williams' letter complains that the Pamphlet charges him with entering Florida without orders, that '*his whole proceedings were without authority.*' Now as it regards raising the Corps and appointing his officers, it is true, for from Gen. Pinkney's letter, and the Secretary of War, answer which I sent to Judge Overton, it appears that no tender of service was ever made under the act, or any thing known of the Corps until they arrived in Georgia. All this Col. Williams would be compelled to admit, for the documents shew it; but he says, and I believe the documents show this too, that he entered Florida under orders from Gen. Flournoy; and hence in this particular the Pamphlet is incorrect. I am of opinion that many things have been said of Williams about this Semenole war which are unfounded. Doc. Bronaugh told me, that he had enquired here about it, and could ascertain no exceptionable or improper remarks that he had ever used. I well remember to have heard last winter of remarks which had been attributed to him by Gen. Stokes. I believe Bronaugh conversed with the general, and so far as I understood the Doctor, it was, that there was in it all, nothing improper. During this winter he has said nothing about it, I think; and had any strong opposition been raised to the printing your memorial, I am persuaded the Col. would have been on your side.

"I desire you will not send your resignation on until after my return home.

"Your friend,
"J. H. Eaton."

MAJ. J. H. EATON TO JACKSON.

"Washington, April 16, 1820.

"Dear Gen'l:

"On Saturday I received your letter of the 29th ultimo, and was pleased to find that the course pursued here in relation to your memorial was acceptable to yourself. That what was done is supported by prudence and conduces more effectually to the main object designed by you to be effected, to wit: the placing the matter understandingly and fully before the nation, I am more than ever convinced of. There have been many strictures and remarks

made upon your memorial by different papers thro' the States, and in none yet have I seen any other than the strongest expression in its favour; even two prominent papers one at New York and one at Baltimore heretofore decidedly on the opposite side have acknowledged themselves convinced by what you have said.

"The copies sent to you and others have before this been received. You will find on perusal that the alterations made were inconsiderable: the one named to you before (*viz*) that the committee as you had understood had not drafted the report, was the most material; other changes were principally as to phraseology, such as *poison*, atrocious falsehoods and such like expressions which were exchanged for words of softer import. The suppression of the sentence in relation to 'the gentleman who was the chief juggler behind the scenes' you say you somewhat regret. I think tho' you ought not to regret it; for independent of the harshness of expression, your proof was hardly sufficient to support the remark, I expect. Your expression used was that you had *understood* the report was not drafted by any one of C. I believe I know your authority for saying so; it grew out of some statements made by Bronaugh that the chairman had on getting a copy of the strictures at Gab's office gone immediately to Mr. C's house. Now nobody acquainted with Laycock ever supposed that he could write it, yet this circumstance of yours would not sanction such a conclusion and hence was it better to say nothing about it, but merely to leave it before the public on the *general literary reputation* of the man. There is no reasoning against the effect and influence of one's feelings, but these apart, I would say you have done enough and more is not required. The subject can not be placed before the nation stronger or better, no matter who shall take it in hand, and this being the case, I repeat, more is not required.

"You seem to be a little dissatisfied with Storr's report, and talk of replying. Believe me Sir you ought not. If you are to suffer your repose to be disturbed at the snarles of every man who availing himself of his little brief official authority shall speak of you, when pray will you get thro'? By yourself and thro' your friends your case has been heard in Congress and is fairly before the Country; there trust it, nor believe that any little party yelpings will change its features.

"Your memorial came before the public at the moment that Storrs from his select committee discovered his budget. His book fell still born from the press, and nothing here has been spoken or said about it in any way, by any body; and thus you perceive its feebleness, and how little it is to be regarded.

"I had a copy of it which it became necessary for me to examine particularly, inasmuch as it had a bearing as 'twas said on my Semenole horse bill which I had reported to the Senate; before I could part with it, the report was published in the *Intelligencer*, where I concluded you would see it, or else the copy I had would have been sent you, that you might have known all that was doing.

"I examined this book critically, and spoke of it freely as being destitute of accuracy. It was used against me in the Senate, with a view to prevent the troops being compensated for their horses, because they had received the 40 cents improperly. I argued it in the way you have suggested; that the act of 1795 had nothing to do with it: that the act of 1818 had said that they should have the highest compensation given to militia during the war, and that whatever had been given to troops of the same description they were by right entitled to; and that hence all the emoluments secured under the act of 1818, rightfully belonged to them: and so the Senate by a great majority determined. Cloths they were not entitled to; the only law upon this subject was in relation to Volunteers who had actually served during *one year*, then, and not else were they to have an allowance for clothing: this law had expired and was not revived by the act of 1818, at any rate, they had not served *a year*. As regards what is said on the subject of 'subsidizing' the Indians, by all men of intelligence this general remark is made that they always have and always must be employed, not from any advantages to be derived from them, but to make them neutral; if not employed, they will unite with the enemy; this Mr. S. seems not to have known. All that has been said in the Report about the Volunteers, the departure from orders and the constitution, those old topics are answered and fully met by what you have already said; to repeat my text then, more need not be said, and so I trust you will consider it.

"You will see in the Washington Gazette of Saturday a pretty severe commentary on Mr. Clay's Florida resolutions. They are from the pen of perhaps some one of the heads of departments, you can guess as I do. Before the caucus he was looked to as Vice President, but with all the maneuvering resorted to, not more than 30 members attended, and so the caucus failed in producing any result. I believe not more than one member from ten attended (Cocke).

"Gen'l Veros is here, he appears to be about 54 or 5 years of age, small and spare, with a countenance marked with much firmness and intelligence. Rumor, which is all we have, reports him the bearer of the treaty; if so we shall be here some time yet—otherwise congress will adjourn by the middle or 20th of May. I shall be glad to get away, and glad once again to get back to the management of my own little private affairs, and leave the affairs of the nation to wiser heads. I am not dissatisfied with the little political journey I have taken, for in it I have seen much of the ways of the world and from it shall derive some little benefit. I have seen the great *men* of this nation, and they are mere *men*; instead of marching forward with an eye singled to the public good, the quest of vision, a thirst after popularity, marks their progress. We have too many desirous to occupy the highest seat in the synagogue, and amidst the strife the public interest, if not sacrificed, is neglected. Our affairs are sad enough I think, tho' perhaps it will

remain a secret yet a while longer. Our treasury is empty; in this state of things 2 millions are to be borrowed, and the residue is to be made up by attaching the sinking fund. This may do very well just now—we still may go on to invade this fund (that ought to be held sacred) for four years longer, for I believe that none of our war debt is due and payable until 1825; but what then why when this period arrives, the fund prepared for it being taken away, heavy taxes must be resorted to, as the credit of the nation is impaired. The politician who has never read beyond Blackstone, might have learned that to refrain from taxes, and to go on accumulating debt will at last create a load, which revolution can only remove; and yet a system of partial taxation at first would avoid the evil and leave posterity at ease; but from the highest, to the lowest, popularity is the hobby, and taxes dare not be resorted to. I have come to this opinion, after what I have seen, that no man ought to be in the Cabinet Councils who *seeks* to be President. The moment he is found to entertain such views, dismiss him. Unfortunately however we have three, and while each is pulling against the other, the interest of the country will be wrecked. I could say much to you, and not without regret upon these governmental affairs, but I will forbear until we meet, and then we will talk together. My opinions arise from no fastidiousness, no discontent, I seek no favours, for I know of no office that I would solicit, could I procure it; my opinion and my regrets arise alone from what I see, and from a solicitude to see my country prosperous; but these pigmy politicians who like Knickerbocker's justice, weigh every thing in the balance, and calculate before they act, upon their why's and wherefores, are good for nought, unfit to rule.

"We shall have no war, let Spain act as she may, my reasons for this opinion are already before you, lack of independence. Taxes would be necessary and sooner than impose them, congress would submit to *ordeal*. Nevertheless as I have before remarked to you don't surrender your commission until I return to Nashville.

"I know you are wearied of my political nostrums, and long letter; but when writing to you, I ever speak freely, and perhaps often too fully for your convenience: but you can read them when you have leisure; and should you even from their length be deterred from a perusal, nothing will be lost, for I always write in haste, and often submit undigested matter.

"Present me to Mrs. Jackson and Capt. Call.

"Yours truly.

"J. H. Eaton."

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

"(Confidential)

"Nashville, June 27th, 1822.

"Dear General:

"It will not be in my power to pay you the promised visit—The absence of Mrs. Grundy, who has gone to see our daughter at

Gallatin, prevents my leaving home—The subject to which I wish your attention is this—Your friends, wish to know, whether there is any cause, unknown to them, which would render it improper in them to exercise their own discretion and judgment, in bringing forward your name in such way as may be thought best, for the office of Chief Magistrate of the United States at the approaching election—The General Assembly will meet on the 22nd of next month. Then is the time to take a decisive step. I have latterly attended to political matters of this kind at a distance or in other parts of the Union—But I think I know the people of Tennessee—Of the unanimous vote of this State, no doubt need be entertained. Indeed, I believe the anxiety of many of this subject is increased by the consideration, that it will afford the citizens of this state an opportunity of refuting the slander which has gone abroad—That you are not popular at home; by which the people of this state are indirectly charged, with ingratitude and insensibility to your public services—Will you deliberate on this subject, and when you come to Nashville, I will call on you.

“Your friend,

“Felix Grundy.

JACKSON TO DR. BRONAUGH.

“Hermitage, July 18th, 1822.

“Dear Bronaugh:

“I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 17th of June which reached me by due course of mail and also yours of the 24th, which is just to hand.

“I delayed answering your letter of the 17th, with a hope that I would have had it in my power to have seen Doctor McCall who had, a few days before its receipt, went to Alabama. I saw his father yesterday who says he expects his return daily, when he will call upon me, and I shall endeavour to hasten his journey to you and by him (if he goes) send your horse. I sincerely regret the disagreeable situation of the territory from the absence of the officers appointed to carry the organization into effect given to the territory by the late act of congress; but one thing is certain, that the existing authority continues, until the officers appointed under the late regulations arrive and are sworn into office, and the idea of an interregnum which I see afloat in your country is entirely ideal. The conduct of Mr. Monroe in appointing councillors, not inhabitants of the Floridas at the time of the appointment is inconsistent with (my recollection of) the act of congress, for that act if I mistake not confines the selection of the council from amongst the then citizens or residents of Florida. It is very strange that he has not filled the vacancy in the judiciary of *West Florida* by the nonacceptance of Mr. Branch, but not more strange than his appointing him when he knew he would not accept the appointment; I am of the opinion he does not intend to appoint

our mutual friend Brakenridge if he can get anybody in North Carolina to accept it; for my part I cannot understand him, he has wrote me a very cautious, and studied answer in which he takes no particular notice of the anonymous letter; I have not replied to it as yet.

"It affords me much pleasure to hear that the Governor has reached you, and that he has been well received by the people, this augurs well—but I know the people there, and you may look out for feuds and party—and unless the Governor shapes his course at first, and firmly pursues an undeviating policy, he will get himself in difficulty, the council (if united) will be his efficient prop; but Col. Barnett will raise a party in opposition to the views of the Governor, except he goes with Barnett, which I am certain he will not—nay that he cannot, if he pursues a course to produce the best results to the interest and prosperity of the country—and say to Governor Duvol to have his eye upon the Colonel. He is arch and cunning, and if he can, will intrigue. By pursuing an energetic, steady, course the Governor will succeed in keeping down party spirit, and administering the government, both to the happiness and harmony of the people, as well as to the benefit of the country—but to effect this he must at once take his course with energy, and convince those spirits of party, that he cannot be shaken. I have not the act of congress before me, but I am of the opinion the Legislative Council can by law point out and establish the mode of electing the delegate, and if it is found from the lateness of the season, that a law authorizing the election of the delegate by the people can not be passed and promulgated in due time for an election before Congress meets, it strikes me, that the council can, temporarily, appoint the delegate until an election by the people can take place—but not having the law before me, I cannot, nor do I pretend to give a deliberate opinion upon this subject.

"I hope you will have nothing to fear from the opposition of Col. Barnett; should not Mr. Worthington of East Florida be a candidate, I will write him, and I expect he will support you. Should he, with the interest of the Governor you will have but little to apprehend—from Mr. McW's farewell address I was apprehensive he was preparing the way for some favour from the people.

"I am happy to find from letters from Cpts. Cole and Easter that all my old friends will support you. I knew Major Bowie was a snake in the grass—he is opposed to you. I hope Mr. Austin will support you—say to Col. Wolcott I cherish for him the sincere feelings of friendship, he has my best wishes. I would write him but I am really oppressed with answering letters in the last quarter. My postage amounted to \$54.; this is equal to my cotton crop. Give my good wishes to all my friends. I shall write Overton, Call, Easter and Brakenridge tomorrow—Mrs. J. and the Andrews join me in good wishes. You will see from the

papers that my name has been brought forward; every application to me I give the same answer, that I have never been a candidate for any office. I never will. But the people have a right to choose whom they will to perform their constitutional duties, and when the people call the citizen is bound to render the service required. I think Crawford is lost sight of, and his friends are about to bring forward Mr. Clay; Calhoun (Eaton says) at congress is the strongest man. I am told Mr. Adams at present the strongest in this state.

"Accept My Dear Sir, of my best wishes. Adieu for the present.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Doctor J. C. Bronaugh."

JACKSON TO DR. BRONAUGH.

"Hermitage, August 1st, 1822.

"Dear Doctor:

"Doctor McCall returned from Alabama yesterday and visited me last night, he is grateful to you for your professed friendship, and will set out to join you at Pensacola, so soon as he can arrange his private concerns, which he thinks will detain him seven days, you may calculate on his joining you about the 28th instant—the Doctor will ride your horse, he is in good order and I have no doubt will reach you in good condition.

"I see you have an opponent in Col. Barnett. This I expected, as I well knew he was unfriendly to me, I expect he will be supported by Major Bowie. I always viewed him from the time of my collision with the Spanish officers, as inimical to me, and I could see a great intimacy between him and Barnett, and although Barnett was not open in his opposition, I knew he was secretly my enemy, and I had no confidence in the Major from the period spoken of, they are both weak men and full of duplicity. I name this to you that you may be on your guard, for a secret enemy can do more injury than two open ones. I have just received a letter from Governor Duval, he expresses towards you the most sincere friendship, and I expect his influence in East Florida will give you a majority there if prudently wielded.

"The newspapers will give you the political news of this quarter, our Legislature is in session and I am told has passed a resolution by a unanimous vote in the house of representatives on the presidential election. I have not seen it, I therefore must refer you to the newspaper containing their proceedings—I have not visited the assembly. I had intended it but my health was not good, and hearing accidentally that something of the kind was intended, I instantly declined going there. I knew it would have been said that I was there electioneering as I never have nor do not intend. I shall remain at home. I never have been an applicant for office. I never will. The people have a right to do as they please in this instance as you are well advised I mean to be silent. I have no desire, nor do I expect ever to be called to fill the Presidential

chair, but should this be the case, contrary to my wishes and expectations, I am determined it shall be without any exertion on my part, and on this unexpected event all that can be expected of me is to obey the call of the people, and execute the duties to the best of my matured judgment.

"I am very solicitous about your success am I. sure you will meet with the support of all the enlightened and honest class, and I think if you manage Doctor Brasinham well, he can wield the Spanish interest regardless of the miles of Animosity, who I have no doubt one of Col. Barnett's solicitous friends, that caused him to come out.

"Let me hear from you and your prospects. I have not seen Doctor Hogg since you left me. Shall write him shortly on your business, should I not meet with him.

"Mrs. J. joins me in good wishes for your success, and believe me to be your friend sincerely.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Doctor J. C. Bronaugh:

"P. S. Present me to the Governor respectfully.

"A. J.

"P. S. Give my compliments to all friends, particularly to Call, Easter, Rutledge, Wolton, Miller, Brakenridge Curry etc."

JACKSON TO GEN. SAM HOUSTON.

"Hermitage, November 22nd, 1826.

"Dear Gen'l:

"I set out to-morrow for the neighbourhood of Florence to make some arrangement relative to the interest of my little ward, H., whose cotton ginn and all the cotton has been consumed by fire. I therefore before I leave home trouble you with this letter.

"I am anxious as early as your convenienc will admit, that you should see Doctor Wallace and Col. Gray, and obtain their statement in writing of what the Secretary of the Navy should have said, at the public dinner given him at Fredericksburg, Va., relative to my leaving the army without leave or orders etc., and communicate a copy to me and retain the original yourself; so soon as this is done present my note to the secretary and transmit me his reply. I trust you will attend to this thing promptly for me; for I find the heads of departments have been ranging the union and secretly intimating slanderous things of me. This I mean to expose, and put down, one after the other, as I can obtain the positive proof. *Let it not be long before I hear from you.*

"I have received several letters from the western district since you left Nashville, the *current has changed* there, and you will (unless a mighty change) receive an overwhelming majority. The result of your political quarrel, and Major Eaton's re-election, has put down the faction, and unanimity and harmony will pervade our whole state.

"Present me to Mr. John Randolph and all my friends in the senate. If you find it convenient, you may suggest a desire I have of obtaining a good filly got by Sir Archey and full bred by the dam side—knowing that he as the purest blood, if he has a filly of this description broke to the halter, that he can sell for \$300 or under that sum, say a two or three year old, if he will deliver such a one to you, and you will bring her out, I will be prompt in remitting him the amount.

"Mrs. J. and all my family including Mr. Earle unite in kind salutations to you. Present us to Major Polk and Lady and all the Tennessee delegation with such other friends as enquire for me.

"Respectfully Your friend,

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"Gen. Sam Houston:

"P.S. Please transmit under cover, the enclosed, to its address.

"A. J.

"Capt. A. J. Donelson who has engaged my stud colts, desires me to say to you, if a faithful good keeper of race horses can be got, he will give them good wages, a freeman of colour, who could be well recommended for his capacity and honesty would be preferred, from one hundred dollars to one hundred and fifty of standing wages would be given, besides other privileges, but none except those well recommended would be employed; he must be sober, honest, capable, under such recommendations, I will guarantee any engagement for the Capt. that you may make.

"A. J."

DUFF GREEN TO JACKSON.

"Washington, July 8th, 1827.

"Dear Sir:

"The multiplied duties of my office have kept me so much engaged that I have not indulged myself in writing letters as I should do. You have been of the number neglected. You will however permit me through you to tender to Mrs. Jackson the congratulations of a sincere friend on the satisfactory and conclusive vindication of her innocence which has been presented to the public by the Nashville Committee. To a lady of her great sensibility the knowledge of her own innocence would bring much consolation but that sensibility must have been the more acute when she saw that the venomous shafts of malice were aimed at her on your account . . . Let her rejoice her vindication is complete—the voice of slander is hushed—and she must be gratified to know that your magnanimity to her is rightly appreciated by an intelligent public. That so far from impairing the confidence of the people in you this attack has made you many friends. I am aware of the delicacy of the subject and under other circumstances would be last to intrude such remarks upon your notice, but I have not been without my share of difficulty in this matter. I know the necessity of bringing

home the matter to Mr. Adams' own family and by threats of retaliation drive the Journal to condemn itself. This you have no doubt seen and understood. The effect here was like electricity. The whole Adams corps were thrown into consternation. They had no doubt that I would execute my threat and I was denounced in the most bitter terms for assailing *female* character by those very men who had rolled the slander on Mrs. Jackson under their tongues as the sweetest morsel that had been dressed up by Peter Force and Co., during the whole campaign. It was plainly hinted that my paper must not be taken at the public offices and *some* of those who had been suspected of Jacksonism were weak enough to discontinue, and some others to threaten me with a meeting of your friends to disavow any approbation of my remarks unless I would make some apology! I put them at once at defiance—told them that they had done nothing for the support of the cause—that I had never looked to their fears or their hopes for counsel, and that I looked to the people and *not* to the attaches of the palace for approbation. The gentlemen were checkmated and some of them have bowed to me most politely since—especially if no spies are near when we meet.

"I find that I have dwelt much more at large on this unpleasant topic than I intended. One great object in addressing you this is to say that I suspect that Mr. Monroe is apprised that you have discovered his treachery to you and is desirous to lend the influence of his name to promote the re-election of Mr. Adams: I am told that numerous documents in relation to the Campaign of 1814-15 have been furnished him from the War Department and that he and Southard have been in active correspondence. Is it not probable that the late notice of your correspondence with Southard in the National Intelligencer is intended to provoke a publication on your part, so as to give Mr. Monroe an opportunity to come out. If this conjecture be right it would appear to me proper that Monroe's former treachery (for I can call it by no other name) should be exposed. How much did the sight of that letter change my opinion of the man!

"I have written to Doctor Wallace to send me a copy of your correspondence, that I may be prepared to act. I shall endeavor to do the best I can and altho' I will not unnecessarily bring Mr. Monroe into the controversy, if he obtrudes himself, he will find me prepared to do him ample justice.

"I feel the want of confidential friends and advisers. I have a few fast friends who are true and ready to aid with advice but, there are but two or three in whose opinions I can confide. The atmosphere is infected, those in office (wait upon) permission of the President and his influence is felt in every work-shop in the city. It will not do for me to receive my impulses from such sources. I should soon sink even below Gales and Seaton were I to do so.

"Your friend,

"D. Green."

A. P. HAYNE TO JACKSON

"New Orleans, December 27th, 1827.

"Private

"My dear General:

"I arrived here to-day, by way of Havana, from Charleston. It is my intention to join you at some point on the river, previous to your arrival at New Orleans. I considered it my duty to be at your side, on the approaching *military* festivities. And now General, in accordance with that privilege, you have always granted me, unqualified and unfit as I am to give advice, especially to such an individual as yourself, yet still, I beg leave most respectfully to suggest two ideas for your consideration, and which I should like to see embodied in that address of yours which will be made public, for I hope you will consent to publish but one of your addresses, altho' I understand three will be required of you, to-wit—one on the field of Battle, one to the Governor and Legislature and one at the dinner party. The first idea I would wish to see expressed is this—That, like 'Cincinnatus,' you left your farm—the shade of your own 'Vine and Fig Tree,' at the call of your country, in the hour of peril and danger, and that like 'Cincinnatus' you return to your farm the first moment the public service of your country would allow. The next idea I would have you advert to, is some mild, manly and proper allusion to the wicked, false, unmanly and unfeeling attacks made by our enemies on your domestic happiness and fireside. In every other respect it appears to me that your address should be altogether *military*; the gallantry of Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee afford for the occasion delightful subjects. It appears to me also, that your address should be concise and like *Washington*, whom of all other men you most resemble, I would wish you to read them, rather than deliver them extemporaneously, altho' your friends all know it would be as easy for you to adopt the latter as the former mode. Will you not 'my dear General, think me forward in suggesting what I have done? To which question, *I distinctly respond no*, because you know my heart *there all is right*, and you would be the very first to excuse my head if necessary.

"Present me respectfully and affectionately to my friends, Gen'l. Coffee and to Judge Overton, whose presence on the approaching festivities will be cheering to you.

"I remain dear General your faithful and affectionate friend,

"A. P. Hayne.

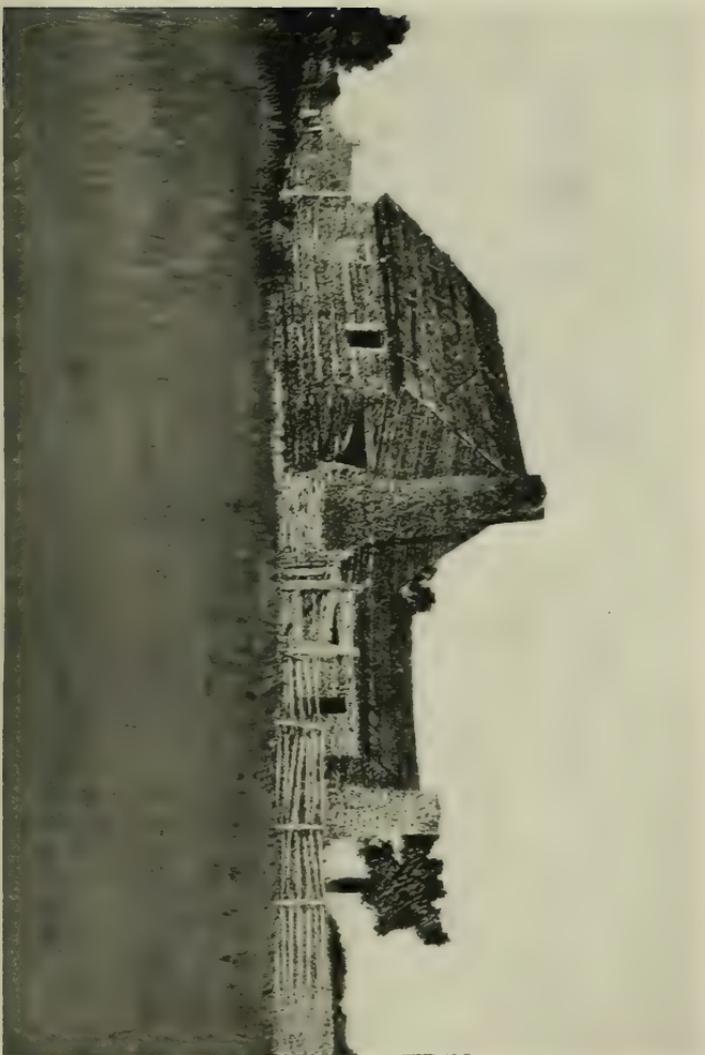
"To General Jackson."

MAJ. J. H. EATON TO JACKSON.

"January 21, 1828.

"Dear Sir:

"I am constantly importuned by your friends here to write you, and urge you by no means to notice Clay's Book which has *fallen still born* from the press. My answer to them is, *fear not*,



THE ORIGINAL HERMITAGE.

The log Home of Andrew Jackson, 1804-1819. Aaron Burr was entertained in this house. Jackson was living here when the battle of New Orleans was fought, in 1815.

General Jackson will not so far insult his friends as to take his own cause into his own hands, and from his friends! You will have seen by the telegraph, that the Jackson Committee of correspondence, at this place, intend taking up this matter: a rampart of facts will be forthcoming now I think, over and around which, Clay with all his host of compurgators will scarcely be able to get 'round: they are waiting for some facts which I understand will very shortly be at hand. He will find some new *accusers*, and stranger than any that have yet appeared.

"Mr. Calhoun has lately found out that you have a private letter of Monroe—the one you shewed me, last fall—Would you have any objection to send me, a copy of it, merely that he may see it, I myself retaining it in my own possession. He thinks it must be of the date of the 7th of August, 1818; and that the design of Monroe in writing it was he well knows of the most favorable kind towards you; and begs me to say, that he is fully aware, Mr. Monroes feelings in relation to that Semenole affair were never otherwise than sincere and firm towards you. Be this as it may, I should be glad, if proper, to procure a copy of the letter which shall rest with me to be used as I have before stated. As regards Monroe, your course and policy is to notice nothing respecting him; indeed the newspapers, happen what may, shall be altogether avoided. Then let your friends, who are fully competent, battle the affairs; your course under any and all circumstances is *retirement and silence*. All things are well, and some act of indiscretion might jeopardise matters as they are now. Let us look to the main battle without regard to the small picket guard that may come into conflict with each other.

"The die is cast, and the contest over; under no circumstances, as indicated by the present signs of the times, can your vote be less than 170. It can not but be complimentary to you to know that a majority of both Houses in Congress are your friends and advocates. They will take care of your cause and interests without any interference on your part; they only ask of you under any and all circumstances to be *still* and let them manage whatever is to be done.

"With my kind and sincere regard to Mrs. Jackson.

"I am very truly yours,

"Eaton."

GEN. T. CADWALADER TO JACKSON.

"Philadelphia, June 21, 1828.

"Dear General:

"I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 2nd. Inst.

"In my talks with Mr. Nichol, and my other friends in your quarter, I spoke highly in praise of the country about that neighbourhood, as the place where I would wish to select a residence, if I were to leave Philadelphia. I like your soil, climate and people;

and the spot which you are so good as to recommend to me would have a peculiar advantage in my eyes, in adjoining the Hermitage.

"After living, however, man and boy, more than forty years in this flat city of ours, my boys several of them in business about me, with a large body of relations, and some friends, I have no idea of changing my domicile, strong as is the attraction you offer me—in fact, the country retirement has long been one of my favorite day-dreams. I should not be sure of sleeping soundly apart from the battle of carts and carriages, the cries of watchmen, and the other *lulling* noises of a crowded population.

"Before entering into your honors and trammels of the 4th of March, I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you with Mrs. Jackson in Philadelphia. Mrs. Cadwalader desires me to say that no endeavours will be spared to supply Mrs. Jackson the places of those warm friends whom she will leave behind her—and, with my kindest remembrances to that excellent lady,

"I remain always most respectfully and truly,

"Your friend and servant,

"T. Cadwalader.

"Major Gen'l. Jackson."

CADWALADER TO JACKSON.

"Philadelphia, October 15, 1828.

"Dear General:-

"Our Election has closed most triumphantly—the *right* tickets have succeeded throughout—for Congress, Assembly, and City Councils—Sergeant is beaten by 557 votes—the City and County together give majorities of between five and six thousand. The vote for Electors on the 31st will be even more decisive—from the dispiriting effect of this over-whelming victory.

"We have no accounts yet from Jersey—this being the 2nd and last day of their election. That ground is *debateable* and we can well spare its votes—if we get them, it will be, to me, an agreeable surprise.

"Having had a particular agency in selecting the first list of Directors of the office of the B. U. S. in your quarter, I feel very anxious to know how far public opinion approves of the Administration.

"Complaints have been made to me that the men are unpopular — that 'the Press is selfish, without the least influence, except that which his official station gives him'—that 'he has a numerous train of relatives engaged in commercial pursuits and the bank is made an instrument for the promotion of their private interests, without regard to the effects upon the community, or the bank itself — etc.,' that with the exception of Geo. W. Campbell, there is not an individual in the direction who has the least influence beyond his own shop upon the public square—they consist for the most part of men who would not dare to express an independent opinion, if they were capable of entertaining one." "Our friend,

Major L— is removed, in order to make way for a man recently accused and convicted (in public opinion) of fraud for a series of years, by the use of false weights at his cotton gin—etc., 'this change however is made by the suggestion of the President and Cashier for the purpose of procuring *business men!* This excuse for getting rid of an independent man is too flimsy to gain credit anywhere but in Philadelphia.'

"Should you favor me with any communications on a subject in which I feel interest personally, as well as in my character of Director of the Parent Bank, I need hardly say that I should receive them as strictly confidential—and they would be considered as additional obligations to those under which your former kindnesses have laid me.

"Mrs. Cadwalader unites in compliments to Mrs. Jackson. I remain dear General, with the most sincere respect and regard,

"Your Obedient Servant,

"T. Cadwalader."

ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO JACKSON.

"Washington, December 18, 1828.

"My dear Sir:

"I trust that my delay to congratulate you, on your late great and glorious victory has not been imputed to any indifference on my part, in relation to that event. I hope that my feelings towards you are too well known to make it necessary for me to say that no man in America can rejoice more sincerely in your happy triumph—a triumph of principle over intrigue, of truth over falsehood—in one word—of *the people* over corruption. But being sensible that calls on your time and attention must now have become *oppressive*, I had determined to refrain from offering my congratulations 'till I should have the pleasure of meeting you in Washington. It has occurred to Mrs. Hayne, however, that her services might possibly be of use to Mrs. Jackson, before her arrival here. I enclose a note on that subject. Should Mrs. Jackson or yourself have any commands, it will give us pleasure to attend to them—if not—I beg that you will not put yourselves to the trouble to answer our letters. I have lately heard from my brother who is *in high spirits*, at having had the gratification of giving his vote as *an elector* to his old friend and commander.

"Believe me to be with the highest respect and esteem, very truly yours,

"Rob. Y. Hayne."

J. A. HAMILTON TO.....

"Washington, February 23, 1829.

"My dear Sir:

"We look day after day with the utmost anxiety for a letter from you announcing your acceptance of the General's offer. I do not ask you not to delay it because I believe it is now on its

way. The General has made up his mind to make no change in his cabinet but has consented that if *Eaton* and the *P. M. G.* choose to change places he will not object—I have been engaged today in preventing Eaton from consenting to the change by all means in my power. This and the suggestion that you will not accept at present engages all attention. We, that is those of your friends who are not disappointed, express an unhesitating confidence that you will not reject the proffer, because we believe and so declare that there is no reason for your doing so.

“I have just left the General, he is animated by the shew of opposition which has appeared against Eaton from the Tennessee Delegation and he consequently is more like himself. He said to me this makes me well. I was born for a storm and a calm does not suit me. He wrote a letter to one of that delegation in which he spoke of you as the person to whom all eyes were turned and upon whom the nation had fixed for the first place; I animadverted upon this opposition in a severe but becoming maner. Write to me.

“Has it ever ocured to you that the change of the location of the Navy Yard from Long to Governors Island affords you a happy opportunity for manifesting a just and flattering solicitude for the interests of the city of New York? If it has there is an end to all I have to say—If not, ought you not to take advantage of the circumstance to write to the President on the subject? You may advert to the apprehension whither well or ill founded of a failure of the Colosus that extending dock yards from that Island into the river may increase the rapidity of the current of the East River so much as to render the approach to the warves difficult—that its tendency may be to enlarge the passage through the meadows into Governors Bay (already increased so as to afford a channel for sloops) and by carrying out to the bar a mass of matter which may be deposited thus endanger our harbour. The passage to which I refer has certainly been formed by the increased rapidity of the current owing to extending the Piers of New York. I believe it is very clear that the session was for a military defense and not a navy yard (which cannot but be unsightly.) I find I have gone seriously into the matter when I really only intended to hint to you a subject for inquiry. God bless you sincerely prays your friend,

“J. A. Hamilton.

“I hope my letters do not partake of it, but altho. *undismayed* I am rendered quite unhappy by Adams, last cursed slander.”

J. HAMILTON, JR., TO VAN BUREN.

“*Private and Confidential.*”

“Charleston, March 25, 1829.

“Your kind and acceptable favor My Dear Sir of the 15 inst. I received two days since immediately after My return to My own home which I reached on the 22d.

"I assure you that I was disposed to attribute your reserve in relation to My strictures on a *portion* of the Cabinet to anything but a want of confidence in myself but to a proper caution (perhaps which may be pushed in some cases a little too far) becoming both your station and your interests as a Politician.

"But after writing you Col. J. H. Hamilton showed me your letter by which your silence was most satisfactorily accounted for, and in a manner highly complimentary and gratifying to myself by the mode and terms in which your most friendly message to myself was conveyed.

"I am here in the midst of my friends going the rounds of the same hospitality in which you participated two years since, and I assure you at all these assemblies it is particularly gratifying to me to find that your appointment at least affords the most cordial satisfaction founded on a personal regard which Many cherish for you and an entire conviction of your qualification for your new duties.

"I can not however conceal from you the fact that the other appointments have created great disappointment and dissatisfaction. I have however got over my own chagrin and now zealously set to work to reconcile as many of my friends to the cabinet as possible. I have asserted what I really believe that our party will be agreeably disappointed, that the cabinet will work well in practice and be much more successful in accomplishing the public expectation than is supposed. I have made this stipulation because I rely much on old Hickorys firmness, and honesty and on your wisdom when he gets fairly under way. Besides Ingham is an acute strong man with very great power of labour in official details.

"I wrote you from Fayetteville in behalf of the editors and proprietors of the S. Patriot, John N. Cardozo whom Mr. Clay deprived of the public printing because he could not hope to make a tool of him. His claim is almost a matter of contract, it is at all events one of assertable justice. I was therefore much mortified on my arrival here to find that my friend Henry I. Pinckney the editor of the Charleston Mercury had applied for this poor pittance. If his application could have been sustained with any propriety you may readily suppose his brother-in-law Hayne and myself would have supported it. More especially when a pecuniary interest which we both have in the Mercury would not certainly have damped the party sympathy which we cherish for him as an able advocate of the Jackson cause in this city. But party sympathy is one thing and justice another, and after the treatment by the late administration of the editor of the S. Patriot, it would be as great an act of hardship on the part of our friends to give this patronage to Cardozo. You may therefore rest satisfied that his appointment as Public Printer will be sustained by public opinion, on grounds which every impartial man who hears must admit. Mr. Cardozo has instructed Mr. Pleasonton to discount the amount of his printing from his debt to the Government.

"I send you a copy of my retrenchment speech to read at your leisure because I am sure you have not had time to look at it. You will see that I have signed a bond for our party which you must all endeavour to pay. Without retrenchment and reform are instituted in all the branches of administration our party can not be sustained, and I really hope that the rapacious kites who were hovering over the carcass of Uncle Sam when I left Washington with an eagle eye and appetite have been driven back with the scorn and contempt they deserve.

"I think I told you what Gen. Washington's rule was in regard to all honorary trusts, which I hope Jackson will rigidly enforce. The man who will solicit a foreign Mission or authorize solicitation to be made for it, is utterly unworthy of the appointment, and this should be considered *de facto* as a disqualification. I am told that old venal Swiss Gallatin is fishing for France, I hope to God that the General will not disgrace himself by countenancing the rapacity of this old vulture. I say these things to you with perfect candor, for thank God I want nothing for myself as I would not give a damn 'to call the King My Brother.'

"All I want is to see a high minded administration, indelicate office Hunters rebuked, Men of talent modesty and independence honor'd and noisy corrupt and brawling partizans made to know that their selfish interests are not always those of the public.

"I trust in God old Hickory may put his foot down firmly. The sooner he does it the better, for come it must at last or he will be little else than the instrument of a faction of disgusting office hunters. Go for high talent, unempeachable integrity, economy, moderation, and reform and all will be well.

"God bless you. The old Chief and yourself have my best wishes.

"And believe me with them most sincerely and respectfully
My dear Sir your friend.

"J. Hamilton, Jr.

"Hon. Martin VanBuren:

"P. S.—I shall leave my plantation on Savannah in May for the North and shall without doubt have the gratification of seeing you somewhere in the course of the Summer.

"Direct to Charleston until the 1st of May, as my letters will be forwarded to me from this place."

"DRAFT IN JACKSON'S HAND UNFINISHED.

"Washington, April 26th, 1829.

"My dear Sir:-

"Major Donelson has read me part of your letter just received I have also received one from my old friend Judge Overton, which I will answer as soon as a leisure moment occurs. I am much engaged—a rat that has been marauding on the treasury, finding he was detected, has left the place and I am engaged preparing

legal process to pursue and arrest him. It may be, that the late Secretary of the Navy is concerned in the frauds, the presumption is *strong* still, he may be able to explain. This for yourself, and your confidential friends, a few days will give publicity to this transaction, but all must be still until the principle is arrested, and until the ex-secretary of the navy explains for which I have directed a call to be made upon him in writing, which is done; and I presume he will forth-with answer—should he hesitate he will be called on by a judicial enquiry, and be put upon his defense, should a jury find him guilty, the punishment a penitentiary offense. As to the guilt of Tobias Watkins in this fraud upon the treasury, there can be no doubt—but he has disappeared. I beg my friends in Tennessee to have no fear, I will go on in the even tenor of my ways in harmony with my cabinet, who is one of the strongest, as I believe, that ever has been in the United States, cleansing the Augean stable, my cabinet gaining upon the popularity of the nation daily, and my deceitful enemies in Tennessee will fall into utter disgrace and contempt not in Tennessee alone but in the whole union. I am aware of the base conduct of some of our Tennessee friends towards Eaton. I heard some of the most unfounded lies ever propagated, that must have been circulated by some members of congress, be them whom they may. If Eaton can trace it to a source worthy of notice, they will feel the chastisement that such base conduct and secrete slander deserves, he has already paid his respects to two gentlemen *here*, for the *tales* of their wives, and I suppose their tongues will be hereafter *sealed*. I have heard that it has been circulated in Tennessee that Timberlake cut his throat on account of his jealousy of Eaton. There never was a baser lie. To the last moment of his life he had every confidence in Eaton, and in November 1826 sent him a full power of attorney to attend to all his business, by which Major Eaton has saved from the rack of his fortune about \$25,000 which he has willed to his wife and children. Read the two letters enclosed, they are from two gentlemen that were with him on the whole cruise intimate friends of his and who closed his eyes in death, and then recollect, that Timberlake was a Mason, Major Eaton a Mason, and Major Oneal, the father, a Mason and must he not be a villain who could ascribe to Major Eaton, such base conduct and violation of every virtuous obligation I would enclose you a copy of the letter of attorney but time will not permit—but I have had it in my possession it is authenticated in due form at Gibraltar.

“I have long ago intended to do something for General Carroll, I will give him a charge de affair to South America if he will accept it so soon as one is open; it is all that can be done for him, as we are trying to curtail our diplomatic corps at least of ministers of the first grade.

“I fear nothing that Clay or such treacherous friends as Miller and others can do. There are men who cry out principle but are on the scent of treasury pap—and if I had a *tit* for every one of these

pigs to suck at they would still be my friends. They view the appointment of Eaton as a bar to them from office and have tried here with all the tools of Clay helping them on to alarm and prevent me from appointing him. I was elected by the free voice of the people. I was making a cabinet to aid me in the administration of the government agreeable to their will. Major Eaton was necessary to me to fulfill the expressed will of the people. He was my friend, I knew his worth, like Washington, Jefferson and Madison I took him from my own state. I was not making a cabinet for General Desha, Isaacs, Mitchel and Miller, I was making a cabinet for myself, as I told them, I did not come here to make a cabinet for the ladies of this place but for the nation, and that I believe, and so I do, that Mrs. Eaton is chaste as those who attempt to slander her. Assure my friends we are getting on here *well*, labour night and day and will continue to do so until we destroy all the rats who have been plundering the treasury. I am not in good health, but as long as I am able I will labour to fulfil the expectations of the nation. The press for office exceeds every thing known before and every man who voted for me lays in a claim. Present me affectionately to all my friends and accept my blessing."

JACKSON TO MR. S. OF NEW YORK.

"Private.

"Washington, Sept. 27th, 1829.

"My dear Sir:-

"In your letter of the 21st instant, marked confidential—you are pleased to inform me, that information has reached you through a channel on which reliance can be placed, that a 'few ladies of this place, Washington, with a Reverend Gentleman at their head, has formed a determination to put Mrs. Eaton out of society, and who for that purpose are circulating by themselves, and *their secreta agents*, the most foul and malicious slanders, some, if not all, I know from investigation to be basely false, and that my family have attached themselves to this secreta inquisition, who are to admit, or not to admit into society in this place, such Ladies, and only such as they may think worthy,' and enquire, and *hope*, it is not true, as it respects *my family*. To which I answer, as to my family I believe, and trust, *it is not true*, and pledge myself, so far as my advice can govern, that it shall not be the case.

"You do me but justice when you say that I took Major Eaton into my cabinet of my own free choice, *where*, but for his friendship for *me*, he would not have gone into it, that all the cabinet was harmonious in the whole selection, and to abandon him, before *all sides are heard* would be so injurious to him, and to *me*, that my friends believe I am incapable of such a course. *And you have so declared that Eaton is the last man on earth I ought, or would abandon.* You have judged rightly of me. The world, in truth cannot say that I ever abandoned a friend, without on such grounds, that a righteous course founded upon the principles of that gospel, which

I not only profess to believe, but do religiously believe, or when they abandoned me without cause. You know my opinion of the purity of Eaton, I believe, and ever have believed that his morale character was without a blemish, and had the other day the pleasure to hear the clergyman who give currency to the *tale* of the dead Doctor and the Rev. Gentleman from Philadelphia to whom you allude declare in the presence of the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, War, Navy, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Major Lewis, and Major Andrew Donelson, that in all their inquiries, they were free to declare, there was nothing to impeach the moral character of Major Eaton. And I am sure from the testimonials I have seen, that there is nothing that *can*, or ought to *attach the least stain upon her virtue*. I am free to declare to you, that I do think Major Eaton, and Mrs. Eaton more unjustly, and cruelly slander(ed) than history has every recorded in any other instance and a short time will prove it, and all this by tales circulated in the most secrete manner, under strict confidence. How then could the unjust world for a moment suppose I would abandon him. I would sooner *abandon life*. I have long knew the value of the man, and his high standing both in New York, Pennsylvania, and the west, and as far as justice, and truth, will authorize, I will sustain him. You could not shudder more at the depravity of morals than I have, that would sanction a system, that a clergyman detailing the *tale* which he says he received from a deceased Doctor, and who has been dead nearly if not upwards of six years, unsupported by any other testimony, should be sufficient to destroy female character. I am too well acquainted with the religious part of our country and the high minded and honorable, to believe the moment this slander is placed before the world, and the manner of its being circulated, but the whole people will spurn the wicked slander, and prostrate the slanderer.

“I will only now add—that if this combination of which you speak, is really in existence, the virtuous, moral and religious world will begin and inquire, by what authority these ladies with their clergyman at their head has assumed for themselves this holy alliance and secrete inquisition to pass in secrete upon the conduct of others, and say, who shall, and who shall not be permitted into society. If it does exist, the inquiry will go farther, it may extend to the inquiry into their own immaculate characters, and their divine right to assume such powers, and I would not for the Presidency be in their places. The indignation is arising here, as well as with you, and the moment it is known, must arise over the christianised world—for the matron, the daughter, the father will all cry out, where is the safety for our character, if it is placed within the pale of a vindictive clergyman, who from the art, shows he has no religion, who may get displeased with a fair and virtuous female, who has nothing to do, but put forth the saying of a dead man, and the female character is gone forever. I can assure you that the morals and virtue of our country is not prepared to sup-

port or countenance such things as this, and I am happy to hear, that the indignation of your citizens has become so much aroused at the mere recital of the conduct here—it will have a good effect, it must in the end, put down gossiping here, and chasten society every where, and give a greater respect to female character, and an utter detestation of slanderers. Then will society enjoy peace, and harmony, and character be secure from secrete and unfounded calumnies—*our society wants purging here*. When you write to your distant friends present me to them kindly and believe me your friend.

“Signed A. J.

“To Mr. S. N. Y.”

JACKSON TO MAJ. J. H. EATON.

“July 19th, 1830.

“I have perused the note of Judge Berrien to you (Major Eaton) of the 18th of June and I regret, as he has refered to an interview with the President, that he has not given a fair statement, that you might understand (or if for publication) the public might understand it. First then I have to state, and do it without fear of contradiction, that no member of Congress was by me ever authorized to say that Judge Berrien, Mr. Ingham and Branch with their families should associate with Major Eaton and his or they should be removed, and Judge Berrien on the interview I had with him Mr. Ingham and Branch were well advised of this by me and to them I entered my protest against any such interference. The Judge ought to have stated, for he well knew the fact, that various members of Congress, had communicated it to me, that there were a combination entered into with a foreign Lady with these gentlemen and families to drive Major Eaton and family out of society and had appealed to me if I would suffer such indignity to myself after inviting Major Eaton into my Cabinet and he reluctantly assenting. To all which I replied I surely would not, but I could not believe that these gentlemen would act such dishonorable a part, having come into my cabinet with the greatest harmony; but if I found them capable of such Dishonorable conduct as combining together with this foreign lady for such unworthy purpose I would promptly remove them from my cabinet. I was informed that the plan was this, the foreign lady was to make a party and invite all the heads of departments and families but Major Eaton, that Mr. Ingram was to follow, Branch and Berrien, I was informed by members of congress that the combination had thus been carried into effect, and again appealed to me, was I going to submit to such indignity. I assured them I would not—and sent for Mr. Ingham, Governor Branch and Judge Berrien, to have an interview with them, they came, I faithfully detailed the facts above communicated to me, and wish to be informed whether they had entered into the combination communicated; that if they had, the indignity was offered to me and not to Major Eaton, that

they well knew I had solicited Major Eaton to become a member of my cabinet and he had reluctantly yielded his assent, that they all had come in without any objections, and such a combination to drive him out of society was an insult to me which I would not suffer. They all declared they had no intention of the kind and would be the last to do any act with a view to the injury of Major Eaton and his family or lessen them in society. To which I replied, that I had too high regard for them to doubt their words, but the prediction had gone forth and the event having occurred as predicted, it had gone forth to the world and the members of congress as tho intended and its evil effects were as great as tho it had been intended, and to prevent the like again, and to promote harmony, it might be well that these parties might be given in a way not to produce such effect upon society as tho it was intended; that I had brought Major Eaton into the cabinet and I would part with every member in it before I would him and I was determined to have harmony in my cabinet or I would remove those that produced the want of it, and if there were any that could not harmonize with Major Eaton they had better withdraw. Here Mr. Ingham remarked that he could not interfere or control his wife in her associates in society. I assured him I would be the last man in society that attempt to interfere in such matters, that it was the right of all to select their society, but all I wanted was harmony in my cabinet, that he and all others might rest assured that I never would part with Major Eaton nor should he be drove out of my cabinet by any combination that could or might be formed for that purpose, that I would remove the whole party. Again it was repeated by the gentlemen that they would be the last men who would do any act with a design or knowledge, that it would injure Major Eaton or his family. Here the matter was left. How far they have acted agreeable to this pledge the people will judge.

JACKSON TO MAJ. J. H. EATON.

"Aug. 3, 1830.

"Private and for your own eye.

"My dear Major:

"I send my son to meet you at Judge Overtons, and to conduct you and your lady with our other friends to the Hermitage where you will receive that heartfelt welcome that you were ever wont to do. When my dear departed wife was living; her absence makes every thing here wear to me a gloomy and meloncholy aspect, but the presence of her old and sincere friend will cheer me amidst the meloncholy gloom with which I am surrounded.

"My neighbors and connections will receive you and your lady with that good feeling that is due to you, and I request you and your lady will meet them with your usual courtesy, which is so well calculated to gain univereal applause even from enemies, and the united approbation of all friends. Our enemies calculate much

upon injuring me, by—raising the cry that I had forced Mr. A. J. Donelson from me, and compelled him to retire, because he would not yield to my views, which they call improper. I mean to be able to show that I only claimed to rule my household, that it should extend justice and common politeness to all and no more, and thus put my enemies in the wrong, and if any friends desert me that it is theirs, not my fault.

“General Coffee has, since here, produced a visable, and sensible change in my connections, and they will all be here to receive you and your lady, who I trust will meet them with her usual courtesy and if a perfect reconciliation cannot take place, that harmony may prevail, and link broken in the Nashville conspiracy.

“I trust you are aware that I will never abandon you or separate from you, so long as you continue to practice those virtues that have always accompanied you, nor would I ask you, or any friend to pursue a course to compromit or be degrading to themselves, or feelings—but I am anxious that we pursue such a course as will break down the Nashville combination, which I view as the sprouts of the Washington conspiracy. This effected, and we have a peaceful administration, and when we have waded thro’ our official labours, a calm retirement. I wish us also to heap coals uoon the heads of our enemies, by returning good for evil. When I see you I have much to say to you. I have received letters from Major Haley and Peachlynn and a string of resolutions from the citizens of Mississippi, all of which will be presented to you when here.

“With my compliments to your lady, Mr. B. and his, I am in haste.

“Your friend,

“Andrew Jackson.

“Hermitage, August 3rd., 1380.

“Major J. H. Eaton.
Secretary of War.”

JACKSON TO SAMUEL J. HAYES.

“Washington, december 7th, 1830.

“My dear Sam’l:-

“I inclose you my message this day delivered. It is published in the *Globe*.

“I send for you Doctor Butler, Col. S. D. Hays and my friend Chester, this message is for you all, not having one for each, with the prospectus of the *Globe*. It is of the true faith, no nulification in the *Globe*. Patronize it. I will be happy to hear your opinion of the message and expect *you all* to patronize the *Globe*. The editor is the late editor of the Kentucky Argus, no nulifier but of the true faith. I will be happy to see you, and your dear wife here, with my namesake. Carolina is torn to pieces. I hope the steam

will blow off without bursting a boiler, and that our friend Hamilton will be elected Governor, but all is doubtful, I would like to see Narcissa with you. Salutations to all.

“Yours affectionately,

“A. J.

“Samuel J. Hays.

“Jackson, Madison County, Western District, Tennessee.

HUGH LAWSON WHITE TO JACKSON.

“Flint Hill, April 20th, 1831.

“My dear Sir:-

“By the last mail I received your favor under date of the 9th instant. I am sorry that anything should have occurred, to render it necessary that any of your cabinet should desire to withdraw, or that you should request them to do so. With Major Eaton I was intimately associated for several years, in the course of which I formed a sincere friendship for him, which I hope and expect will last as long as life is spared to me; and should he return to Tennessee, it will give me the most sincere pleasure to contribute all in my power to place him in any public station desired by him, or his friends. It ought not however to be concealed from him or you, that he will have difficulties to encounter with some of our friends, on account of some of his votes while in the Senate. With Jr. Van Buren I served several sessions and ever found him frank, candid and firm, in the course his judgment approved. His talents are unquestioned even by his bitter enemies. You are correct in placing me among the number of those who desired to withdraw you from your chosen retreat and to place you in the conspicuous station you now occupy. For this I had many reasons. First I wished to see the good old democratic doctrines practically restored to the Federal Government, and the modern doctrine of constructive powers abolished. With you at the head of the Government I believe this would be more likely to be effected, than with any other man. Secondly: I had some state pride. You were a Tennessean. Thirdly: I believe the public owed you more, for services actually rendered, than it did to any living man, and lastly you were my friend, and my father's friend, and I wished to do any thing, and every thing in my power, consistent with my country's good, to prove my unlimited confidence in your capacity for business, and in your integrity of character. Happily, as I think, for the people of the United States, we succeeded to the extent of our wishes, and thus far I have not been disappointed.

“My dear Sir, your kind wishes towards me personally cannot be realized. Nothing would add more to my comfort than to be so near you as to have a constant personal inter-course with you so long as we both live; but I am a believer in the doctrine of the late Lord Littleton, ‘That every man who is fit for any public employ is a better Judge of what he is fitted for than any of his friends, and that he shows his weakness by permitting himself to be placed in a

station for which he is not qualified.' I am not qualified to discharge the duties of the office your partiality would confer upon me, and to qualify myself would require more labour than at this time of life could conveniently be submitted to. Again I must retain a home in Tennessee, and were I to go to Washington, my property would not only be unproductive but much of it wasted. Lastly I am your *personal* and *political* friend, and from you cannot accept office. If I wished an office, within the gift of the President, it would be my heart's desire that you should be displaced, because from a man whose undeviating friendship I have experienced from boyhood to advanced life, I never can think of either asking or accepting office. In this rule of conduct my opinion is so firmly fixed, that nothing could induce me to depart from it, but a belief that unless the public could receive my services in some particular office my country would sustain an injury. I have no idea that such a crisis has arrived, or ever will, in my day. Among your acquaintances there are many from whose services both you and the public would derive more benefit than any my humble abilities would enable me to render. With all the grateful feelings which a man ought to possess, for the honor your kindness would bestow I must be permitted to decline the offer you have made in such obliging terms, under a conviction that farther reflection will satisfy you that my non-acceptance was alike due to the public, to you, and to myself.

"Your sincere friend,

"H. L. White.

"Andrew Jackson, Esq.

"President of the United States.

"*Confidential.*

JACKSON TO HUGH LAWSON WHITE.

"Washington, April 29th, 1831.

"My dear Sir:-

"Your letters of the 18th and 20th are just received, your determination expressed in yours of the 20th has filled me with pain. I beg of you most seriously to reconsider it. The public confidence you possess in a most eminent degree. This is every thing to the administration, your talents are as good as I wish them, you are well acquainted with our Indian affairs which is the most important branch of the war department, and no one I could get is half so well qualified as yourself as for the mere arrangement of the military branch, you have whatever aid I can afford and also the aid of Mr. Comb whose long experience in the military department will render that part of your duties easy. Your knowledge of law and your talents and acquirements will render the place easy to you.

"Had I time to bring to your view the circumstances with which I am surrounded the necessity, from actual experience, of having

men round me in whom I can confide, and particularly one to whom I can freely unbosom myself I know would yield to my wishes.

"The great principles of democracy which we have both at heart to see restored to the Federal Government, cannot be accomplished unless a united cabinet who will labour to this end. The struggle against the rechartering of the United States Bank are to be met. The corrupting influence of the Bank upon the morals of the people and upon congress are to be met and fearlessly met. Duff Green has violated his pledge on this subject and is neutralized—many who you would not have supposed, has secretly enlisted in its ranks and between bank men, nullifiers, and internal improvement men it is hard to get a cabinet who will unite with me heart and hand in the great task of Democratic reform in the administration of our Government. In this work if possible the Cabinet must be united, or the executive whilst labouring to effect it, some one of the cabinet may be secretly labouring with congress to prevent it from being carried into execution.

"As it respects your domestic concerns that can be arranged so that you can visit it every year—and one of the two succeeding years I will agree to accompany you or at least take you up on my return and bring you with me here. I cannot do without you for the two first years, if you should become wearied by that time, then I will if continued here agree to spare you—but if you should now decline you derange all my well laid plans. Who can I get to fill the war office. I could get Col. Drayton perhaps, who may be in favor of rechartering the bank, acquainted with military matters, but unacquainted with Indian matters and whose appointment would arouse half of South Carolina and let it be remembered that he has been a strong Federalist. I like the man but I fear his politics—and having taken McLane (a Federalist) into the treasury I do not want to be compelled to take another—your refusal at present would produce and throw around me a laberinth of difficulties from which it would be hard to extricate myself. I will just add, if it had not been that I wanted your aid or that of Major Eaton I never would have permitted myself to have been here. I trust you will reconsider this matter, and answer me speedily that you will accept. I will be more than happy to have you under the same roof, and you have no friend but will say you ought to yield to my request. What a sacrifice I have made to the solicitations of my friends and what a sacrifice am I still making to the request of my country: and I trust you will not hesitate to make the one I have solicited.

"(unsigned—perhaps a draft)"

MAJOR ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.

"Knoxville, May 22d, 1831.

"General Jackson.

"Dear Sir:-

"I reached here on saturday the 20th. Instant. On yesterday I visited Judge White. We had a long conversation on the

subject of his acceptance of the office of Secretary of War. I repeated to him the conversation between us. He read to me the answer to your second letter. I said to him that I was to write you and that nothing would be done until after you heard from me. He replied that he could say no more. That it would be like putting a torch to his happiness, and that the sacrifices would be indescribable.

"But that if you did believe it necessary either for yourself or the country notwithstanding his own objections, he would accept. I told him of the feelings of Virginia—and of the great anxiety felt by all for his acceptance and said to him that I did believe that you would insist on it—because the crisis required it.

"I am much gratified to say that judging from any thing in traveling to this point your course meets the approbations of your friends and I hope all will be right.

"I shall leave in a few days for the nation.

"I have the honour to be your Obedient Servant.

"F. W. Armstrong.

"To the President of the United States."

HUGH LAWSON WHITE TO JACKSON.

"Flint Hill, June 15th, 1831.

"My dear friend:

"Until Monday evening, I did not return from the west, your favor of the 1st instant was therefore not received till yesterday. I mention this to account for the apparent neglect in not returning an immediate answer.

"Major Armstrong detailed to you correctly the conversation he had with me, and nothing but the situation of my daughter should now prevent my acceptance of the office you have tendered in such flattering terms. Accompanied by her husband she has taken a journey to the west, with a hope that traveling might aid in throwing off a complaint threatening the worst results. At Judge Overtons they buried their little daughter, and upon their return I met them at Sparta. Her disease is, apparently making slow but sure progress towards a fatal termination. She is now at home so much enfeebled, that all hope of her recovery must, in my opinion, be abandoned. Were I to leave her for a residence in Washington, or elsewhere, and more especially were I to take with me her sister and brother, *the only other survivors of my family*, such a step, would I apprehend, be immediately fatal to her.

"Should I accept under an expectation that an absence from Washington might be allowed, until her fate was decided, the nature of her complaint might make the time of my absence so protracted, that public opinion would condemn an indulgence so unreasonable. Under these circumstances I can do nothing but decline the office your kindness would confer.

"Had I desired an additional evidence of the sincerity and strength of your personal friendship and regard, it has been most amply furnished in relation to the office I am constrained to decline accepting; and should you for a moment believe I have made no suitable return, I beg you only to remember, that if I am worthy to be considered the friend of any man, I must have been experiencing the pangs of the dying, for a greater portion of the period, which has elapsed since the year 1825; and that from such a man but little effectual aid could be expected, even had I accepted.

"Your friend,

"H. L. White.

"Andrew Jackson, Esquire.

"President of the United States.

"P.S. Until I saw it announced in the Globe of the 25th. May, that I had declined accepting, I had been perfectly silent on the subject, except in a letter to J. K. Polk, who I knew was safe. Since that publication, in answering the letters of friends, in several instances, I have mentioned the fact of having declined, and in some instances very briefly stated some of my principal reasons. However, these circumstances would not have created any difficulty.

"H. L. White."

JOHN C. McLEMORE TO JACKSON.

"Private.

"Post Office.

"Nashville, September 25, 1832.

"My dear Friend:

"Your kind favor of the 23d, Instant handed by Mr. Chester is before me, nothing of consequence has occurred since you left us. Major Claiborne did not make his nullification speech as was expected on yesterday, and I am informed has declined discussing the subject before the Legislature. Indeed he is as far as I can learn entirely silent. Attempts were made to draw him out without success.

"Major Eaton is gaining ground, and will I am confident, be elected. Grundy is still loading the mails with letters to his friends, to get up instructions to vote for him. We are writing letters too, to counteract his movements, and some of the members have already received counter instructions to vote for Eaton. Our friends are *firm and decided*, and I have no hesitation in assuring you, that Eaton will be the Senator, or that there will be no election this session. The election is put off to Friday the 5th, day of October, and I *have no doubt* but that on that day John H. Eaton will be declared by the proper authority, duly and constitutionally Senator in congress &c.

"I have just been informed, that certificates are about to be obtained, stating that you have no political preference for Eaton,

that it is merely a personal friendship entertained for him, and that *politically* you prefer Mr. Grundy. They will try to make much of this. I, you *know* can contradict this, and *will do so wherever* I meet it, but if you will write me a letter substantially such as is herewith enclosed, the effect will be good. I may not use it but I wish to have it ready to be used by me with *great caution*. I feel intensely anxious for Eatons success and must guard every point, and I really think a letter similar to the one enclosed *may be necessary to success*. Write by the first mail, all our friends in good health.

“Very sincerely

“Your friend,

“Jno. C. McLemore.

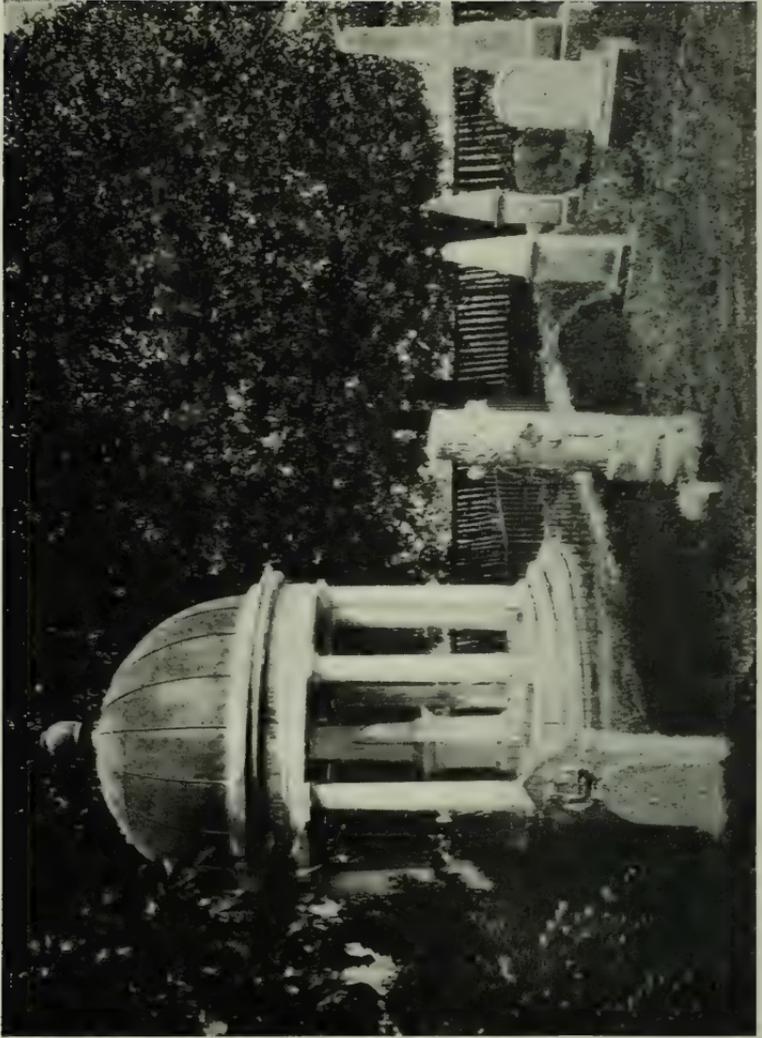
“General Andrew Jackson.

“Lexington Kentucky.

“ I have just come in while McLemore is closing his letter. What he states is true. Grundy is saying that your opinions are not correctly represented; and that he would obtain certificates to show that your political desires are for him.

“Letters to me tonight from Gallatin say that the fever is up since I came out, that all Grundy’s instruction men are turning over and in three days a majority of the county will direct Watkins and Boddie to vote against him. So much for his management of matters.

“E.”



THE TOMB AT THE HERMITAGE WHERE JACKSON IS BURIED.

CHAPTER 8.

Poem on Andrew Jackson published in 1842 by W. Wallace, Esq.; address of Daniel Webster at New York Historical Society on death of Andrew Jackson; poem "Welcome to General Jackson" by Mrs. Adams, quoted from Knoxville Register of March 4, 1829; poem "Jackson" by Ella Bentley Arthur; poem "Memories of General Jackson" published Auburn, New York, 1845; poem "The Hero Sleeps," Auburn, New York, 1845; editorial on Mrs Rachel Jackson in Knoxville Register May 27, 1829; action of the Board of Aldermen of Knoxville, December 29, 1828, on the death of Mrs. Jackson; "Dirge to the Memory of Mrs. Jackson," by Dr. James McHenry, Refutation of charges on Mrs. Jackson in 1827; action of Nashville authorities on her death; Adjutant General's report on General John Coffee; Gov. C. C. Claiborne to Gen. Coffee; Gen. Coffee's reply; letters from Jackson.

"STAR OF THE WEST! whose steadfast light
 Sparkles above our troubled sea,
 Well may the watcher of the night
 Turn with a trusting heart to thee—
 To thee, whose strong hand steered the bark
 When all around was wild and dark,
 And bent the white wing of the mast,
 That trembled, like a thing of fear
 Within the tempest's thunder-blast,
 Before its haven-rest is near.

"Undying ray! unfading flame,
 Of glory set within our skies,
 Forever burning there the same,
 Above a nation's destinies,
 And linked with all the noble band
 Of Freedom worship in their Ind,
 Whose rolling streams and rugged sod
 Still, still no monarch own but God!
 Beam on! Beam on! while millions turn
 To where thy lofty splendors burn,
 Like seraph-wings, whose rainbow plumes,
 From Heaven's far battlement unfurl'd,
 Shine grandly through the fearful glooms
 That pall a sun-deserted world!

"CHIEF OF THE BRAVE! 'Twas thine to wield
 Resistless arms in battle-field!
 'Twas thine to give the gallant blow

That struck the lion-standard low!
 E'en as a mighty harp with strings
 Thrilling beneath the tempest's wings,
 So thrilled the nation's soul, when thou
 Trampled the foe beneath thy feet,
 And saw, victorious o'er thy brow
 Unfurled, Columbia's glory-sheet.

"Oh! when the storms of Treason lower
 O'er freedom's consecrated tower,
 And that for which the grey-haired sire
 With boyhood gladly gave his life,
 Shall wither fast beneath the fire
 Of wild Ambition's demon-strife;
 The Patroit then shall boldly start,
 With kindled eye and swelling heart,
 Murmur devotedly thy name,
 Rush where the ranks of Treachery stand,
 And fearless quench the unholy flame
 Lit on the altars of our land.

"What though around thy brow sublime
 We see the snowy wreath of Time!
 Aye! let the very marble rest,
 Old Chieftain! on thy mouldering breast—
 Thy spirit bravely flashing out,
 Like the bright Grecian torch of old
 By mailed warriors hurled about,
 Shall beam on centuries untold.

"Long as a Hero's grave shall be
 A Cherished altar for the free—
 Ah! dearer far, and more divine,
 Than Persian orb or orient shrine—
 Long as the River, by whose wave
 Thou led'st the armies of the brave,
 Shall, in the shades of the evening dim,
 Echo the anthem of the sea,
 And mingle with its solemn hymn
 The ancient songs of liberty.

Long as the spirits of the blest
 Shall hover o'er each patriot's sleep,
 True as those planets of the west
 That watch the shut eyes of the Deep;
 Long as our starry banner flies
 On dashing seas, through azure skies,
 A radiant hope from heaven displayed
 To all who groan in tyrant-chains,
 That still, despite of throne and blade,

For them a brighter lot remains.
 So long, Oh! Soldier-Patroit-Sage,
 so long, unterrified, sublime,
 Shalt thou, unheeding envy's rage,
 Tower up, the land-mark of our age,
 The noblest glory of thy time!

REMARKS OF HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, AT THE MEETING OF
THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON THE DEATH
OF GENERAL JACKSON.

"Nothing could be more natural or proper than that this Society should take a respectful notice of the decease of so distinguished a member of its body. Accustomed occasionally to meet the Society, and to enjoy the communications that are made to it, and proceed from it, illustrative of the history of the country and its government, I have pleasure in being present at this time also, and on this occasion, in which an element so mournful mingles itself. General Andrew Jackson has been from an early period conspicuous in the service and in the councils of the country, though not without long intervals, so far as respects his connections with the general government. It is fifty years, I think, since he was a member of the Congress of the United States, and at the instant, sir, I do not know whether there be living an associate of General Jackson in the House of Representatives of the United States at that day, with the exception of the distinguished and venerable gentlemen who is now President of this Society. I recollect only of the Congress of '96, at this moment now living, but one—Mr. Gallatin—though I may be mistaken. General Jackson, Mr. President, while he lived, and his memory and character, now that he is deceased, are presented to his country and the world in different views and relations. He was a soldier—a general officer—and acted no unimportant part in that capacity. He was raised by repeated elections to the highest stations in the civil government of his country, and acted a part certainly not obscure or unimportant in that character and capacity.

"In regard to his military services, I participate in the general sentiment of the whole country, and I believe of the world. That he was a soldier of dauntless courage—great daring and perseverance—an officer of skill and arrangement and foresight, are truths universally admitted. During the period in which he administered the General Government of the country, it was my fortune, during the whole period of it, to be a member of the Congress of the United States, and as it is well known, it was my misfortune not to be able to concur with many of the most important measures of his administration. Entertaining himself, his own view, and with a power of impressing his own views to a remarkable degree, upon the conviction and approbation of others, he pursued such a course as he thought expedient in the circumstances in which he was placed. Entertaining on many questions of great importance, different opinions, it was of course my misfortune to differ from him, and that difference gave me great pain, because, in the whole course of my public life, it has been far more agreeable to me to support the measures of the Government than be called upon by my judgement and sense of what is to be done to oppose them. I desire to see the Government acting with an unity of

spirit in all things relating to its foreign relations, especially, and generally in all great measures of domestic policy, as far as is consistant with the exercise of perfect independence among its members. But if it was my misfortune to differ from General Jackson on many, or most of the great measures of his administrations, there were occasions, and those not unimportant, in which I felt it my duty, and according to the highest sense of the duty, to conform to his opinions, and support his measures. There were junctures in his administration—periods which I thought proper to adopt, corresponded entirely with my sentiment in regard to the protection of the best interests of the country, and the institutions under which we live; and it was my humble endeavor on these occasions to yield to his opinions and measures, the same cordial support as if I had not differed from him before, and expected never to differ from him again.

“That General Jackson was a marked character—that he had a very remarkable influence over other men’s opinions—that he had great perseverance and resolution in civil as well as in military administration, all admit. Nor do I think that the candid among mankind will ever doubt that it was his desire—mingled with whatsoever portion of a disposition to be himself instrumental in that exaltation—to elevate his country to the highest prosperity and honor. There is one sentiment, to which I particularly recur, always with a feeling of approbation and gratitude. From an earlier period of his undertaking to administer the affairs of the government, he uttered a sentiment dear to me—expressive of truth of which I am most profoundly convinced—a sentiment setting forth the necessity, the duty, and the patriotism of maintaining the union of these states. Mr. President, I am old enough to recollect the deaths of all the Presidents of the United States who have departed this life, from Washington down. There is no doubt that the death of an individual, who has been so much the favorite of his country, and partaken so largely of its regard as to fill that high office, always produce—has produced, hitherto, a strong impression upon the public mind. That is right. It is right that such should be the impression upon the whole community, embracing those who particularly approved, and those who did not particularly approve the political course of the deceased.

“All these distinguished men have been chosen of their country. They have fulfilled their station and duties upon the whole, in the series of years that have gone before us, in a manner reputable and distinguished. Under their administration, in the course of fifty or sixty years, the government, generally speaking, has prospered, and under the government, the people have prospered. It becomes, then, all to pay respect when men thus honored are called to another world. Mr. President, we may well indulge the hope and belief that it was the feeling of the distinguished person who is the subject of those resolutions, in the solemn days and hours of closing life—that it was his wish, if he had committed a few or more errors in the

administration of the government, their influence might cease with him; and that whatever of good he had done, might be perpetuated. Let us cherish the same sentiment. Let us act upon the same feeling; and whatever of true honor and glory he acquired, let us all hope that it will be his inheritance forever! And whatever of good example, or good principle, or good administration he has established, let us hope that the benefit of it may also be perpetual."

MRS. ADAMS' WELCOME TO GENERAL JACKSON.

(Knoxville Register, March 4th 1829.)

"A Welcome, Chieftain, to these halls;
The doors are opening joyously—
And loud the voice of Millions calls
Thee to thy glorious destiny;
A welcome, Patriot, to this dome,
Where Care before thee long a guest
Hath made these marble walls its home
And broke the hours of balmy rest.

"Come—on Fame's sounding pinion borne
The guardian eagle's sun-bright wing,
With laurels thou hast justly worn,
Come to a nation's welcoming;
And let the star sown banner wave,
O'er him of Orleans, sternly good,
Who sent the Lion to his grave,
Where Mississippi rolls its flood.

"'Tis meet for thee to stand where first
Immortal Washington arose,
His brow still dark with battle dust
And vengeance to his country's foes—
But where is she—the better one—
On whom to lean thy weary head,
When toils and council cares have done,
And thou hast sought a quiet bed?

"Pale—Pale—as glory's coronet,
When she the lov'd one cold in death,
Hath seen the earth's bright sunbeams set,
And dawn, in other words, her breath;
Ah, Chieftain; here thy banner clings
In sadness round the standard spear—
Nor gives its empire drapery wings
To gild a world's wide admosphere.

"JACKSON"

"He stands in grim relief against the dark
And bloody era of his troublous time
Like some stark pine, gaunt and of rugged bark
Etched on the red west of a Southern Clime.

"He fought with valor and he fought with brain;
Rough-hewn, but modeled on a hero's plan,
And thus posterity sums up his Fame—
A general—a soldier—and a Man.

--Ella Bentley Authur.

FROM "MEMORIAL OF GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON."

AUBURN, NEW YORK, 1845.

"Weep, Columbia, weep;
 Breathe once again the note
 Of sorrow, stern and deep,
 Wide o'er the land to float,
 He rests—the Hero-Sage;
 His earthly toils are o'er,
 And History's golden page
 Shall wait for him no more.

"'Tis closed—his book of life
 Is full—his race is run;
 With fame and honor rife—
 His work forever done.
 But while in sadness here,
 We heave an earth-born sigh—
 He lives, where not a tear
 Shall flow—no more to die.

"He lives mid spirits free,
 Who toil'd with him in life,
 That God and Liberty
 Crowned in that holy strife,
 For them a nation wept
 At Freedom's sacred shrine;
 In glory they too slept,
 Where he, with them, will shine.

"Yet shall the patriot's name
 Be cherished by the free;
 In every soil his fame
 Shall dwell with Liberty;
 But vainly o'er his grave
 A sorrowing nation weeps,
 Her banners drooping wave—
 For aye, the Hero sleeps.

"Her booming guns may roar,
 The clang of armor come,
 Her eagle proudly soar
 Up towards his spirit-home,
 His country long may weep
 His glorious setting sun,
 It will not break his sleep—
 His deeds of might are done.

"THE HERO SLEEPS.

"Go bring his battle blade
 His helmet and his plume;
 And be his trophies laid
 Beside him in the tomb.

"Green be the willow bough
 Above the swelling mound,
 While sleeps the hero now
 In consecrated ground;
 When files of time-worn veterans come
 With martial trump and muffled drum.

MRS. RACHEL DONELSON JACKSON.

(Editorial Knoxville Register, May 27, 1829.)

"As the lamented and much injured partner of our President-elect has been the subject of cold blooded calumny and manly defense, and as she has now gone to her long home where the 'Wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest,' perhaps some account of the last scene of her earthly pilgrimage may not be uninteresting to a feeling community.

"After its publication, Mrs. Jackson was early made acquainted with the libel upon her good name. The effect that such an attack would have upon a lady of sensitive character, one too, whose life had been devoted to deeds of charity and benevolence, may easily be conceived. She supported herself under it, however, until the excitement produced by the late contest was over. From that moment her energy subsided, her spirit drooped and her health declined. She has been heard to speak but seldom since.

"Having been drawn into conversation by a friend about a fortnight before her death, she remarked that although she had lived with Mr. Jackson nearly forty years, there had never been an unkind word between them, and the only subject on which they ever differed, or, where there was the slightest opposition, was his acceptance of appointments when conferred upon him, she being always unwilling for him to enter upon public life.

"She was the woman whom General Jackson was called upon to separate from at a moment of all others the most trying.

"Although the weather was unfavorable, her friends assembled from every point, where the melancholy tidings had been received, to pay the last tribute of respect to one who could be-friend them no more.

"When the hour of interment drew nigh, the General, who had not left the corpse, was informed that it was time to perform the last sad rites. The scene that then ensued is beyond description. There was no heart that did not ache, no eye that did not weep.

"The writer was informed by many of the officers present, who had shared with the General in his difficulties and dangers, who had seen him in the most trying situations, who had eyed him when his gallant soldiers were suffering for food to sustain them in life and he unable to relieve them, who had witnessed him on the battle-field when the wounded and dying were brought before him, and every muscle seemed moved and his very frame agonized with sorrow, but no suffering however poignant or excessive, could compare with the late affliction. Then he bade his final adieu to the last kindred link that bound him to the earth, his Roman fortitude seemed for a time to be completely over-come. It was a soul rending sight to see an old veteran whose head whitened by the hardships he had endured for his country bending over the lifeless body of an affectionate wife, whose death was hastened by the cruelty of those whose rights he had so nobly defended.

“By a muscular and almost superhuman effort, he endeavored the check of the current of his grief, and waving his hand to the afflicted company begged them to weep no more. I know, said he, ‘tis unmanly but these tears were due to her virtues. She shed many for me. There was but one wish pervaded the assembly—that the individuals who had hastened this scene by their relentless attack on an unoffending woman could be brought to witness the saddest spectacle that any present had ever beheld.”

RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. JACKSON.

(*Knoxville Register*, December 31, 1828.)

“At a meeting of the Board of Alderman of the town of Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 29th day of December 1828.

Col. S. D. Jacobs submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted and ordered to be placed on Record.

“Having learned with feelings of the most painful regret the intelligence of the death of Mrs. Jackson, the amiable and much respected consort of General Jackson, and being desirous to manifest our feelings on this unexpected and distressing occasion as well with regard to the estimation in which we hold the exemplary virtues and amiable character of Mrs. Jackson, as to express our sincere condolence with her bereaved husband, on whom the hand of Providence has dispensed his sore affliction at a time when age and the peculiar circumstances of his situation rendered her existence particularly dear and desirable, therefore,

“Resolved, that while we deeply regret the death of Mrs. Jackson we cannot but express our gratitude to the Supreme Governor of the universe that she was not taken from time to eternity until the people of the Union had given a clear and distinct manifestation of the high estimation in which they held the reputation of herself and her husband.

“Resolved, That, in consequence of the death of Mrs. Jackson the Mayor be directed to request the Rev. Thos. H. Nelson, to preach a sermon, suitable to the occasion in the First Presbyterian Church at 11 o’clock A. M. on Thursday the 1st day of January next.

“Resolved, That, the inhabitants of Knoxville be respectfully requested to attend Church and abstain from their ordinary business on Thursday the 1st day of January next, as a tribute to respect to the memory of the deceased.

“Joseph C. Strong, Mayor.

“Will Swan, Recorder
“December 29, 1828.”



MRS. ANDREW JACKSON.
Photographed from Painting by Earle.

DIRGE TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. JACKSON.

By Dr. James McHenry, 1829.

"In sorrow sunk beside the mournful bier
 Of her who long had blest his bright career,
 Th' illustrious chosen of his country, see,
 In meekness bending to the stern decree.
 View there a struggle which all hearts must move,
 The hero's firmness with the husband's love.
 Freemen; 'tis he whose spirit, prompt and brave,
 On patriot pinions flew your realm to save;
 'Tis he whose hand, conducting vic'try's car,
 Crushed your invaders on the field of war;
 Who when the fierce appalling strife was o'er,
 Which shook the land, and danger was no more;
 Contented with his country's thanks, retired
 To rural shades, nor pomp nor power desired.
 But well his worth his grateful country knew;
 No secret shades could hide it from her view;
 And to its proper sphere, with loud acclaim,
 She drew it forth, and crowned her Jackson's fame.

"But what is power or splendor to his heart,
 Now doomed from all that formed his bliss to part?
 In vain around his brow a wreath is twined,
 The fairest ever worn by human kind,
 While the loved mem'ry of that lost one dwells
 Fresh in his soul, and all his sorrow swells.
 And well to him her mem'ry may be dear;
 Round him she clung with holy faith sincere;
 Her pride, her stay, her lover and her lord,
 And only less than Heaven itself adored.

She loved the manly heart that made her blest,
 She loved the patriot flame that warmed his breast,
 She loved the toils that could his virtues wake,
 She loved ev'n glory for her husband's sake.
 For well she knew that he was glory's heir,
 Though envy scoffed, and slander did not spare.
 His noblest deeds, though viperous tongues assailed,
 While faction triumphed, and deceit prevailed,
 She fondly hoped the glorious day to see,
 When truth would vanquish factious calumny.
 Oh shame to manhood! that our times have seen
 Monsters possessed of man's uplifted mein,
 Whose hearts the base, unfeeling tale could frame,
 That tried to blast so pure a being's fame!
 Alas! we know them, heartless as they are,
 With feeling, truth and manliness at war,
 Who but to gratify a factious end,
 The poisoned shafts to woman's heart could send!
 And thine, much injured and lamented fair,
 'Twas thine the torture of those shafts to bear,
 Until a generous nation nobly rose,
 And hurled disgrace and ruin on thy foes.
 Then to the world, with unstrained lustre, shone
 Thy honored husband's virtues and thy own,
 While shrunk the vile assailants of thy fame,
 From public scorn, in terror and in shame.
 How fervently, in that auspicious hour,
 Thy thankful bosom blest th' immortal Power,
 Whose voice the justice of thy country woke,
 And truth in thunder to thy slanderers spoke!

Oh, 'twas to generous minds an hour of pride,
 When injured innocence was justified,
 And merit drawn from its concealing shade,
 To be with honor, fame and power repaid!
 Then was the triumph of the patriot wife,
 Which filled with ample joy her cup of life.
 "It is enough!" th' illustrious matron cried;
 And blessed her country, praised her God, and—died!

REFUTATION.

KNOXVILLE REGISTER, MAY 9, 1827.

"Harrodsburg, April 16th, 1827.

"Gentlemen:

"Impelled by feelings which I trust the most embittered partizan will not condemn, I enclose you several letters elicited by enquiries made by myself and statements obtained by others who felt indignant at the wrong done by the late attacks on the private character of General Jackson and his wife. You are authorized to make such use of them as you think proper. I have reserved copies which I shall forward to Tennessee, when, as speedily as practicable, a reply will be made to every point of the charge involving the early conduct of the General towards his much injured lady.

"Respectfully,

"T. P. Moore.

"Messrs. Kendall and Johnston."

THOS. ALLIN'S STATEMENT.

"Harrodsburg, March 31, 1827.

"Dear Major:

"In compliance with your wishes, expressed in yours of yesterday, it may not be improper to inform you, that in the fall of 1781, I made my place of residence in Lincoln County, (now Mercer) where I have continued to live ever since. I think it was in 1782, not later than 1783, (but I think the former) I became a deputy sheriff in Lincoln, and acquainted with Col. Donaldson, and his family. The Colonel had then two daughters, young ladies, viz: Jane and Rachel, the latter of whom I understand, is the lady of General Andrew Jackson.

"Sometime shortly after my acquaintance in the family, Miss Rachel became the wife of Capt. Lewis Roberts, of the same county, who then lived in the family of his mother, a widow lady near Harrodsburg, where he brought his wife, and continued to live with her, in the family of his mother, until some disagreement took place between the Captain and his wife which resulted in a separation, and the Captain sent her to her fathers, who previous to that separation had removed to the neighborhood of Nashville, Tennessee, as I was informed, and where I presume she first saw and became acquainted with Gen. Jackson. I never saw Gen. Jackson in my life to my knowledge, nor have I any reason to believe, nor do I believe, that Mrs. Jackson ever was acquainted with the General until after her separation from Roberts and her

arrival at her fathers in Tennessee. Capt. Roberts obtained a special act of the Virginia Legislature for a divorce I think in the fall of the year 1787, and prosecuted the same to judgement in the quarter sessions of Mercer County, (of which court I was clerk) at the September term of said court, 1793. About that time Capt. Roberts married a Miss Winn, daughter of Mr. Thomas Winn, then, I think of Louisville or Bardstown. I was much surprised when the separation took place between Capt. Roberts and his first wife, as previous to that affair, I had ever considered Mrs. Roberts, (now Mrs. Jackson) a fine woman, and of irreproachable character. Upon an examination of the papers of the suit for the divorce aforesaid, I find nothing showing that the defendent had any kind of notice of the existence of progress of that suit. Should you consider anything I have communicated, worth notice, you are at liberty to use it in any way you may think proper.

"Your friend etc.,

"Thos. Allin.

"Maj. T. P. Moore."

GENERAL RAY'S STATEMENT.

"Harrodsburg, April 13, 1827.

"Dear Sir:

In answer to your inquiries in relation to a publication in the last Spirit of '76, involving the character of Mrs. Jackson, in which I am referred to as being 'one of the jury' who found a verdict against her, I say that it is utterly untrue. I was well acquainted with Mrs. Jackson previous to her first marriage with Mr. Lewis Roberts, and for several years afterwards and I can assure you she sustained an unblemished character, and was considered one among the first of our young ladies; her father Col. Donalson, being a man of the most respectable standing.

"After her marriage with Mr. Roberts, a disagreement took place between her and her husband, on account of a charge of immoral conduct on his part, and also his becoming jealous of a certain individual (not General Jackson) which eventuated in her being compelled to return to her mother's, who had in the meantime removed to the State of Tennessee, where her father died or was killed by the Indians. I was intimate with Mr. Roberts and after the separation, in a conversation with him, he admitted to me that his suspicions were unjust, and he expressly acquitted her of any illicit intercourse with the individual suspected.

"As to General Jackson, I am of the opinion he never saw her previous to her separation from Mr. Roberts, and the divorce, I believe, was obtained, entirely exparte. An act of the Virginia Legislature was passed at the instance of the well known Capt. Jack Jouitt, then a member of that body, and a brother-in-law of Mr. Roberts, (having married his sister) and with out any notice, as I believe, to Mrs. Roberts, but of this, I suppose, Maj. Thos Allin who was the clerk of the court, can speak.

"For my part, I consider Mrs. Jackson most unjustly and ungenerously slandered. I am well acquainted with most of the circumstances, and regret to see the whole transaction, misrepresented. I have always believed that Mr. Roberts had no person to blame but his own improper conduct and jealousy, I knew him well, but do not wish to enter into a detail of facts, calculated to wound the feeling of his respectable relations and friends.

"I am myself for General Jackson as next President and wish 'The spirit of '76' not again to refer to me without authority, as I consider the attack on Mrs. Jackson as ungenerous, unmanly and unjust.

"Yours with respect,

"James Ray.

"Major T. P. Moore, Harrodsburg."

MR. JOHN MCGINNIS'S STATEMENT.

"Mr. John McGinnis states, that he lived for sometime in the immediate neighborhood of Mrs. Betsey Roberts, the mother of Lewis Roberts, the former husband of the present Mrs. Jackson, that Roberts and his wife then lived with old Mrs. Roberts, that Lewis Roberts was generally considered by the neighbors a bad husband that his mother acknowledged that Rachel Roberts was an amiable woman, and deserved better treatment, that she in fact loved her as well as any child she ever raised, that old Mrs. Roberts, told this affiant a short time before Mrs. R. Roberts left her husband for the purpose of returning to her mother's in Tennessee, that her son had ordered his wife to clear herself, and never again show her face in his house, that she appeared for sometime before she returned to her mother to be an unhappy and miserable woman, but finally her brother came to Kentucky and carried her off to her friends in Tennessee. He states explicitly that he never heard of General Jackson being in the neighborhood, and that he believes that General Jackson never visited the house of Lewis Roberts during the time that they lived together, that Roberts wife sustained a fair and irreproachable character, as long as this affiant knew her.

"This day personally appeared before me, a justice of the peace for the county of Mercer, the within named John McGinnis, and made oath to the truth of the within statement. Given under my hand this 13th April, 1827.

"George W. Thompson."

JOHN MEAUX STATEMENT.

"To all whom it may concern, be it known that in the year 1784, I lived at Col. John Bowman's station in the then county of Lincoln, now Mercer, and have continued to live in Mercer County ever since. Whilst I lived at Col. Bowman's I became acquainted with Col. Donalson and his family, who lived then near Col. Bowman's. Col. Donalson at that time had two single daughters, young women, to wit: Jane and Rachel, the latter of whom I under-

stand is the present Mrs. Jackson, the lady of General Andrew Jackson of the State of Tennessee. I continued to be intimately acquainted with Col. Donalson and his daughters until the younger, Rachel, was married to Capt. Lewis Roberts, and for some time afterwards, when some unhappy difference arose between Capt. Roberts and his lady, which terminated in a separation between them, and when Mrs. Roberts went to her father's who had previous to that time removed to the State of Tennessee near Nashville. Previous to that separation, I have ever considered that lady's character as fair and irreproachable as that of any other lady I ever knew in my life, nor have I any reason to believe that General Jackson ever saw her until after her separation from Roberts. I recollect being one of the jury when Roberts obtained his divorce, but have not the most distant recollection what evidence was offered on the trial.

"John Meaux.

"April 16th, 1827."

EDITORIAL FROM THE NASHVILLE REPUBLICAN NOV. 26, 1829.

"DIED:-On the 22nd instance at the Hermitage and in the 62nd year of her age, Mrs. Rachel Jackson, wife of Andrew Jackson, President-elect of the United States. Her health, which had for some months been more delicate than usual, became seriously impaired about a week ago, by the fatigue of a long walk. She was attacked with alarming spasms in the chest, which after remitting and recurring for a few days, became transferred to the heart, and in a moment of apparent convalescence, terminated without a groan or struggle her well spent life.

"This melancholy event, which has visited her family with unspeakable sorrow, and clothed our community in sadness, will excuse the following faint and brief notice which though far inferior to the dignity of her virtues, is the best offering we can make to her beloved and venerated memory. The history of Mrs. Jackson, from her early years, is closely and (considering her sex) remarkably connected with the history of our country. Her father Col. John Donalson, who was a gentleman of fortune, probity and enterprise, removed with his family while she was yet a child, from Pittsylvania County, Va. (the place of her birth), to the Western County, and settled in this neighborhood on the banks of the Cumberland. Surrounded by the dangers which our brave pioneers had to encounter, he was killed in the prime of manhood and the flush of success by the Indians in Kentucky. At the time General Jackson came to this country, she was residing with her widowed mother and in August 1791 she became his wife. His well known hardships and perils in our Indian and English wars, his distant and dangerous campaigns, his frequent battles and triumphs, made her a silent but anxious sharer in the dangers and glories of the nation, and many of her relatives, following the standard of her martial husband gave her more painful interest in

our struggles. General Coffee, the husband of her niece, was always in the front of the battle, and her nephew, Alexander Donalson fell gloriously fighting by his side.

"In the recent political contest which has terminated so fortunately for the institutions of our country, and so honorably for the illustrious partner of her heart, the same connection subsisted. In order to obstruct his course to just popularity and rightful power, she was made the object of injuries more barbarous than murderous savages could inflict. And Providence, after permitting her to witness the downfall and confusion of those who patronized and those who committed these atrocities, gently withdrew her wounded spirit to the mansions of eternal bliss, 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' Even after death, the course of public feeling is blended with her name. The honors with which it was intended to commemorate on the same day a national victory, and the triumphant election of General Jackson, were suspended for by her fate and exchanged by a patriotic people for the public expressions of respect for her virtues and regret for her departure. And those who in the evening had expected to salute her with joy and gratulation, hurried next morning to look for the last time on her inanimate countenance, and to follow her cold remains to the tomb. Piety and age, innocence and childhood, the brave and the fair, the humble and the exalted, mingled their tears and blessings around her grave, and attested in accents of deep and spontaneous sorrow, in sobs of affection converted into agony by the awful presence of death, her endearing merits and her exemplary life.

"In the character of this excellent and lamented lady, feminine charms, domestic virtues and Christian perfections were united. Her person in youth was beautiful, her manner was always engaging, her temper cheerful, her sensibility delicate and mild. She was a tender wife, an affectionate friend, a benignant mistress, a generous relation, a kind neighbor and a humble Christian. Her pure and gentle breast, in which a selfish, guileful or malicious thought never found entrance, was the throne of benevolence and under its noble influence, her faculties and time were constantly devoted to the exercise of hospitality and to acts of kindness. To feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to supply the indigent, to raise the humble, to notice the friendless and to comfort the unfortunate, were her favorite occupations; nor could the kindness of her soul be repressed by distress or prosperity, but like those fountains which rising in deep and secluded valleys, flow on in the frost of winter and through summer's heat, it maintained a uniform and refreshing current. Thus she lived, and when death approached, her patience and resignation were equal to her goodness, not an impatient gesture, not a vexatious look, not a fretful accent escaped her, but her last breath was charged with an expression of tenderness for the man whom she loved more than her life and honored next to her God."

ACTION OF NASHVILLE CITY AUTHORITIES.

The following were the resolutions adopted on the occasion, by the committee of arrangements and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City:

"The committee appointed by the citizens of Nashville, to superintend the reception of General Jackson on this day, with feelings of deep regret, announce to the public that Mrs. Jackson departed this life last night between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock.

"Respect for the memory of the deceased, and a sincere condolence with him on whom this providential affliction has fallen, forbid the manifestations of public regard intended for the day.

"In the further consideration of the painful and unexpected occasion which has brought them together, the committee feel that it is due to the exemplary virtues and exalted character of the deceased, that some public token should be given of the high regard entertained towards her whilst living. They have therefore resolved;

"That it be respectfully recommended to their fellow-citizens of Nashville, in evidence of this feeling, to refrain on to-morrow from the ordinary pursuits of life.

"Josiah Nichol. Chairman.

"December 23rd.

"The Committee in behalf of the Citizens having determined that it is proper to abstain from the business tomorrow, therefore,

"Resolved, That the inhabitants of Nashville are respectfully invited to abstain from their ordinary business on tomorrow, as a mark of respect for the memory of Mrs. Jackson, and that the Church bells be tolled from 1 until 2 o'clock, being the hour of her funeral.

"Felix Robertson, Mayor"

"E. Dibrell, Recorder."

GENERAL JOHN COFFEE AND FAMILY.

GOVERNOR WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE

TO

GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.

"February 25, 1815.

"Sir:

"It affords me the greatest pleasure to enclose you a resolution of the general assembly of Louisiana, acknowledging the faithful and useful services of our western brothers, and tendering their thanks to you among our distinguished officers.

"The love of country, which unduced you to change the calm of domestic life for the privations incident to a camp, is no less ardent in the brave volunteers whom you lead than the gratitude which

the people of Louisiana bear towards them; a heroic band, whose firmness in the field has alike contributed to avert from our settlements the horrors of an Indian warfare, and to the entire defeat and discomfiture of the powerful foe, who so, arrogantly menaced the safety of this great and growing city.

“Receive for yourself, and be toward your companions in arms the organ of expressing the highest confidence and sincerest good will.

“Wm. C. C. Claiborne.

GENERAL COFFEE'S REPLY.

“Camp Coffee, near New Orleans,

“March 4th, 1815.

“Sir:

“I have the honor of acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, and the resolution it enclosed from the legislature of Louisiana, presenting the thanks of that honourable body, to their brother soldiers from the west, for, ‘the share they have taken in the defense of this country, and the harmony they have maintained with the inhabitants and militia of the state.’

“To know that we have contributed, in any degree, to the preservation of our common country, is to myself and the brave men under my immediate command, the most pleasing reflection. To have received so flattering and distinguished a testimonial of our services adds to the pleasure which that conscious alone would have afforded.

“While we indulge the pleasing emotions that are thus produced, we should be guilty of great injustice, as well to merit as to our own feelings, if we withheld from the commander-in-chief to whose wisdom and exertions we are so much indebted for our successes, the expression of our highest admiration and applause. To his firmness, his skill, his gallantry—to that confidence and unanimity among all ranks produced by those qualities, we must chiefly ascribe the splendid victories in which we esteem it a happiness and an honour to have borne a part.

“We enter with sensibility into the feelings of the legislature, and of your excellency on occasion of the harmony which has been so happily preserved with the inhabitants and militia of the state. May the same spirit of the brotherhood always unite us when contending against a common enemy in defense of our best rights.

“I tender the assurances of my own and my companions' thanks for the distinguished manner in which you and the legislature have been pleased to notice and honor our exertions.

“I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

“John Coffee.

“Brig. Gen. T. V. M. G. Men.”

GEN. COFFEE'S OFFICIAL RECORD.

“War Department.
 “THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.
 “Memorandum for the Secretary of war. } ”

“The name of John Coffee, appears with the rank of Colonel on a muster roll of the field and staff officers of the regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry under command of Col. John Coffee, (war of 1812) covering the period between December 10, 1812, and April 27, 1813. This roll is dated April 27, 1813, and shows the date of his appointment as November 21, 1812, and a payroll of the organization shows the date of his service as April 27, 1813.

“The name John Coffee also appears, with rank of Colonel, on a muster roll of the field and staff belonging to Col. John Coffee's regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry and mounted Riflemen ‘on an expedition against the Creek Nation of Indians’ (war of 1812) covering the period between September 24, and October 29, 1813. This roll is dated October 29, 1813, and shows September 24, 1813, as the date when he mustered into service and October 29, 1813, as ‘time of service performed.’

“The name also appears with rank of brigadier general on a muster roll of the general and staff officers of Brig. General Coffee's Brigade of Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry and Mounted Gunmen (war of 1812) covering the period from Oct. 30, 1813, to May 10, 1814. This roll is dated May 10, 1814, at Fayetteville, and shows October 31, 1813, as the date of his appointment and May 10, 1814, as date of expiration of service.

“The name also appears, with rank of Brigadier General on muster roll of the general and staff officers of Brigadier General Coffee's Brigade of Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Gunmen ‘in the late campaign in the south’ (war of 1812) covering the period between September 11, 1814, and June 20, 1815, when discharged. The roll is dated June 20, 1815, at Nashville and shows June 20, 1815, as the date of expiration of service.

“The name also appears with rank of Brigadier General on a muster roll of officers belonging to Brigadier General Coffee's Brigade of Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Gunmen in the service of the United States at New Orleans on the first of March, 1815 (war of 1812). This roll is dated March 1st., 1815, at New Orleans, Louisiana, and shows September 11, 1814, as date of commencement of service.

“It further appears from the records that this officer marched from Nashville, Tennessee, to Washington, M. Ter., in the months of January and February, 1813, thence to Nashville Camp Coffee on the Tennessee river (September 26, 1813), ‘Black Warrior's Town,’ Fort Deposit and Chenubbe (October 13, 1813); that he marched from Camp Chenubbe by Camp Pleasant, thence to Talishetehay, near Ten Islands Fort Strother (November, 1813), Taledga, Fort Strother, Rutherford County, Tennessee, Enotochopo, Emuckfau, Fort Strother, (January, 1814), Fort Williams,

Tohopeka, (March 1814), Fort Williams, Hoithlewalea, Fort Jackson and Rutherford County Tennessee, and that he marched between September 28, 1814, and April 27, 1815, from Fayetteville, thence to Fort Montgomery, Pensacola, Fort Montgomery, mouth of Sandy Creek, on the Mississippi, to the encampment below New Orleans, and to Nashville, Tennessee.

"Nothing additional has been found in this department relative to the services of this officer, but it appears from an unofficial publication (Dictionary of the Army of the United States, Gardner) that this officer was wounded in battle under Major General Jackson with Creek Indians at Emuckfau, January 22, 1814, and in an attack on Pensacola November, 1814, and that he distinguished himself in the defense of New Orleans in battles of December 23, 1814, and January 8, 1815.

"It also appears (from No. 19, 'Filson Club Publications' entitled 'The Battle of New Orleans' by Zachery F. Smith) that the thanks of the general assembly of the state of Louisiana were presented to General Coffee and other officers 'For the brilliant share have had in the defense of this country and the happy harmony they have maintained with the inhabitants and militia of the state.'

"P. C. Harris,
"The Ajustant General.

"Agust 19, 1920."

JACKSON TO COFFEE.

"August 20th, 1819.

"Dear General:

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning and congratulate you upon the happy delivery of Mrs. Coffee, and the birth of a fine son. The honor you have done me in giving it my name commands my gratitude and it will afford me pleasure to bestow on his education such means as may be in my power to fit him for the stage in society that I trust his creator has destined him for. We have the company of Doctor and Mrs. Shelby, Mrs. McDowell, daughter of Governør Shelby, Mr. James Jackson, Major Laton, and Major Wm. B. Lewis. So soon as we are released from confinement Mrs. Jackson and myself will do ourselves the pleasure to visit our young stranger and friend. In the mean time Mrs. Jackson requests me to tender to you and Polly her heart felt congratulations on the joyful occasion, and our blessings for the health of the mother and prosperity of the infant.

"With sincere regards, Yours,

"Andrew Jackson.

"General John Coffee.

"P. S. Mr. James Jackson will see you at your house before he returns should you not be there."

The name-sake of General Jackson, Andrew Jackson Coffee, was born near Nashville, Tennessee, August 20, 1819, educated at the University of Nashville, and was appointed to West Point Military Academy by President Jackson. He served on General Taylor's staff in the Mexican war and at its close remained in the service and served in Texas and Louisiana, until 1853, when he was assigned for duty on Tampa's coast, with headquarters at San Francisco, with General Albert Sidney Johnson and General Curtis Lee. In the Civil War he sympathized with the south. He returned to civil life in 1859.

The author has in his possession the original of this letter from Old Hickory to Gen. John Coffee in Jackson's own writing. It was sent to the author by Mrs. Mary Coffee Campbell of Florence, Alabama, great grand-daughter of General Coffee.

Jackson's affectionate regard for Gen. John Coffee and his family are shown in fine spirit by the letters following:

JACKSON TO COFFEE.

"Washington, November 26th, 1832.

"My dear General:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that your aimable daughter *Mary* reached us today, with Col. and Mrs. Polk, all in good health and fine spirits.

"*Mary* looks as well and as cheerful as I ever saw her, and with her cousin, *Mary* McLemore, and her aunt (Mrs. Andrew Jackson Donelson), will spend her winter pleasantly, and I am sure will add much to my happiness here, and you may rest assured mine will be to her a father's care whilst she remains.

"All join in a tender of our affectionate regards to you and your amiable family, and believe me your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"General John Coffee.

"Florence, Alabama."

JACKSON TO JOHN D. COFFEE, SON OF GENERAL COFFEE.

"Washington, August 31, 1833.

"My dear Nephew:

"I have received your kind letter of the 17th instant, that of your sister *Mary* was handed to me by Mr. Pearson on the 27th instant.

"I have to tender to your sister *Mary*, thro' you, my thanks for her affectionate and intelligent letter. Say to her I will answer it the first leisure moment, and will be always happy to receive a letter from her.

Present me kindly to your mother, to Mary and every member of the family, and believe me your affectionate uncle,

“Andrew Jackson.

“Mr. John D. Coffee,
“Florence, Alabama.”

“Washington, August 31st, 1833.

“My dear Nephew:

“Present me kindly to your mother, Mary and every individual of the family. Say to Andrew he will attend to his studies and be an obedient and affectionate child to his dear mother, sisters and brothers, and believe your affectionate uncle,

“Andrew Jackson.

“To Mr. John D. Coffee,
“Florence, Alabama.

JACKSON TO JOHN D. COFFEE.

“Washington, November 17th, 1834.

“My dear Sir:

“On yesterday I received yours of the 2nd, instant, enclosing the acceptance of your brother Andrew Jackson Coffee's appointment to West Point Academy, which I sent to the Secretary of War to remain on file in that department.

“I am glad that he has gone to the Nashville University, he will spend one session there to great advantage with application. Write him I have great solicitude about him and anticipate that he will, when he gets to West Point, stand high in his class if not at its head; that I hope to see him and Andrew Jackson McLemore on their way to the Point, when I will give them both such advice as will be certain to benefit them, if they adopt and practice it.

“Accept my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and believe me your affectionate uncle,

“Andrew Jackson.

“To
“Mr. John D. Coffee.
“Florence, Alabama.”

JACKSON TO ANDREW JACKSON HUTCHINGS.

“Washington, June 27th, 1836.

“Dear Hutchings:

“Please present my kind regards to Mary, to Mrs. Coffee and every branch of her family, to John and lady and to Andrew Jackson Coffee, and say to him I hope he is closely attending to his studies.

“Andrew Jackson.”



MARY COFFEE.

Daughter of Gen. John Coffee. Painted by R. E. W. Earle in 1834, now owned by Edward Asbury O'Neal, III, at his home, Chestnut Hills, near Florence, Alabama. Mary Coffee married Andrew Jackson Hutchings and was a favorite as a young girl of Old Hickory. See Jackson's letter to her, Chapter 8.

JACKSON TO ANDREW JACKSON HUTCHINGS.

"Hermitage, June 5, 1837.

"My dear Hutchings:

"Andrew Jackson Coffee left me in fine spirits. I furnished him with letters and have no doubt he will do well and become a great General.

"Andrew Jackson."

JACKSON TO ANDREW JACKSON HUTCHINGS.

"Washington, June 27, 1836.

"Dear Hutchings:

"I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant. I was beginning to think my friends at and near Florence had forgotten me.

"I am happy to hear that your dear Mary is about to present you with an heir, my prayers will be offered for her safety and that of the babe. I trust a kind providence will preserve them both to you.

"Please present my kind regards to Mary, to Mrs. Coffee and every branch of her family, and accept for yourself the affectionate regards of your uncle and sincere friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Andrew Jackson Hutchings.

"Florence, Alabama."

A characteristic letter by Andrew Jackson to Miss Mary Coffee, daughter of his friend General Coffee, written when he was President and at the time when public affairs were pressing him greatly follows:

"Rips Raps, August 15, 1833.

"My dear Mary:

"Having returned to this spot for the benefit of my health by sea bathing, and get free from that continued bustle with which I am always surrounded in Washington and elsewhere, unless when I shut myself up on these rocks, I did not receive your kind and affectionate letter until day before yesterday, rehearsing to me the melancholy bereavement which you have sustained in the loss of your dear father.

"I had received this melancholy and distressing intelligence by sundry letters from his friends who surrounded him in his last moments.

"It is true, my dear Mary, that you have lost an affectionate and tender father, and I a sincere friend. When I shook him by the hand in Washington, I did not then think it was the last adieu to a dear friend, nor would I have taken the trip to the north had I known his disease was approaching such a crisis; no, Mary had I been advised of his peril, I should have hastened to see him once before he left this troublesome world and yielded to him all the

comfort in my power. But why these reflections? He is gone from us and we cannot recall him. We must follow him for he cannot return to us, and it becomes our duty to prepare for this event. His example will be an invaluable legacy to his family, and his dying admonition a treasure, if adopted, beyond all price. True religion is calculated to make us happy not only in this, but in the next and better world, and therefore it was his regret that he had not joined the church. It is a profitable admonition to his family that they may all become members of the church at an early day, for it is in religion alone that we can find consolation for such bereavement as the loss of our dear friend; it is religion alone that ever gives peace to us here and happiness beyond the grave; it is religion alone that can support us in our declining years, when our relish is lost for all sublunary enjoyments, and all things are seen in their true lights as mere vanity and vexation of spirit. Your father's admonition on his dying bed ought to be cherished by you all and practiced upon.

"My dear Mary, his request for my prayers for his dear wife and children, will be bestowed with pleasure. They will be constantly offered up at the throne of grace for you all, and our dear Saviour has spoken it: 'That he will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow.' Rely on his promises; they are faithful and true and he will bless you in all your outgoings and incomings and in your baskets and in your store. Rely upon and trust in his goodness and mercy and prepare your minds, in the language of your dear father, always to be ready to say with heartfelt resignation, 'May the lord's will be done.'

"If I am spared to next spring and my health will permit, I will visit your dear mother and mingle my tears with hers over his silent grave; till then, my dear Mary, if I can be of any service to her and the family in any way, I hope you will make it known to me. To your dear mother and all the family, tender my blessings to their health and happiness, now and hereafter.

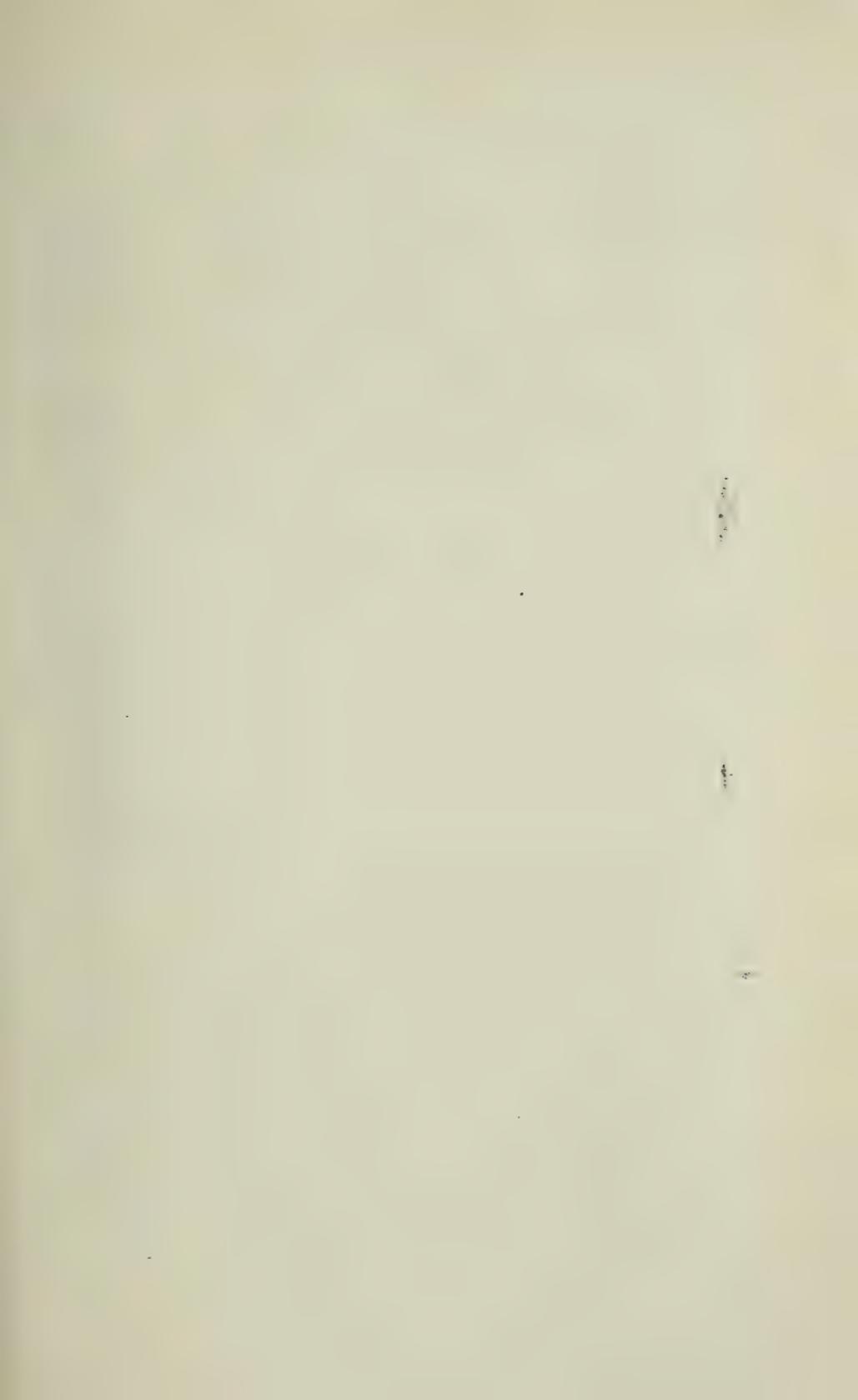
'Emily and the children, with Andrew and Sarah, are with me, all in good health, and all join me with best wishes to your mother and the family, and also in the tender of our sincere condolence in this very distressing and mournful occasion.

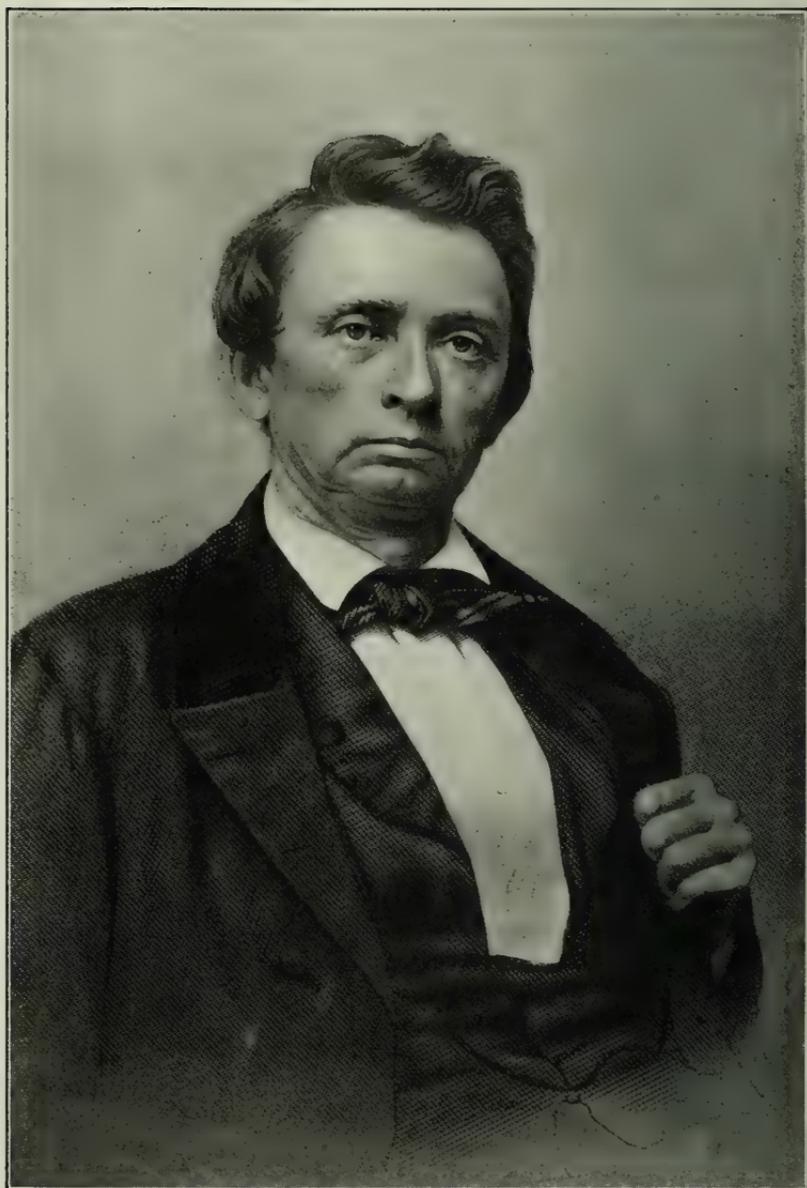
"Major Donalson is in Tennessee; we left him in Washington and he was to set out in two days after we left and we are advised he did so.

"It will give me much happiness to hear from your mother and the family often; do, my dear Mary, write me occasionally. Your father, whilst living knew the deepest interest I felt in everything that related to his and their welfare. He wrote me often and except for him and your-self, I have not received a line from any of our connection except announcing the death of your dear father for twelve months. Do write me occasionally and believe me to be, with the highest esteem, your affectionate uncle,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Miss Mary Coffee."





W. G. BROWNLOW.

Methodist preacher, and Controversialist Editor, Writer of books, Governor of Tennessee 1865-1869, United States Senator 1869-1875. Died at Knoxville, Tennessee, April 29, 1877. See Chapters 9 and 10.

CHAPTER 9. 16

W. G. Brownlow gives family history; his newspapers; leaves Tennessee on a tour of the North; quotations from his speeches; visits the Hermitage; early religious history of Tennessee; his published books; discussion on slavery with Rev. Abram Pryne in Philadelphia; doctrinal controversies with Rev. J. R. Graves and Rev. Frederick A. Ross; Brownlow a Union slaveholder and advocate of slavery.

"I am, as were my parents before me, a native of Virginia. A portion of my relations, on my mother's side, were in the war of 1812, and the second war of Independence and lost their lives at Norfolk. My father was a 'High Private,' in Capt. Landen's quarter, Sullivan County, Tennessee, when peace was made and terminated that war.

"My uncle, William L. Brownlow, was a Captain in the United States Navy, died in the service, and his bones repose in the Navy Yard at Norfolk.

"Another, Alexander Brownlow, was first Lieutenant in the navy, in that same war, and his bones rest in the Navy Yard, at New Orleans, having died in the service; a third uncle, Samuel L. Brownlow, was a wagon master under General Jackson, and was in the battle of the Horse Shoe; a fourth uncle, Isaac Brownlow, was an inferior officer under General Jackson, and bore his dispatches from the Creek War to Huntsville, swimming the Tennessee river on horse back; a fifth uncle, John Brownlow, was an inferior officer in the navy, and died at sea.

"I am known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the 'Fighting Parson;' while I may say, without incurring the charge of egotism, that no man is more peaceable, as my neighbors will testify. Always poor, and always oppressed with security debts, few men in my section and of my limited means have given away more in the course of each year to charitable objects. I have never been arraigned in the church for any immorality. I never played a card. I never was a profane swearer. I never drank a dram of liquor, until within a few years, when it was taken as a medicine. I never had a cigar or chew of tobacco in my mouth. I never was in attendance at a theatre. I never attended a horse race, and never witnessed their running, save on the fair-grounds of my own county. I never courted but one woman; and her I married."

He learned the trade of a carpenter, but concluded to become a preacher, and entered the Methodist ministry as a circuit writer in 1826, and continued in that service for ten years, when, according to the Methodist rule of that day, he was allowed to take a stationary residence and retain his license as a preacher and continue to preach or not, as he saw proper.

In 1828, he advocated the election of John Quincy Adams over Andrew Jackson. He left Virginia, came to Tennessee and took up his permanent home at Elizabethton, Carter County, in 1839, and in that year established the Tennessee Whig there, a weekly newspaper, which ran for one year, and issued exactly fifty-two numbers. In 1839, he moved to Jonesboro, Washington County, Tennessee, the oldest town in the state, and there continued to publish his paper, but changed its name to the Jonesboro Whig. He then moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, May 2, 1849, where he lived until his death. He there changed the name of his paper to Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, published weekly, but a few years before the Civil War, it was published tri-weekly. In the days of its greatest influence, it is said to have had the largest circulation of any paper in the South, except probably the Louisville Journal, edited by Geo. D. Prentice. It ceased publication October 19, 1861.

In the early stages of the war, and while Knoxville was in the hands of the Confederate authorities, he was put under arrest December 6, 1861, and confined in the Knoxville Jail; released and started to the Union lines at Nashville March 3, 1862, reaching Nashville, March 15, 1862.

After the Federal Army took possession of Knoxville, he again changed the name of his paper to Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator.

He returned to Tennessee in 1864, and was elected Governor in 1865, re-elected in 1867 and elected to the United States Senate in 1869, where he served to March 4, 1875.

In 1869, when he became United States Senator, he sold the Whig, but on the expiration of his term in the Senate, March 4, 1875, he bought a controlling interest in it again and settled down in Knoxville to resume its publication.

In 1875, the Knoxville Chronicle, a Republican daily, was published in Knoxville by the firm of Rule and Ricks, composed of Capt. William Rule and A. J. Ricks. Capt. Rule founded the Knoxville Journal in 1885, and is now, August, 1921, the editor of the Knoxville Journal and Tribune, which he has edited ever since the paper was started. He is the oldest active editor in Tennessee, and probably in America, he being, at this time 83 years old.

Governor Brownlow bought Mr. Ricks' half interest in the Chronicle, and Capt. William Rule bought a half interest in the Whig, and the new firm of Brownlow and Rule was organized. The name of the weekly Chronicle was changed to Whig and

Chronicle, and the daily Chronicle retained its old name, with Brownlow and Rule as editors, and so remained until Governor Brownlow's death. He continued editorial work until his death as his health would permit.

After leaving the South, and getting within the Union lines, Parson Brownlow made speeches in various cities of the North, including Cincinnati, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and Philadelphia. In these various speeches, he gave his own political career, his personal opinions on slavery as an institution, on abolitionists and secessionists. A study of his speeches shows that he was absolutely consistent and that he did not change his view to any extent whatever. The burden of his speeches was his intense opposition to abolitionists and secessionists, and his bitter hatred of each. He frankly declared himself a pro-slavery man at all times; his hatred for abolitionists was just as strong as his hatred for secessionists. His supreme devotion to the Union was the great passion of his life. Parson Brownlow's bitterest opponent must give him credit for having at all times the supreme courage of his convictions. Even while making speeches in Northern States, where slavery was abhorred, he there declared for slavery.

In his speech in Cincinnati, April 4, 1862, in Pikes Opera House, he said, as quoted in the Cincinnati Gazette, and reproduced in 'Parson Brownlow's book':

"It is no new thing with me that I am a Union man, for I have been that all my life. I was living in the counties of Pickens and Anderson, South Carolina, the latter the home of Jno. C. Calhoun, in 1832, during the nullification rebellion. I declared for the Union then—wrote a pamphlet, in which I denounced disunion, and defended the proclamation of General Jackson.

"I commenced by political career in 1828, when I was one of a corporal's guard, who got up an electoral ticket for John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson. I named this fact to show that I have never been sectional but always national, supporting men of integrity and intelligence, without looking to which side of the line they were on. I was for Adams, because of his talents and pure moral character, and last, but not least, because of his Federal politics. I have always been a Federal Whig, of the Alexander Hamilton and George Washington school, believing in a strong circle of the concentrated Government, strong enough to sustain itself, and put down all such infamous rebellion, such as this is. Though I was opposed to Jackson, I would have reserected him, if I could have done so two years ago, and placed him in the chair, disgraced by that mockery of a man Buchannon, and had him crush this rebellion. Jackson was a pure patriot, mover of his country, and a Union man, and if he had been living when this rebellion broke out, he would have hanged the leaders and prevented this unnatural war.

"In 1832, I was for Clay for the presidency; in 1836 I was for Hugh Lawson White, who was beaten by Mr. Van Buren; in 1840

I was a zealous supporter of General Harrison, of Ohio, a true man and a tried patriot; in 1844 I supported Clay and Frelinghuysen; in 1848 I supported Taylor and Fillmore; in 1852 I was for Daniel Webster, but he was not the candidate and died before the election came off; in 1856 I was for Fillmore and Donaldson; in 1860 I was for Bell and Everett, and I am for the hind legs of this kangaroo ticket yet. A better or a more nobler disinterested man than Everett never lived.

"Bell has gone over to secession; but he is at heart a Union man, and only yielded on account of the great pressure which but few of our Union leaders found themselves able openly to resist.

"And now let me call your attention to the subject of slavery, the great topic of the day. I have no sentiments at the South that I do not hold here. I have no sentiments here, that I do not entertain when I am in Tennessee. I should despise myself and merit your scorn and contempt, if I held one set of opinions at the North and another at the South. I have for years been publishing my sentiments upon the Slavery question, and I have only to say to-night they have undergone no change.

"If then the South in her madeness and folly will make the issue of 'No Union and Slavery, or no Slavery and a Union,' I am for the Union, though every institution in the country perish. And if I had been authorized some two or three years ago to select about two or three hundred of your most abominable Slavery agitators in the North, and an equal number of God-forsaken and most hell-deserving dis-Unionists at the South, and had marched them to the District of Columbia, hanged them on a common gallows, dug for them a common grave, and embalmed their bodies with gimson weed and dog fennel, there would have been none of this trouble, nor should I have been here to-night.

"Let the Federal Government now guarantee to all loyal men in seceded States the right and title to all their property, including negroes, and protect them in the enjoyment of the same, but let the title held by Rebels, seeking to destroy the Government, be annihilated, both as to negroes and all other property; and I trust in God that it will be done, and that such confiscated property will go to make up the losses of loyal men."

This speech at Cincinnati was one of the longest and most elaborate made on this speaking trip to the cities of the North.

The sentiment contained in this Cincinnati speech is set out in the following letter, which is also reproduced in his book. His frankness is shown not only in his speeches but in his letters. As for example:

"Knoxville, Tenn.,
"May 14, 1861.

"To L. M. E.

"I have your letter of the 8th, and also the evening Journal.

"You correctly interpret the Union men of the border States when you pronounce them 'pro-Slavery' men. I think I correctly

represent them in my paper, as I shall do in this brief epistle, except, perhaps, that I am more ultra than most of them. I am a native of Virginia, and so were my parents before me, and together with a numerous train of relatives, they were and are Slave holders. For thirty years I have lived in Tennessee, and my wife and children are natives of Tennessee.

"I am a pro-Slavery man, and so are the Union men generally of the border Slave States. I have long since made up my mind upon the Slavery question, but not without studying it thoroughly. The result of my investigation is that there is not a single passage in the New Testament, nor a single act in the records of the Church during her early history, even for centuries, containing any direct professed or intended censure of Slavery.

"Christ and the Apostles found the institution existing under the authority and sanction of law, and in their labors among the people, and under like ultra abolitionists, masters and slaves bowed at the same altars, and were taken into the same Church, communing together around the same table, the Savior and his apostles exalting owners to treat Slaves as became the gospel and Slaves to the obedience and honesty that their religious profession might not be evil spoken of.

"While I say this, let me say in all candor, that if we were once convinced in the border Slave States that the administration at Washington, and the people of the North who are backing up the administration with men and money, contemplated the subjugation of the South or the abolishing of Slavery, there would not be a Union man among us in twenty-four hours. Come what might, sink or swim, survive or perish, we would fight you to the death, and we would unite our fortunes and destinies with even these demoralizing seceded States, for whose leaders and laws we have no sort of respect. But we have not believed, nor do we believe yet, that the administration has such purposes in view. Demagogues and designing men charge it here and by this means enlist thousands under their banner, who otherwise would never support their wicked schemes of secession."

"Allow me to say that the curse of the Country has been that for years North of the Mason & Dixon line you have kept pulpits open to the abuse of Southern Slavery and of the Southern people.

"In like manner, the clergy of the South, without distinction of sects, men of talent, learning, and influence, have raised the howl of secession, and it falls like an Indian's war cry upon our citizens from their prostitute pulpits each Sabbath. Many of them go so far as to petition their God in their public prayers to blast the people of the North. I have no idea that a God of peace will answer any such blasphemous supplications.

"(Signed) W. G. Brownlow,"
"Editor of the Knoxville Whig."

William G. Brownlow was a Union man, consistently from the time of Jackson's Proclamation to the nullifiers of South Carolina.

When that Proclamation came out, Brownlow was doing service as a Methodist Circuit writer in South Carolina, and from the pulpit he declared in favor of Jackson's immortal document, which gave offense to persons who heard it, and who expressed their disapprobation at his sustaining Jackson, to which the Circuit Rider replied:

"So far as I am concerned, I ask no favors of the enemies of my Government, neither in South Carolina or elsewhere. I can live without you, and live among a people who are loyal and have the fear of God before their eyes. They will be more likely to receive and appreciate the teachings of the gospel. There were more Tories here during the Revolutionary War than in all the other States put together, and that the decedents of these old Tories are now in the lead of this nullification rebellion needs no proof whatever to make the charge good.

"I talked plainly for one who is liable to be mobbed every day; but this is the way to talk in times like these. I am not to be taught my duty by a set of gassy Union destroyers, such as constitute the staple of South Carolina's chivalry. I shall fall back into Tennessee where the people appreciate the blessing of the best Government in the world, and where the gospel is likely to produce some other effect than that of arraying the people against the legal and constituted authorities of the land."

In his book, "The Great Iron Wheel Examined or its various spokes extracted, and an exhibition of Elder Graves, its builder," published in Nashville, Tennessee, 1856, Parson Brownlow again comes out with unrestricted frankness upon the subject of Slavery:

"This is no time for frank and patriotic men to remain neutral upon a subject alike affecting the interests of the Church and the country. I volunteer to show my hand upon this great question, not caring one dime whether it array the entire North against me or not. And the people of the South should require this adopted citizen, Elder Graves, to state, in unmistakable terms, whether or not he now entertains the same feelings and views, touching the great slavery question, that he did while a citizen of the 'Western Reserve,' in Ohio, where abolitionism is a trade with nine-tenths of the inhabitants. Let Mr. Graves be interrogated, and forced to define his position at once, or leave the South in hot haste. Let him be driven at once out of the stagnant pool of abolitionism, that his whispers and insinuations may no longer send forth malaria and death among the institutions of the South. Political disquiet and commotion are daily giving birth and sustenance to new and loftier schemes of agitation and disunion among the vile abolitionists; to bold and hazardous enterprises in the States and Territories, and even in Congress; to insurrection and revolution throughout the entire country. Among political men, without

distinction of party, the common virtues of honesty and truth have become superannuated and obsolete. The slavery agitation, that has been buried by the Compromise Acts of 1850, is anew lifting its head, and under the piratical flag of 'Black Republicanism,' asserting the rights of 'human liberty:' her infernal altars smoke with fresh incense, and, enlisted in her defence, are scores of designing men in the South—some filling pulpits, some occupying high positions in colleges, and academies, and who, though among us, are 'not of us,' our Southern friends may rest assured.

"I am not, and never had been, interested in the slave-traffic, or immersed in the cares, advantages, or disadvantages of the institution of slavery, and therefore I claim to be a disinterested looker-on. A native of Virginia, I have lived half a century in the South and seen the workings of the institution of slavery, in its best and worst forms, and in all the Southern States. I have gone among the free negroes at the North, and, in every instance, I have found them mere miserable and destitute, as a whole, than the slave population of the South. In our Southern States, where negroes have been set at liberty, in nine cases out of ten, their conditions have been made worse; while the most wretched, lazy, and dishonest class of persons to be found in the Southern States, are free persons of color. I, therefore, go against the emancipation of slaves altogether, unless they can be sent to Liberia at once. I take my stand with the friends of the institution of slavery in the South, and, in defense of the rights of the South, connected with this question, I will go so far as the next man—even dying in the last ditch."

In his speech on September 7, 1858, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the first day of the joint debate with Rev. Abram Pryne on the slavery question, Mr. Brownlow said:

"As churches at the South, we cannot affiliate with men who fight under the dark and piratical flag of Abolitionism, and where infernal altars smoke with the vile incense of Northern fanaticism. I have no confidence in either the politician or the divine at the North constantly engaged in the villainous agitation of the slavery question. There are true, reliable, conscientious, pious and patriotic men in the North, and there are similar men in the South, who came from the North, but they are not among these graceless agitators, and if I find any of these agitators in Heaven where I expect to go after death, I shall conclude they have entered that world of joy by practicing a gross fraud upon the doorkeeper."

Harpers Magazine for July, 1862, makes this interesting comment on Brownlow upon his appearance in New York at the Academy of Music while on his tour of Northern cities:

"The visit of Parson Brownlow to this city was one of the memorable events of the month. His name had been so long familiar to the public, and was surrounded with such various and peculiar associations that the interest in him was universal and profound.

It was easy enough to foretell that his public reception at the Academy would be what is popularly called 'an ovation.' But it was much more than a spectacle. There was a tragic reality in what he said and in the impression he personally produced. . . . Now, certainly, most men who have heard of Parson Brownlow, who have read his speeches and marked his career, must have expected to see a thick, coarse figure, with a corresponding face, which would not surprise if it should seem vulgar. If a man had described his expectation would he not have probable said: 'A swearing, swaggering parson a hard customer?' Well, the pictures and the descriptions are not faithful. There stood a tall, rather spare man, with marked but delicate features, careworn, perfectly pale, but both sad and intellectual. If there were anything like a smile on his face at any moment it was but a transitory gleam. The expression was calm, firm, sweet but pensive. He received everybody with great simplicity, shaking hands and conversing easily and pleasantly with men of all parties and ages, but whose cause was his cause—the cause in which he had so faithfully fought and so sadly suffered."

BROWNLOW AT THE HERMITAGE.

Whatever Andrew Jackson may have done and said in his intercourse with his fellow man outside of his home, it goes without controversy that he was a very prince of hospitality in his home, and in corroboration of this we give an incident told the author by Col. John B. Brownlow, a son of Parson Brownlow, that occurred between his father and Jackson.

Col. Brownlow said that in 1845, the Tennessee Whigs held a convention, at Nashville, and nominated Ephriam H. Foster for Governor, and his father and other leading Whigs of the State were there. After the adjournment of the Convention, his father, Judge Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Knoxville, and eight or ten other leading Whigs of the Eastern part of the State, started for their home in Eastern Tennessee, and it was suggested that they go by the Hermitage and pay their respects to Old Hickory. They rode out to the Hermitage, and Governor Brownlow reconsidered the matter of calling on General Jackson and doubted the propriety of it, so that when they reached the Hermitage, all the party got off their horses except Brownlow, and the question was asked him why he didn't dismount also, to which he replied that he had strongly and with all his power opposed General Jackson for years in his paper, Brownlow's Jonesboro Whig, and he did not know whether General Jackson would want to meet him, and he doubted whether it was the proper thing for him to call at the General's residence.

The others of the party insisted that he should go in, which he finally consented to do with the understanding that he should keep in the back ground when the party was presented to Old Hickory, so that it might not be necessary in the crowd to call his name and disclose his identity with that understanding they presented themselves at the Hermitage door and met Jackson; but that experienced eagle eye noticed that there was one man in the crowd whose name was not called, and he stepped up to Brownlow, and held out his hand and said, here is one gentleman who has not been introduced to me, and thereupon Brownlow was formally presented. Old Hickory replied, "I have heard of you before," shook his hand cordially again, and in the course of conversation, while the party remained, directed a large part of his remarks to Gov. Brownlow, but never gave the slightest hint that he knew of the determined war Brownlow had made on him for years. The incident passed off with that; but illustrated, as Col. Brownlow put it, that Jackson was a Prince of hospitality in his own home, no matter whether he was visited by a friend or a foe.

Col. Brownlow gave another incident of Jackson's high courtesy to everyone in his own home. He said that Leslie Combs, at one time a member of Congress from Kentucky, was secured by Henry Clay as a messenger to take to General Jackson a copy of one of Clay's measures in Congress, strongly opposing Jackson. Mr. Combs reached the Hermitage, delivered his document, and was received by Jackson with the most eminent courtesy. He invited Combs to stay as a guest at his house, showed him every attention, and, on leaving, put some apples in his saddle-bags for his return trip; but told Combs he wished to meet him in a hotel that he named, in Nashville, the next day, at a certain hour. Both parties kept the appointment, and there Jackson gave Combs a denunciation for being, as he termed it, a tool of Henry Clay, and denounced Clay, beyond measure, as he always did. But not a discourteous word to Mr. Combs was said at the Hermitage.

The slave holding Union Whigs of the South sided with Mr. Lincoln and in Tennessee with Brownlow. Some large slave holders and influential men in Tennessee took their view, and to illustrate Whig sentiment at that day, and for the enlightenment of this generation of Tennesseans, the following partial list may be cited who lived in and around Knoxville;

Hon. John Baxter who was later Circuit Judge of the United States; Col. John Netherland the Whig candidate for Governor

against Hon. Isham G. Harris, and who later became a Democrat; Col. John Williams, son of United Senator John Williams, who from an old Whig became a Democrat, but always adhered unflinchingly to the Union; Judge Thomas A. R. Nelson, who was a Whig Member of Congress, from the first Congressional District of Tennessee, and who became a Democrat, and was a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, after the enfranchisement of the Confederates in the State; Col. William Heiskell, the author's father, a Union man, was Speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives, during the administration of Brownlow as Governor; Col. John R. Branner of Jefferson County, Tennessee; Major Frederick S. Heiskell, the old time Whig Editor of the Knoxville Register, whose influence in Tennessee was fully as great or greater than that of any journalist of his time; Judge Conelly F. Trigg who was later United States District Judge in East Tennessee; Col. Thomas H. Calloway who became President of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad.

Scores of others of the most prominent men of the State, slave holders and old Whigs, were Union men. They put the Union above slavery even though the South was for Secession, and they themselves, in most instances, bankrupted by Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. History affords no finer illustration of an adherence to principle bringing financial ruin than was afforded by the Union slave holders of the South loyally adhering to the Union notwithstanding the triumph of the Union cause could but result in the freedom of every slave in the South.

A study of Gov. Brownlow's public record discloses that in everything, except on the question of Secession, he was with the South. He was a slave owner and openly, both in speech and writing, defended slavery.

When the Civil Rights Bill was passed by Congress, against which the people of the South were practically a unit, Gov. Brownlow came out in an editorial in the Knoxville Chronicle, denouncing that bill, much to the surprise of the Southern people. The bill was afterwards declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. There will probably never be unity of opinion in Tennessee as to his administration as Governor, because questions then before the public arose directly out of Secession, and the historians of the two sides will probably never agree as to the merits of the legislation of that period; but, aside from that, it is due the Governor to say that he was always a friend of the Southern States.

There was no compromise with him on the subject of Secession. He was a Union man, first, last, and all the time, without variation or shadow of turning.

Slavery raised no issue with him on that question. He stood upon the same platform as Abraham Lincoln in his great letter to Horace Greeley, and upon that same letter and the course of conduct set out in it, stood the slave holding Whigs mentioned who lived in and around Knoxville; and in fact all slave-holding Union men in Tennessee. The Union was first and everything else subordinate.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO HORACE GREELEY

“Executive Mansion,
“Washington, August 22, 1862.

“Hon. Horace Greeley:

“Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th addressed to myself through the New York Tribune. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

“As to the policy I ‘seem to be pursuing,’ as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

“I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be ‘the Union as it was.’ If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

“I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

“Yours”
“A. Lincoln.”

THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION.

The brief extract here given is taken from a speech of Mr. Brownlow delivered in a debate in Philadelphia with the Rev. Mr. Pryne. No abolitionist of the North could have shown a more ardent love for and belief in the Union than this anti-abolitionist of the mountains of Tennessee.

"Who can estimate the value of the American Union? Proud, happy, thrice-happy America! The home of the oppressed, the asylum of the emigrant! where the citizen of every clime, and the child of every creed, roam free and untrammelled as the wild winds of heaven! Baptized at the fount of Liberty in fire and blood, cold must be the heart that thrills not at the name of the American Union!

"When the Old World, with ' all its pomp, and pride, and circumstances, " shall be covered with oblivion—when thrones shall have crumbled and dynasties shall have been forgotten—may this glorious Union, despite the mad schemes of Southern fire-eaters and Northern abolitionists, stand amid regal ruin and national desolation, towering sublime, like the last mountain in the Deluge—majestic, immutable, and magnificent!

"In pursuance of this, let every conservative Northern man, who loves his country and her institutions, shake off the trammels of Northern fanaticism, and swear upon the altar of his country that he will stand by her Constitution and laws. Let every Southern man shake off the trammels of disunion and nullification, and pledge his life and his sacred honor to stand by the Constitution of his country as it is, the laws as enacted by Congress and interpreted by the Supreme Court. Then we shall see every heart a shield, and a drawn sword in every hand, to preserve the ark of our political safety! Then we shall see reared a fabric upon our National Constitution which time cannot crumble, persecution shake, fanaticism disturb, nor revolution change, but which shall stand among us like some lofty and stupendous Apennine, while the earth rocks at its feet, and the thunder peals above its head!"

SOME EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF TENNESSEE

Tennessee's early history presents a striking illustration of a pioneer people with unflinching self-reliance and the most fearless courage, overcoming every danger and obstacle in their way in conquering the trackless wilderness and in subduing the red-man, and founding a white man's civilization and government within the present limits of the state.

That early history also illustrates those same pioneers fighting and contending for their several religious doctrines with almost the same fierceness and persistence with which they cleared the

wilderness and destroyed the Indians. Hot religious discussion was a part of the lives of those people and a history of it is both instructive and entertaining. The curious part of it is that religion seems to have been a matter of doctrine only which was held to be so fundamental as to constitute seemingly the sum total of religion. In warm advocacy of the several doctrines, the contestants seemed to lose sight of charity, neighborly kindness, loyalty to the widow and orphan, love to one's fellow and all that is elevating and ennobling in the story of the good Samaritan. Election, saving grace, apostasy, adult baptism, predestination, all phases of Calvinism, regeneration, infant baptism, the communion, the confessional, justification and a score of other controversial topics, stirred the people all over Tennessee, and, in fact, in all the adjoining states. Contestants were not only controversial but denunciatory and bitter, and discussions occurred that recognized no restrictions as to the invective used. The leaders were Parson Brownlow as champion of John Wesley and the Methodists, J. R. Graves of Nashville as defender and exponent of the Baptists, and Frederick A. Ross a bold and aggressive, upholder of the Presbyterians. Doctrinal books were written that displayed great research and intellectual strength. Sermons and speeches without number were delivered and controversial newspaper articles were in almost every public journal. Parson Brownlow was living at Jonesboro, Tennessee, a part of this period, publishing his *Jonesboro Whig*, a weekly newspaper and *Brownlow's Monthly Review* in 1847, 1848 and 1849. "The Great Iron Wheel Examined," a reply made in 1856 to J. R. Graves' book "The Great Iron Wheel" was written after he removed to Knoxville. It is a closely printed volume of 330 pages. He also preached and made addresses on doctrinal subjects.

The book-writing part of his life was between 1834, when "Helps to the Study of Presbyterianism" appeared, and in 1856, when "The Great Iron Wheel Examined" came out, a period of twenty-two years. Born in 1805, he was 29 years old when his book on Presbyterianism appeared.

From 1828 to his death he was also in politics on the side of the Whigs and later of the Republicans. But the intellectual side of the man is exhibited best in his books, writings and speeches of religious controversy, and here his most vindictive enemy must admit that he is entitled to be classed among the mental leaders of the day, and that in debate with Graves and Ross, who were both

educate dand learned men in religious discussions, he rendered Methodism a service in bold and successful advocacy greater than which no other champion ever rendered that church in America, the two Wesleys and Whitfield alone excepted. Their work was the work of founding and evangelizing. Brownlow defended and up-held when the church was attacked, which, in some form or from some source was almost a daily occurrence. He became a great leader in the discussion of religious doctrines, and one is surprised at his breadth and thoroughness, and the question naturally arises as to where he got them. His school education was meagre and such as only the very deficient schools at that time in Southwest Virginia could furnish, and this was his condition when he began to preach; but with a success that turned out to be wonderful, he began the labor of self-education while performing the duties of a Methodist Circuit Rider, and the persistence and will power in this work displays him as one of greatest personalities of his day. His culture is admirably proven in his application, quotation and great appreciation of extracts from some of the best poets. He never mis-applied a quotation or used inferior or hackneyed poetical lines. His mastery of strong and spectacular English was complete and his vocabulary ample for all the purpose of a preacher, a political orator or a doctrinal controversialist. His use of malediction was marvelous, and the high dexterity and joyous enthusiasm with which he resorted to it, showed great capacity by gift of nature rendered increasingly efficient and skillful by much usage.

His physical, moral and political courage were excelled by no man of his time, or any time, and the title "the fighting Parson" came to be applied to him naturally as something proper and to be expected. In the three sided battle in which Graves and Ross were the other two contestants, students of the times lean to the theory that Graves and Ross and their respective followings had made up their minds to crush Brownlow and drive Methodism out of the country. Baptists and Presbyterians were first in the field and best entrenched in Tennessee and the South West, and naturally wanted no rival in their way. Ross and Graves did not turn their guns on each other but on the Methodists, John Wesley and Parson Brownlow, the latter being the one champion among the Methodists who had all the stalwart qualities of brain and heart necessary to hold his own against his two masterful antagonists combined.

Brownlow clearly appreciated the fact that in assaulting Graves and Ross personally he was dealing some exceedingly hard blows. In the dedication to his book "The Great Iron Wheel Examined," he presents this apology to the public:

"The author here most respectfully as a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, apologizes to the church public for the seeming severity of this work in some parts, on the ground that he has performed the painful task of refuting a series of the most scurrilous falsehoods and a collection of the lowest abuse of the age."

PARSON BROWNLOW'S BOOKS.

Parson Brownlow's book "The Iron Wheel Examined" contains 331 closely printed pages; his "Life of Henry Clay", 349 pages; his "Parson Brownlow's Book," 458 pages; and the bound volume of his "Monthly Review" for the years 1847, 1848 and 1849, 384 pages; his "Help to the Study of Presbyterianism" which will be noted hereafter, 299 pages.

THE BROWNLOW AND PRYNE DEBATE IN PHILADELPHIA.

We said heretofore that Parson Brownlow was a loyal Union man and that he was loyal to the South on the subject of slavery. In the city of Philadelphia beginning September 7th 1858, a public debate was commenced by Parson Brownlow and Rev. Abram Pryne, on the question "Ought American Slavery to be Perpetuated?" Brownlow taking the affirmative and Pryne the negative. The debate began on Tuesday and continued for five days in the afternoon of each day. The disputants alternated in opening the discussion from day to day.

The Brownlow Knoxville Whig has the following to say about this unique debate.

"OUR DISCUSSION IN SEPTEMBER.

"The reader will see from the following correspondence that the battle spoken of in many of the newspapers comes off on Tuesday, the 7th of September, in the City of Philadelphia, between the editor of this paper and the Rev. Abram Pryne, a Congregational minister, and the editor of the anti-slavery paper, published in McGrawville, Courtland County, New York, styled the 'Central Reformer.' The following challenge appears in his Reformer for March 10, 1845:

"REV. MR. BROWNLOW AND SLAVERY."

"The public will remember that this gentlemen has challenged the friends of freedom in the North to debate with him as to the merits and demerits of slavery. His very elaborate challenge has not been accepted unless it be a conditional acceptance from

Frederick Douglass. I now propose to reduce the question to a single proposition sweeping the entire area of the subject, and in that form, I challenge him to its discussion. The proposition I would state as follows:"

"Ought American Slavery be Abolished?"

"This question to be reversed when the debate is half through and to be stated as follows:"

"Ought American Slavery to be perpetuated?"

"He may select the time and place of holding the debate, I only stipulating that it shall be in the state of New York, and that I shall have four weeks notice between his acceptance of my challenge and the commencement of the debate.

"As my name may not have reached him, I may state that like Mr. Brownlow, I am a clergyman and editor, and will take the liberty to refer him to the Hon. Gerret Smith, Hon. J. R. Giddings, Dr. Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College, and Rev. Wm. Calkins, President of the New York Central College, McGrawville.

"Abram Pryne."

BROWNLOW'S REPLY:

"Morristown, Tennessee, April 20, 1858.

"Rev. Abram Pryne,

"Sir:

"In your issue of an abolition paper of the 10th ultimo styled the Central Reformer, and of which you seem to be the ostensible editor, you challenge me to meet you in debate on the slavery question. You say you are a 'clergyman and also an editor,' and for your character you refer me to several distinguished abolitionists.

"There are two points of information I wish from you before I accept your challenge. First, what church are you connected with? Next, are you a white man or a gentlemen of color?"

"Respectfully,"

"William G. Brownlow,
"Editor of Knoxville Whig."

Mr. Pryne replied that his father was a Scotchman and that there was no negro blood in his veins, so the debate was agreed upon.

It attracted great attention all over the Union. Large crowds attended it and paid admission fees to get to hear it, and the Philadelphia papers had reporters present at every one of the discussions. Parson Brownlow dealt with the subject historically and treated it in detail from the first introduction of slaves in America, and showed just how the American people had been educated in reference to it. His argument was very strong.

Mr. Pryne's speeches were not remarkable for strength, and consisted mainly in an effort to show that slavery was abstractly and intrinsically wrong.

The debate was published in book form during the year 1858 by the two disputants and they shared equally in the proceeds of the sale of the books.

In 1834 when Parson Brownlow had been a Circuit Rider for eight years in Tennessee, North and South Carolina and other sections, he published a book at Frederick S. Heiskell's printing office in Knoxville, the exact title page of which is as follows:

"HELPS TO THE
STUDY OF PRESBYTERIANISM
OR
"AN UNSOPHISTICATED EXPOSITION OF CALVINISM WITH
HOPKINSIAN MODIFICATION AND POLICY, WITH
A VIEW TO AN EASY INTERPRETATION OF THE SAME,
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF THE
AUTHOR.
INTERPOSED WITH ANECDOTES BY
WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW,
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

"For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be made known"—Christ.

"Knoxville, Tennessee.
"Frederick S. Heiskell, Printer,
"1834.

It is from this book that we quote in the next chapter the narrative of the life, travels and circumstances incident thereto, of William G. Brownlow. This narrative is unique and affords a detailed-picture of the life in Tennessee and Western North Carolina at the time, and is reproduced in full and just as Parson Brownlow included it in his book. His book is long since out of date and the author feels that his narrative should be preserved.

One cannot fully appreciate the bitterness of the doctrinal controversies between Brownlow, Graves and Ross, without seeing actual quotations from the three, and to that end, we print quotations from Brownlow and Graves. The trend of Ross' argument and teachings can be seen by references to him in the extracts from Brownlow.

Brownlow's attacks were personal and largely directed at Graves and Ross individually; while Graves and Ross turned their batteries on the Methodist Church, with a shot here and there at Brownlow personally.

QUOTATIONS FROM BROWNLOW'S "GREAT IRON WHEEL EXAMINED."

"J. R. Graves edits the 'Tennessee Baptist' at Nashville, a paper published at Nashville, having quite a large circulation, and being now in the twelfth year of its existence. His paper is a low, dirty, scurrilous sheet, and is so regarded by many of the intelligent Baptists of the country, who refuse to patronize it. And why? Because, as they say, it is conducted by a man who cannot elevate himself above the level of a common blackguard—a man who habitually indulges in language toward other Christian denominations which would hardly be tolerated within the precincts of Billingsgate, or the lowest fish-market in London! No epithet is too low, too degrading, or disgraceful, to be applied to the bishops, ministers, and usages of the Methodist Church. The contemporaries of the 'Baptists' usually shun coming into contact with it as they would avoid a night-cart, or other vehicle of filth; and decent men of the Baptist persuasion have been known to throw the slanderous sheet from their doors with shovel or tongs, disdaining to touch it with their hands. As some fish are said to thrive only in muddy water, so the paper of which I am speaking would not exist one year out of the atmosphere of slang and vituperation. It administers to the very worst appetites of mankind; and whether speaking of the most eminent bishop or minister, the purest of the sainted dead, the venerable FOUNDER of Methism, or the excellent institutions of said Church, it pursues the same strain of vulgar and disgusting abuse. It is enough for a man, woman or child to have been baptized by a Methodist minister, or by one received into their church, to insure the ill-will and contemptuous denunciations of the editor of that vehicle of falsehood and defamation; whilst, on the other hand, he can see no demerit in one who has been immersed by a Baptist preacher, and he can take into his fellowship a prostitute, and hug to his bosom a burglar, if they had been baptized by immersion! With him, the Baptist Church is the only kingdom of God on earth, and to find fault with any of its doctrines, ordinances, or abusive preachers, is to sin against the Holy Ghost! With him, no virtue, no honor, no truth, exists anywhere but in the breasts of partisans of his own 'faith and order,' and no vice or immorality is found but with the members of other churches."—Page 20.

"The whole tenor of Graves's course, editorially, has been that of a vagabond politician, who expected to live only by excitement—making ruffian-like attacks upon private character, committing all manner of excesses, standing preeminent in selecting themes for lying, and the lowest and most scurrilous abuse of Methodist preachers. He has made repeated attacks upon me, through his paper, with a view to engage me in a controversy upon points of doctrine and Church policy. I was engaged in defense of one of the political parties of the country, and in promoting the internal improvement schemes of our State, and did not choose to occupy my columns in a controversy of this kind with a humiliating spec-

tacle of vice and depravity literally crawling in the dust of contention. This unwillingness of mine to bandy epithets with an inflated gasometer, whose brain I believed to be a mass of living, creeping, crawling, writhing, twisting, turning, loathsome vermin, he politely construed into a want of courage on my part to encounter the caitiff of the 'Tennessee Baptist.' I confess to a want of moral courage to meet one who eats carrion like the buzzard, and then vomits the mass of corruption upon decent human beings."—Page 23.

"Take J. R. Graves in his length and breadth, in his height and and depth, in his convexity and concavity, in his manners and in his propensities and he is a very little man, but in that littleness there is combined all that is offensive and disagreeable among Christian gentleman. For several years past, in portions of several states, with an unearthly din, this man has been barking, neighing, bleating, braying, mewing, puffing, swaggering, strutting; and in every situation, an offensive smell, to gentlemen of refined tastes and Christian habits, has gone out from him! And believing the homely old adage, that 'he who lies down with dogs must rise up with fleas,' he has been permitted to pass unwhipped by justice."—Page 26.

"J. R. Graves, of Nashville, and 'Editor of the Tennessee Baptist,' claims to be one of the clerical successors of the apostles; and by virtue of his lineal descent from John the Baptist, claims, in connection with the ministers of his own 'faith and order,' the exclusive right of administering the ordinances of the Church, exclusive qualifications to instruct mankind in the important doctrines of salvation, and, as a matter of course, to reform the manners and customs of the several spurious sects of the country."—Page 243.

"I propose to show that Graves has perpetrated TWENTY-FIVE FALSEHOODS in one chapter of this book, a short chapter at that, composed of only twelve pages, making more than two lies to a page. Not so bad for one of the successors of the apostles, in a direct lineal descent from John the Baptist! The chapter I allude to is Chapter 20th, commencing on page 225; and I declare, upon the honor of one who expects to give an account in the future to the Judge of all men, that this is but a fair specimen of the other thirty-nine chapters of his book!"—Page 243.

"CHAPTER XV.

"Three specimens of deliberate lying—A vulgar, false, and slanderous caricature of a Methodist revival! The challenge by the North Carolina Publishing Society of the Baptist Church—Replies of Doctors Lee and Deems—Graves publicly caned for slander—The Baptist 'Western Recorder' against Graves, alluding to his Church troubles in Nashville—His abuse at Bowling Green—Damages obtained against Graves in Tennessee for libel, to the extent of \$7,500—Mortgages all his property away, under peculiar circumstances—Page 254.

QUOTATIONS FROM GRAVES' "GREAT IRON WHEEL."

"Look at the distracted state of Christendom—look at Tennessee and the southwest! What a spectacle! The so-called Christian churches armed in bitter hostility! Methodists and Baptists engaged in an exterminating warfare. Presbyterians and Methodists in East and West Tennessee unchurched and unchristianizing each other, and pronouncing each other's peculiar doctrinal teaching dangerous to the souls of men! ... Will Tennessee or the world ever be christianized so long as this state of things exist? Will the world ever believe on Christ? If all the world were this day converted and banded under the colors of these hostile parties would it be a millenium? Peace would no more be restored than now. Since opposites and contradictories must of necessity antagonize but storms of tenfold fury await the years to come. What we now feel is but the breathings of a zephyr in comparison to the whirlwind that is rushing upon us. The great questions of this age are, 'Which of all the claimants is the true Church of Christ? Ought Christ Jesus alone to be obeyed in religious matters, or may the authority of Bishops and Elders be regarded?'"—Page 16.

"LETTER XV.

"Methodism a Great Iron Wheel—a Clerical Despotism, and yet American Christians tolerate and support it."—Page 158.

"LETTER XVI.

"Methodism the Popery of Protestantism—as absolute and all controlling as Jesuitism—Papal Bishops."—Page 169.

"LETTER XXI.

"The Roman Catholic features—the Doctrine of the Power of the 'Keys' held by the Methodist Clergy in common with the Pope. The Divine right to govern held by the Methodists in common with the Pope and Priests of Rome. Methodist Ministers claim the power to admit into, and exclude from their societies whomsoever they please, and the Discipline grants them the power."—Page 234.

"LETTER XXIV.

"THE EPISCOPACY AND THE PEOPLE.

"DEDICATED TO AMERICAN METHODISTS.

"The principles of legitimate Governments—Man's inalienable Rights—They cannot be conceded or alienated without Sin—They cannot be usurped without Impiety—What is a Tyranny and a Despotism, according to Bishop Bascom?—Methodism proven to be a Tyranny, a clerical Despotism, Anti-American in its Genius and Tendency—Republicanism backwards—A New Definition of Methodism and an Illustration."—Page 276.

"LETTER XXVI.

"THE PECULIAR DOCTRINES AND USAGES OF METHODISM.

"A Calvinistic Creed, a Popish Liturgy, and an American Clergy."—Page 327.

QUOTATIONS FROM "BROWNLOW'S MONTHLY REVIEW," FOR 1847,
1848, 1849, BOUND VOLUME.

"In the October No. of the Calvinistic Magazine, Mr. Ross boasts of his being sustained in this war upon Methodism by the members and friends of his church, and mentions quite a number of Ministers and Periodicals, who sustain him in his views, even of class and band meetings! We believe with Mr. Ross, that he is sustained in his course towards the Methodist. We have proof of this that none can doubt. Indeed, disguise the fact as much as the Presbyterian Church may, it is well known, and extensively known, that the present state of disorder and quarrel is not on account of any controverted point of faith or doctrine, as alleged—it is a strife between despotism on the one hand, and free principles on the other; it is a strife between the DESPOTISM OF PRESBYTERIANISM, and the CHRISTIAN SIMPLICITY OF METHODISM. In proof of this, their church has opened a fire upon us, from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. They have bearded us in our own dominions, with every circumstance of insult and violence, from the gentleman of refinement and character, down to the brutal illegitimate of Scotch and African mixture! The Methodist church has long watched the movements of the hoary Monarchy and subtle Diplomacy of Presbyterianism. She has now resolved to face up to both, and will bear herself in the storm with heroic front, till the world shall see a glorious triumph of the Rights of Man! She will maintain her right to a place among the Churches of the country; and in doing so, deny the right of Civil Authorities, at the call of F. A. Ross and Co., to put her down. She will insist, from the pulpit, through the press, and even on the stump, before the populace, that her peculiar institutions, are not 'death to all the institutions for which Washington fought and freedom died'—that her form of government is not 'a naked despotism'—that her system of doctrines is not 'a debauched pietyism,' which renders 'true moral character subordinate and degraded'—and that her ministry, is not 'an irresponsible ministry,' as charged by the Magazine, over the imposing names of Isaac Anderson, Fred A. Ross, James King and James McChain."—Page 4.

"We repeat, that we are not unapprised of the evils which flow from such a divided state of Christian society, as exists at present, in all this section of country, and we deplore them as sincerely, as does any man in the country. The controversy has already burst assunder the bounds of Christian love, and prevented that harmonious and affectionate intercourse among Christians which is one of the chief enjoyments of social religion. It has infused jealousies, fanned the flame of discord, set friends, brethren, and families, at variance, and shattered whole communities into factions and parties. It has kindled contentions and heart burnings, produced envyings, animosities, and hatred of neighbors and brethren, and, in not a few instances, burst asunder the strongest ties of natural affection—while it has led professed Christians to

violate the plainest dictates of humanity and of natural justice. It has excited a feverish zeal for the peculiarities of a sect, at the head of which an unworthy man is placed, while the distinguishing features of Christianity, have either been overlooked or trampled under foot. It has wasted money unnecessarily, in publishing and republishing the slanders of a ruffan and hypocrit, which might have been devoted to the promotion of the interests of our common Christianity. It has even corrupted fire-side conversations, infused into them a spirit of false-hood in apologies, for a self-important gladiator, whom we have sought to excuse, with a firm conviction of his guilt. Nay, more and worse, it has corrupted our prayers, infused into them human passions, and a spirit of persecution, and a party, confining them to the narrow limits of a sect, as if the God of all grace, whom we profess to adore, were biased by the same low prejudices which control us, and dispensed his favors according to our contradicted views. All this, and more, has this controversy done for this section, for the evil consequences of which, Ross and his supporters are justly responsible."—Page 8.

“THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

“The Christian Observer, now in the 26th year of its existence, is a Presbyterian paper published in Philadelphia, and edited by the Rev. A. Converse, D. D., a veteran hater of Methodism. All the tolerant, ferocious, and contemptuous publications against Methodism, which meet the eye of Mr. Converse, he transfers to his columns with eagerness and delight. Such slander, for instance, as Mr. Ross’ ‘Iron Wheels,’ against Class Meetings, and private character, he considers as divine, actually dictated and authorized by God himself!

‘In the Observer of Sept. 24th, the ‘meek and lowly,’ “Mr. Converse says:

“The low and vituperative manner in which Mr. Brownlow, a Methodist preacher, and others, have assailed Mr. Ross, instead of answering his arguments, appear like a concession to the truth of his main positions, as well as a singular exhibition of the influence of clerical power on the bearing and spirit of gentlemen.” Page 39.

“I dreamèd I stood outside of hell,
 Dark walls, and cries, and groans and yells,
 Heard faintly, from afar within
 That dark abode of pain and sin.
 Louder and louder on the ear
 Those murmurs broke, and seemed more near
 To be advancing; like the roar
 Of some dark storm cloud breaking o'er
 A mighty forest, old and still;
 And rushing on o'er vale and hill.
 Curses and imprecations dire,
 Terms of contempt and vengeful ire,
 From myriad tongues, I now could hear
 Each moment seeming still more near.

Toward where I stood, the tumult drew,
 And hell's broad gates wide open flew;
 Out rushed a being sore in haste
 By demons, imps and devils chased,
 'Drive him far off!' loud Satan cried,
 'And you, gate keeper, woe betide,
 If e'er within these walls is seen
 Another being half as mean!
 A friend came near, I said, Pray tell,
 Is aught too mean, too vile, for hell!
 Who can that wretched being be,
 Whom thou has forced so far to flee
 From this dark den of sin and shame?
 Tell whence he came, and what his name.
 He grinned a smile of fiend-like mirth,
 And said, A Slanderer from earth."

"In the Calvinistic Magazine for August, 1846, Mr. Ross says:

"But the broad fact remains, after all concessions, that Methodism is a debauched pietism, in which the imagination has run wild, and passion, bodily sympathy and mysticism are supreme, while true moral character is subordinate and degraded. We speak out, and challenge examination. We speak out, and say, that rottenness is the very bones of the moral system created by Methodism, to an awful extent."

"IN THE MAGAZINE, FOR NOVEMBER, 1846, MR. ROSS THUS DISCOURSETH:

"It is sometimes asked, with great greenness, what business have we, the Editors of the Calvinistic Magazine, with the Methodist system?... We answer—just the same business we would have, if a man living in the same house with us, had a barrel of gunpowder in his room. We think we should have the right to get that powder out of the house. So, we have the right to expose Popery, and Prelacy and Methodism, as dangerous to the civil and religious liberty of our country."

"IN THE MAGAZINE, FOR APRIL, 1847, IN THE SECOND NO. OF THE "GREAT IRON WHEEL," MR. ROSS SAYS:

"We have often remarked a peculiar insensibility, as a characteristic of the Methodist common mass, a peculiar insensibility to moral honor and integrity of character. We have not dropped this sentence in hasty writing. We say deliberately—it is so—it is so—wide and deep."—Page 101-102.

"AND SPEAKING OF METHODISM, ON PAGE 135, OF THE SAME NO. QUOTED ABOVE, MR. ROSS SAYS:

"It hardens the conscience to moral obligations. It prostrates body and soul under the feet of an irresponsible ministry. It injures the piety of the good man. It encourages hypocrisy. It must, if fully developed, demoralize society."

"AND IN THIS ARTICLE OF THE 'GREAT IRON WHEEL,'

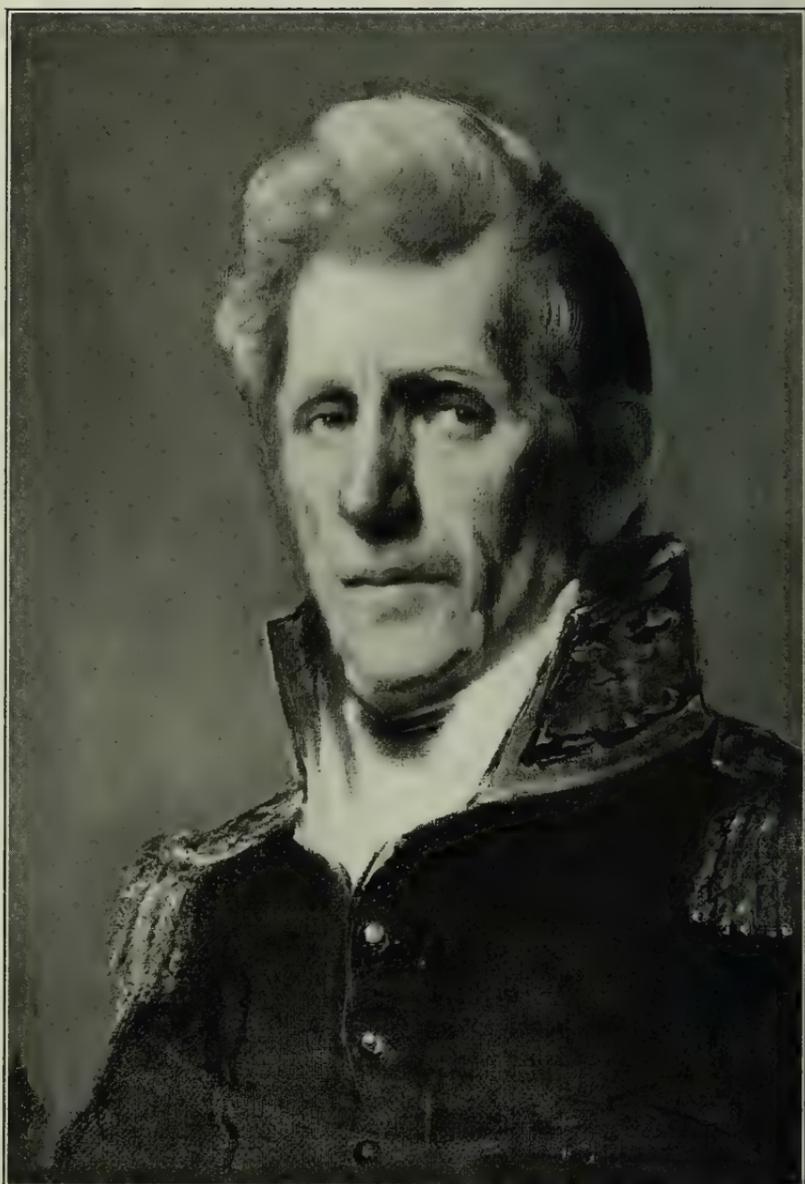
MR. ROSS ADDS:

"It is astounding that any set of men, after the American Revolution, should have dared to fabricate, and set in motion, this great Iron Wheel of the Itinerancy! Just look at it, and you see it is a perfect system of passive obedience, and non-resistance.

"The thing is a naked despotism—imperial power, in an ecclesiastical aristocracy, unblushingly avowed and gloried in.

"The system is dangerous to our liberties, civil and religious. It ought to be understood, and done away by public opinion, enlightened by the spirit of the Bible; and the movement to do it away cannot be too soon.

"The Methodist system is death to all the institutions for which Washington fought and freedom died."—Pages 102-103.



ANDREW JACKSON.

Painted in New York City by Samuel L. Waldo in 1840 or 1841 on a panel which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. This panel picture is thought to be the original of the portrait of Jackson that hangs in the Mayor's office, New Orleans, Louisiana.

CHAPTER 10.

Narrative of the life, travels and circumstances
incident thereto, of William G. Brownlow,
written by himself.

"Few persons, who have arrived at any degree of eminence in life, have written memorials of themselves, that is, such as have embraced both their private and public life; but many, very many, who never arose to anything like eminence in this life, have written such memorials of themselves; therefore, knowing as I do, that I have never arisen to anything like eminence, and that it is the custom of such only, to write out a full history of themselves, I proceed to the performance of the task. However, the public transactions of many great men, have been recorded by their contemporaries or themselves, apparently too with the best of motives; but why such and such things occurred, and are thus recorded; and why such and such other events which are not related, have been passed by in silence, we are rarely told.

"Now, I maintain, that the bad as well as the good acts of a man should be related; and then, the reader, having the whole man before him, is the better prepared to award to him a righteous verdict. But it will, perhaps, be urged, that a man should so conduct himself as to be wholly free from improprieties,—especially a minister of the gospel. To this I reply, that if the memoirs of only such as have lived and died without fault, were written, we should seldom, if ever, see a production of the kind.

"But if there be more evil than good attached to a man, what are we to do? Why, put your veto upon him, and determine not to follow his footsteps. But what shall we do when there is more good than evil attached to the life and travels of a man? Why, faithfully relate the whole, and then profit by his example, in that he has done good. But when the scale is so perfectly poised that neither end preponderates, what shall we do? Why, balance accounts and strike off even!

"Few men can be said to have inimitable excellencies, or inimitable failings; let us watch them in their progress from infancy to manhood, and we shall soon be convinced that while we imitate their virtues, we should shun their vices. Then to profit by the past lives and conduct of others, we should exhibit them in full. This done, we cannot fail to receive benefit by an attentive perusal of what has past, unless we are 'such as cannot teach, and will not learn.'

"That a man, engaged solely in the work of propagating christianity—in carrying the light of the gospel among the people—in opposing error, and defending the cause of truth—and, finally, in going about it like his Saviour, endeavoring to do good to all,

should find himself exposed to enemies, or should meet with opposition, may seem strange! But history and observation inform us, that this has been the lot of all public men, in a greater or less degree. While some emblazon a man's virtues, others will amplify his faults. A majority, however, labor

'The struggling pangs of conscious truth to hide,
To quench the blushes of ingenuous shame,'

rather than pursue the opposite course; and, it is not unlikely, that on this account, so few public characters have justice done them.

"Again: While the shafts of unmerited censure are hurled against some men, and they are doomed to bear the base insinuations of invidious tongues, they never-the-less rise to victorious eminence, having to all appearance, taken fresh courage from the circumstance! But alas for others! They seem to sink beneath the load, and, with the poet they are ready to exclaim:

'While sorrow's encompass me round,
And endless distresses I see:
Astonish'd I cry! can a mortal be found,
That's surrounded with troubles like me.'

"Perhaps it may be asked, who is the person that offers this volume to the world? In this the inquisitive reader shall be gratified, for short and simple are the domestic annals of one who has not even reached his thirtieth year. I am the eldest son of Joseph A. Brownlow, who was born and raised in Rockbridge county, in Virginia, in the year 1781, and died in Blountville, in Tennessee, in the year 1816. My father died when I was so young that I could not have been a judge of his character—but it has been a source of comfort to me, to hear him spoken of by his old associates, as a man of good sense, brave independence, and great integrity.

"The death of my father was a grievous affliction to my mother, as she was left with five helpless children, three sons and two daughters, all of whom are still living. Her maiden name was Catherine Ganaway, a Virginian likewise, and of respectable parentage. But she departed this transitory life in less than three months after the death of her husband. Being naturally mild and agreeable in her temperament, she was strongly endeared to a large circle of friends and acquaintances. But their consolation is in this, that when sinking into the cold embrace of death, she was happy in the religion of Christ.

"However, accounts of the parentage of a man, unless connected with some very peculiar circumstances, are generally uninteresting; and more particularly, when their names are not intimately interwoven with the history of their own country, or of any other. Besides this, if a man's parents, whether dead or alive, are known to have possessed great merits, they will be appreciated, and therefore need not to be blazoned by the pen of eulogy.

"I was born (and chiefly raised) in Wythe County, in Virginia. After the death of my parents, I lived with my mother's relations, till within three years of the time I joined the Methodist itinerancy, and was appointed to labor as a circuit preacher. I can say—and I think it my duty not to pass over the fact in this brief narrative, that I feel towards those relations for their parental care over me, a degree of gratitude and affection, which can only spring from the laws of nature, and the social relations of life.

"As to the days of my childhood, they passed away as those of other children, carrying with them the pleasures and pains, common to that season. I could, however, relate many interesting incidents, connected with the history of my boyhood; but lest I justly incur the charge of egotism, I will pass them by in silence.

"At a very early period in my life I had impressions of a religious nature, which were never erased from my mind; and though I made no profession of religion until I arrived within two years of mature age, and was even rude, yet, I had the utmost respect for professors of religion, and particularly ministers of the gospel.

"During the month of September, in the year 1825, at which time I resided in Abingdon, I attended a camp-meeting, at the Sulpher Springs, twenty miles east of that, when it pleased God to give me the witness of the Spirit. There is a concentration of feeling,—a glow of fancy,—I may say of religious affection, connected with the recollection of that circumstance, which I delight to enjoy. It was here I felt the Lord gracious, and was enabled to shout aloud the wonders of my redeeming love. All my anxieties were then at an end—all my hopes were realized—my happiness was complete. From this time I began to feel an increasing desire for the salvation of sinners; and in order, more effectually, to engage in this work, I returned to Wythe, and spent the ensuing year in going to school to William Horne, an amiable young man, and a fine scholar, who, poor fellow! has long since gone to his long home.

"My education was plain, though regular in those branches taught in common schools. And even now, though I have endeavored to study one science after another, and have been pouring over books, pamphlets, and periodicals of every description, by night and by day, for the last nine years, my pretensions are of the most humble kind.

"At the second regular session of the Holston Annual Conference, held in Abngdon, Va., under the superintendence of Bishop Soule, in the fall of 1826, I was received into the traveling connection on trial, and appointed to the Black Mountain circuit, in North Carolina, under Goodson McDaniel. I had now to exchange the company of affectionate friends, for the society of persons with whom I had no acquaintance. This was a most affecting time, and will not soon be forgotten by the writer. I entered on the labors of this year with many painful apprehensions. There were not a few on this circuit, as I was previously informed, whose minds were very much prejudiced against the Methodists.

And to my astonishment, upon arriving there, I found our most inveterate foes to be professors of christianity! They were the followers of an old man, who used to go about 'preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;'—and who had 'his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins;' his 'meat' being 'locusts and wild honey;'—while the people flocked to him from 'all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins!'

"I allude to a denomination of people called Baptists. This was my first acquaintance with these people. I had no altercations with any of them, this year; nor did I attend their meetings, only when our appointments clashed at those union, or go-between meeting houses. One of those meetings, set apart for feet-washing, I never can forget. For, never did I, before or since, see as many big dirty feet, washed in one large pewter basin full of water! The Baptists are a people whose theory is so narrow, and whose creed is so small, that, like their shoes, they seem to have been made for their exclusive use. They consider them-selves deputed from heaven for the general reformation of men and manners, and would try all men at their bar. They are amazed to find that any one should doubt the accuracy of their system, because they are satisfied with it. Their judgment is biased, and resembles a pair of scales of which to beam is forever awry. General society, and particular religious associations, formed by other denominations, are so imperfect, they cannot endure them; and in the investigation of their laws and rules, their aim is, not to enjoy that which is right, but to exult over that which is wrong. They survey creation through the medium of a contracted vision, and consequently forget that they are not the only persons, who have a claim upon the bounty of the skies. They pity all who differ from their persuasion, and wonder how it is that they can dream of being right. They revolve in a circle of which the centre is themselves. Those who are squeezed in with them are the lucky few; all without are dogs if not something worse. Unused to much thinking, and too impatient to pursue it, petty purposes, and a kind of a pin's head policy are all they compass! Still, they are struck with the degeneracy of all around them! In these sweeping censures they never suspect the prejudices of their own minds; though they produce a jaundiced yellowness on all they inspect. Of the truth of these things every body is sensible but themselves. Well, a little maggot in a nut shell might come to the same conclusions, and for a similar reason, because the little thing has a maggot's mind!

"The only misfortune which befell me this year, was that of having almost froze to death, on the 26th of December. Having led my nag over to Cain river, on the ice, I proceeded to cross a spur of the Black Mountain, when, I suppose, I came as near freezing to death, as ever any poor fellow did, to escape. Indeed, upon arriving at a small cabin, on the opposite side of the mountain,

I was so benumbed with the cold, that I was not only perfectly stupid, but extremely sleepy. Here I began to discover, that in exchanging the cold and salubrious atmosphere of my native uplands in Virginia, I had not gained anything. However, there is no finer country in the summer season, than Western Carolina, or even the State of Buncombe, as it is sometimes called. There are few places in the world which can vie with the counties of Buncombe and Burke, in beauty and novel of scenery—the extended hill-side fields, rich ridges, beautiful springs, mountain coves, high conical peaks, and astonishing verdure covering the soil, set off to the best advantage, the lofty Black Mountain! In the mean-time, the Table Rock is in the vicinity; and every season, the summer visitors add new and increasing interest, in their pursuit of deer, and other game.

“Although we did not enjoy the pleasure of seeing hundreds converted this year, yet, we had every reason to believe that some good had been effected, through our feeble instrumentality. In the latter part of the year, the professors seemed much revived, and appeared to be alive to God. Upon the whole, in taking my leave of the circuit, I felt safe, well, and happy in my soul. May the Lord bless the good people of that county!

“1827.—In the fall of this year, our conference met in Knoxville, and the venerable Bishop Roberts presided, with his usual degree of cheerfulness and acceptability. Here, the recurrence of another anniversary occasion, in the history of our conference, called for the warmest expression of our gratitude to the great Head of the church, for having privileged us once more to mingle our praises and thanksgivings together. I will name one circumstance which occurred during the sitting of the conference in Knoxville. It was this: A young storekeeper, a member of the Presbyterian church, drew up a subscription paper, and was, by way of burlesque, going about trying to raise money to have my likeness taken! I was called on to know if I would subscribe! I replied that I would subscribe liberally, if, when they had taken my likeness, they would deposit it in the East Tennessee College, or the Seminary at Maryville, for the inspection of Doctors Coffin and Anderson, and as a pattern for minister-making! This reply, in view of the fact that I looked bad, was indifferently dressed, and had on a very old fashioned hat, rather confused the young Presbyterian.

“At this conference I was appointed to French Broad circuit, lying mostly above Ashville, in North Carolina, under an excellent and agreeable little man, M. E. Kerr. We labored in this new appointment with increasing success, till the ensuing spring, when I was taken by my presiding elder, W. S. Mason, to travel the Maryville circuit, in lieu of James Cummings, then absent to general conference.

“Here I could not avoid coming into contact with Anderson’s young divinity-shoots; for the impetuous little bigots, would assail me in the streets, or pursue me into private houses, and commence

an argument on natural ability, or moral inability, or the impossibility of falling from grace. I fought manfully, and did the very best I could, though they always reported that they had used me up. I remained on this circuit but three months. Among the many circumstances which occurred during my short stay on this circuit, I will only name the two following:

"My appointment in Maryville happened on the Sabbath of the Hopkinsian sacrament, held at their camp-ground near the village; and as I had previously arranged by appointment to be in the after part of the day, I attended theirs, and heard them preach two or more sermons. Well, an inflated little priest by the name of Minis, who talked pretty much through his nose, and whose head seemd buried between his shoulders, apparently to make way for the proturberances of his back, addressed the congregation from "I would that ye were either hot or cold," etc. In the elucidation of his subject, he went on to show that the Methodists were the lukewarm whom the Lord would vomit up, &c &c. He also went on to speak of our fasting, secret prayers, secret meetings, and of our down looks, and manner of dress; and finally, he represented us as being more hideous monsters than the Sphinx of Egypt! In describing the cut of a Methodist preacher's coat, and trying to round it off with his finger, he seemed so exceedingly awkward, that I arose from my seat, and held one skirt of my coat saying, Sir, I presume this is the style you are aiming at! This confused the little man so, that it was some time before he got started again. Soon after this, myself and Mr. Brown of the Hopkinsian order, happened to meet on Sabbath, in the vicinity of a little village called Louisville. Although Mr. Brown was as bad looking a man as I am, and not more talented, yet, he affected to treat me with great contempt! When the congregation had assembled, he commenced reading his hymn, and as I thought a very appropriate one, to wit:

'How sad our state by nature is,
Our sin how deep it stains, &c.'

"Having prayed a long dry prayer, he proceeded to address the people from these words, 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son,' &c. Well, having divided his subject into three parts, on he went, preaching to a mixed multitude, in the most lifeless manner imaginable. After the preacher closed we had an intermission of about forty minutes, when I endeavored to address the people from the same subject. And as he had tried to poke his fun at me, I took the liberty to pay him back; and really, when I was closing my remarks, he looked to me, more like hard times abridged, than a preacher of righteousness! From that day to this, I could never get Brown to know me.

"About the first of July I took my leave of Blount County, and returned to my former circuit. Here we had wars and rumors of wars, but it was among the Hopkinsinians. During one single year no fewer than five clergymen of this order, came to Buncombe

County, in quest of a call. Three of them struggled and fought for more than twelve months. They carried their disputes so far as to indulge in the most low and vulgar personal abuse, disputing and quarreling even about the money which was collected in hats at their sacramental meetings! One of them, Bradshaw, actually claimed, and kept the most of the money. Such strivings for the mastery, was never seen in that country before! The result was, a division took place among the congregations, some voting for one preacher, and some for another. And the final result was, that many of the people determined to have nothing more to do with any of them. And Hall, the most furious of them all, fled to the lower part of the State, and I am told, has never been in Buncombe since. Mooney, another one of the swarm, visited South Carolina, in quest of a call, and has chosen to remain there. How shocked must people have been to hear preachers incessantly crying out that their reign was not of this world, when their infirmities were such, that they could not forbear quarrelling about a little money! But, while these unfortunate men were thus disputing, we Methodists travelled up and down the country, and endeavored to persuade the people that religion was the one thing needful. Some experienced religion, and a goodly number were added to our church this year.

“There is no finer country, in the summer season, than that about the head waters of French Broad. There the clear streams glide with smooth serenity, along the valleys; and when amidst a calm summer’s sunshine, they glitter to the distant view, like sheets of polished crystal, and soothe the attentive ear, with the softness of those aquatic murmurs so exhilarating to the fancy. But O, the huge, enormous mountains! the steep and dizzy precipices; the pendant horrors of the craggy promontories—how wild and awful they look of a rainy evening!

‘The hoary winter here conceals from sight
All pleasing objects that to verse invite,
The Hills and dales, and the delightful woods,
The flow’ry plains, and silver-streaming floods,
By snow disguis’d in bright confusion lie,
And with one dazzling waste fatigue the eye.’

“Who can ever sufficiently admire the immense benignity of the Supreme Disposer of events? How manifold are the mercies of God, and how surprising the scenes of Providence! Adieu to those scenes, till the last loud trumpet of God shall sound; and until eruptions, earthquakes, comets, and lightnings, disgorge their blazing magazines!

“1828.—In the autumn of this year, our annual conference convened in Jonesborough, and Bishop Soule again presided, despatching business with his usual promptness and acceptibility. In his sermon, on Sabbath, he certainly tore the very hind-site off of Calvinism!

“At this conference, I received deacon’s orders, and was appointed to travel in charge of the Washington circuit, a small circuit in the lower end of East Tennessee. Here, I met with enemies, and for a time, had my difficulties; I had a law-suit upon my hands, against potent adversaries, and my all depended on its issue. The circumstances of the case I will briefly relate. An elder in the Hopkinsian church, who had long been distinguished for his violent opposition to Methodism, and particularly Methodist preachers, made an unwarrantable attack on me, by addressing me an insulting letter; requesting an immediate reply from me, and a prompt avowal or disavowal of certain hearsays, mentioned in his letter. To this communication I replied with some degree of asperity. A rejoinder followed on the part of my adversary, in which he called me a puppy, a liar, an infidel, a fool, &c &c. To all this, I replied with a degree of moderation, though in a manner not very pleasing to my opponent. He then published some garbled extracts from my letters, in the Calvinistic Magazine. And I in turn, published the whole correspondence in pamphlet form with such additional remarks as I thought necessary.

“My friend, then, promptly by certain other leading characters in the Hopkinsian church, as he himself afterwards acknowledged, instituted a suit of slander against me, in the superior court for Rhea County, and employed two able lawyers to prosecute the same. Well, as I always was disposed to stand up to my rack, as the saying is, I employed able counsel likewise—made out a plea of justification in full—subpoenaed witnesses near at hand—went on to West Tennessee to take the depositions of others,—and as Crockett says, prepared to go ahead. But, when the day of trial came on, the plaintiff, for reasons best known to himself, dismissed the suit at his own cost. And this was the end of the matter; save that, the Hopkinsians have uniformly represented me as the aggressor, and as having been outed! If the curious reader will take the pains to enquire of his honor, Charles F. Keith, or any one of my counsel, particularly Thomas L. Williams, he will learn that it was not the defendent who crawfished out of this affair.

“But I found friends here, in the midst of all my embarrassments, whose hospitality and friendly conversation cheered my desponding youth. (For during the winter season, I had frequent and dangerous swimming of water courses, in the lower end of the circuit, and, to say nothing of my other privations, great mental affliction). And what was better than all, we were favored on parts of the circuit, with some drops of mercy, which were followed up with reviving showers of divine grace. The Lord added to our numbers greatly. The world, the flesh, and the devil, may array themselves against the Lord and his anointed, but it is of no avail. The Lord shall have them in derision. These remarks are made with gratitude to God, for the success that crowned my feeble efforts under these forbidding circumstances.

“Here it was, that I first became acquainted with the people called Cumberland Presbyterians,—I mean personally acquainted

with them. The leading object with these people, seems to be that of proselyting from other churches. This is a most shameful practice. If these people were as anxious to persuade sinners to separate from the ranks of the devil, and join the church of God, as they are to proselyte members of other churches and get them to join their party—then would they exhibit the true missionary spirit. This was the first time in all my life, I ever understood that men were called of God, and ordained by the church, to go on a mission to convert those who had previously been converted! As a Methodist preacher, when ever this shall have become the business of my life, I know I shall appear both inconsistent and ridiculous in the eyes of every man of sense.

“It was by hearing the Cumberland’s preach, that I became fully convinced of the superior advantages of short sermons, although I have heard many of them preach, I do not recollect to have ever heard more than one who closed till he was completely out of strength, words and ideas! This is a failing which attaches itself to the Baptist and Hopkinsian clergy likewise. Nor are all the Methodist preachers clear in this matter. Too many ministers, among the different denominations, tell all they know in one sermon, and some of them tell that all twice in the same discourse! Others, will hum and haw, and tell what they intend to say, and negatively, what they will not say, and apologize, &c, till they should be half done preaching. All this I despise. Indeed there are but few ministers, if any, who can be justified in preaching more than an hour on any subject. The great mass of the people, in every part of our country, are so accustomed to hearing the gospel, that all a preacher need do is, to give the leading ideas in his subject. A good sermon is better for being short, and to make a sorry sermon long, is out of the question! In a word, of all the deaths that ever any people died, there is none so distressing as that of being preached to death!

“In the latter part of October, in this year, I visited an uncle of mine, who then lived at the head of the Muscle Shoals in Alabama. Curiosity, or a desire to become acquainted with the Indian mode of living, led me to travel through the Cherokee nation, on to the south side of the Tennessee River. In doing so, I happened one night, after a hard day’s ride, to reach the house of a wealthy Indian, a member of the Methodist church, where, soon after my arrival, I met several Methodist missionaries, and Indian interpreters, on their way to the Tennessee Conference, which was soon to convene at Huntsville. The man of the house, in addition to being a slave-holder, had a number of his relatives about him, living mostly in cabins; so that, upon the whole, the yard was alive with human beings! This was an interesting night to me. Turtlefields, native preacher, held prayers for us, and we had a feeling time. This man was naturally of a very intrepid and independent spirit; but, when engaged in the worship of God, his lion-like fierceness seemed gradually to melt down into the mildness of the lamb.

After closing the exercises of the evening, I retired to bed, in a little open room, and there lay musing until a late hour. While thus occupied, sounds and circumstances of a very different character again and again arrested my attention. The night was exceedingly calm; every thing around me wore the aspect of perfect serenity; while the stars, with their usual brightness, glittered in the firmament. But amidst this pleasing stillness, so favorable to contemplation, I heard a voice, yea, voices; and these were the voices of a few poor Indians, who, after chatting around their evening fires, were closing the day with hymns of praise and united prayed to heaven. Had any been here present, who are at all doubtful as the mind of an Indian being susceptible to the power of divine grace, I doubt not that they would have stood confounded, if not convinced. Since that time, however, I have attended several Methodist meetings in the Cherokee nation, and at several of them I have tried to preach. It is not less pleasing than encouraging to observe, that those of our native preachers and interpreters, who are truly converted to God, are frequently found boldly, though unostentatiously, addressing the multitude upon divine subjects and fearlessly answering the objections that are urged by gainsayers, against the gospel. The substance of our sermons being familiarly reiterated by them, amidst the different groups around, the seed of truth is much more extensively spread abroad than even the missionary himself may be ready to imagine. By this means a kind of a new era is commencing in our Indian missions; so that, without greatly multiplying missionaries in a tribe, we shall be able to meet the wants of this scattered population; and without great expense promote the ever-blessed gospel, together with a rapidly increasing knowledge of the English language. It cannot be otherwise than that this is of God; and, to to my own mind, it appears with all the clearness of demonstration, that from year to year God is working out good for the Indians.

“But it is not by means of these men only, that these people are zealously assisting us in the grand and glorious work of evangelization; the great Head of the church is raising up from among them, also to proceed with the everlasting gospel in their hands, to the savage hordes on our western frontiers. Like the vine, therefore, the church is here spreading forth her branches over the wall; and these wandering sons of Ham are sitting down under its shade, and partaking of its fruit. To God be all the praise.

“Having paid my visit to the shoals, I returned via Huntsville, Winchester, Bellfonte, and Jasper. I remained in Huntsville during the week of conference, and was much gratified on becoming acquainted with many of the members of that conference.

“1829—In the fall of this year, our conference again met in Abingdon—Bishop Soule in the chair. This year I was appointed alone to the Athens circuit. At an early period in this year, I had occasion to call at the seminary in Maryville, to see a Meth-

odist student; and soon after I had entered his room, a young Hopkinsian minister slipped the following note to me, under the lower edge of the door:

'Sir:- Are you not fearful that you will break some of the old rooster's eggs, when you slip into this institution so much like a thief, waiting for an opportunity to steal something?

'Your humble servant,
'Fearless'. G.

"If the reader has perused the whole of this work, he will understand the allusion to the 'eggs,' and will consequently be prepared to make the necessary allowance for the severity of my reply. There being a table, pen, ink and paper, all just at hand, I immediately seated myself, and returned the parson the following answer:

'Sitting in the Southwest corner of the Factory!

'Reverend Sir:—

'In answer to your note just received, I have to observe, that I am not in any dread of breaking the eggs to which you allude, or of my doing any mischief; for I presume the old Rooster, is capable of taking care of his nest. As to my slipping 'into this institution so much like a thief, waiting for an opportunity to steal something,' I would say, as Paul did by being a Roman, when in Rome, &c. Yes sir, when I am among thieves and robbers, I usually slip and slide about as they do!

'Yours, &c.

'Peter Thundergudgeon, the Crow Bar Grinder.'

'Now, that mildness, meekness, and gentleness of disposition, should characterize every minister of the gospel, is a fact which no one will doubt; but that these graces can only be inspired in a naturally amiable and somewhat refined mind, by the sanctifying influences of christianity upon the heart, is equally true. And it is doubtless this commendable quality of the heart, this meekness and gentleness of conduct, which so completely removes the Methodist ministry from that haughty demeanor so characteristic of the Hopkinsian clergy, or of an unsubdued mind swelled with a false notion of superiority over its fellows, and which betrays its possessor into so many inconsistencies of conduct. While we instinctively turn with disgust from the man who assumes to himself the claim of a dictator, and betrays on all occasions the vanity of his own mind by a supercilious contempt of others, we as naturally bow before the virtues of him who in his intercourse with his associates evinces a suitable deference to their opinions, and manifests that meekness and diffidence which arises from a thorough knowledge of his own heart. But these virtues only shine forth in the conduct of the followers of Him who said, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.'

"During this year, a high-toned professor of religion in Athens and a member of the Church of Christ, named a dog after me! In

this, the Hopkinsians of Athens, considered they had completely over-matched me. As I rode through town one evening, in the midst of a company of them, I was enquired of as follows: 'Brownlow, did you know that the Hopkinsians of this place had called a dog after you?' I replied that I had understood so. Said the gentleman, 'Well, what do you think of it?' O said I, if the dog is good pluck, and will hang to a hog when set on, &c., I have no objection to his being called after me, but if the dog is cowardly I shall not own him as a name-sake; for continued I, when I take after a Hopkinsian shoat, I make him charge and squeal all over the village. This caused the by-standers to laugh, but at the expense of the owner of the dog.

"Here, also, a violent attack was made on the institutions of our church, by a Hopkinsian minister, who wrote in defense of the national societies, in the 'Hiwassee and Athens Gazette,' a scurrilous little paper, under Hopkinsian influence. To some of the many false statements and insinuations of this writer, I replied in an article of some length. He continued to write, and I to answer him; but alas, the editor of the paper refused to publish for me, on the alleged ground, that he did not wish to admit into his columns anything like religious controversy. Still the Hopkinsian minister wrote on!

"Not long after this, however, this conscientious editor admitted some very severe anonymous articles into his columns against me, written by a Hopkinsian minister and physician, sometimes called Lord Hackberry! Poor fellow! he has had his troubles since that. Subsequent events authorize me to address this man in the following language:—

'Your heart is gall—your tongue is fire—
Your soul too base for generous ire—
Your sword too keen for noble use—
Your shield and buckler are—abuse.'

"Within the last four years, there have been many such anonymous pieces published against me; generally too by Calvinistic writers. But nothing looks more cowardly, than for an individual, or set of individuals, to be firing at a man in this way. And indeed, none hide themselves under fictitious names, or appear without any name at all, but those who publish things of which they are ashamed. The only protection a nameless scribbler can claim or expect, is, either his worthlessness, or the dark mantle in which he shrouds himself. And it is well for many of these anonymous writers, that their names are thus concealed; for if they were really known, in many instances, they would have less credit for their statements. Such a course betrays a dastardly spirit; it is the resource of one who wants courage to avow his designs. All such, however, can peal away at me, without being in any way interrupted; for it does not comport with my views of self-respect to wage even a defensive war with a misnomer. For

what I publish, my name is given as a voucher—for the truth or falsehood of the same, myself am held responsible.

“If a man’s cause be a good one, why should he hide his face behind the curtain of secrecy? Does honesty need concealment? Do virtuous actions shun the pure and open light of day? Does honor—does religion seek to hide behind the mantle of night? No! No!!—virtue, pure and unsullied virtue delights to bask in the sunshine of Heaven, and nothing is farther from real rectitude of conduct than concealment. Concealment is the companion of guilt; together they walk the gloomy path of crime and calumny; together they guide the assassin’s dagger to the heart of the unconscious victim; and together laugh at the awful flames, that ascend in curling wreaths over the head of defenseless innocence. Nor is it at all unreasonable to suppose, that where things look thus dark and mysterious, there is something ‘rotten in the State of Denmark’! How ridiculous for men of honorable pretensions to act thus! But how much more so for men who are engaged in the sacred exercises of the pulpit, proclaiming the will of God concerning man, to act thus! What! a man clothed in the reverential habiliments of a minister, who occupies a stand as the representative of the Almighty, and professes to be the organ of truth and righteousness, to degrade his character and profession, by stooping to the low and dirty practice of secret slander! Yet, hypocritical and unprincipled as the practice is, a Hopkinsian minister acted quite a conspicuous part in it, on the occasion to which I have special reference. Shameful! Worse than ridiculous!! Cromwell, O thou monster! blush at this conduct. Nero, O thou bloody monster! rebuke such ministers. Thou Inquisition of Spain, turn pale at the bare mention of this prostitution of the sacred office! Of all the abominations that disgrace and dishonor the ministry in these portentous times, I know nothing more deserving of reprobation, than the prostitution of the sacred functions, for purposes so base!

“On this circuit, during this year, we had a considerable revival in our church. In short, the fallow ground of many a heart, there is reason to believe, was broken up and the seed sown in righteousness, which brought forth fruit to the honor and glory of God. This, to me, was truly refreshing, after having encountered those severe trials the year before. It was meeting with a verdant Oasis in the midst of an African desert, or the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. It was like the dew of Hermon sweetly distilling upon the mountains of Zion; and many of the hospitable members, and worthy local preachers of that circuit, can bear witness that ‘there the Lord commanded a blessing, even life for evermore.’

“I feel grateful to my friends and acquaintances on the Athens circuit, for the courtesies I received from them, but more so to that being who, in his infinite mercy, has protected me in every peril; and to whom I now say:

‘For this, my life, in every state,
A life of praise shall be:
And death, when death shall be my fate,
Shall join my soul to Thee.’

1830—About the last of October, in this year, our conference met at Ebenezer in Greene County. Bishops M’Kendree and Soule were both present—the latter presided. At this conference I received elder’s orders, and was appointed to travel in charge of the Tellico Circuit, in the Hiwassee district. For the first three or four tours round this circuit, I labored with increasing success, but it was not long till I discovered there were some stumbling blocks in some of the societies, or obstacles to the influence of religion, which it was necessary to remove. Hence, I set about the work of reform; and in a very short time, I had not only ascertained the real state of the societies, but as I believe, actually bettered their condition. In the little town of Madisonville, there were several malcontents belonging to our society, who gave us some trouble before we could get rid of them.

“The exercise of proper discipline in the church requires much wisdom, and not a little fortitude; and in proportion to the disordered state in which a minister may find that part of the Lord’s vineyard he is called to labor in, will be his difficulty; generally those who are accustomed to break our rules, do so from a secret repugnance to them—the lukewarm and the worldly-minded respect the rules of the church so far as they suit their convenience; and it is not always the case that men have influence in a church in consequence of their more exalted piety. The duty of the minister, however, lies plain before his eyes: let him scrupulously and vigilantly regard the honor of God, and the prosperity of his cause, rather than any man’s person, though he may have on ‘gay clothing.’

“In the town of Madisonville, the Methodist, Baptists and Hopkinsians, all had their separate houses for worship; and it was not an uncommon thing for all to be hymning the praises of their maker at once. This was as it should have been: let each and every denomination have their own house of worship, and attend to their own business; and then, to use a vulgar saying, let the longest pole take the persimmons.

“Here, again, I was somewhat annoyed by those people called Baptists. It is true they were not very formidable; still, there were several preachers of this order (if it lawful to call them preachers) who were continually haranguing the people on the subject of baptism, or rather of immersion. By day and by night, their cry was water! water! water! as if heaven were an island, situated somewhere in the British sea, and we all had to swim to get there!—or as if the Saviour of mankind were a pennywinkle, and could only be found hanging to a sandstone, in the bottom of some water course! And, one could as easily track a cat-fish through the Sucks in the Tennessee river; or side-line a whale through the Muscle

Shoals in Alabama; or illumine the universe with the tail of lightning-bug; or, hold a soaped pig by the tail, as convert these people from the error of their way.

"It was on this circuit, too, that I had controversy with the agents of the American Sunday School Union, alluded to in the first section of this work. And it was here, that I published the pamphlet entitled an 'Address to the Hiwasseans, on the Subject of Sabbath schools,' &c.; and for the sin of this publication, it seems, I am not to get forgiveness, either in this life, or in the life to come. I did greatly expose their machinations in this pamphlet. And this I must ever continue to do; for I view with jealousy the general movements of the Presbyterian church. I unfortunately suspect that there is more of political management, in all their affairs, than of concern for the souls of men. This may be my misfortune, but I am sincere in avowing it. Many of the common people, attached to this church, are unsuspecting and innocent; and ought to be pitied rather than blamed; for if their preachers were not to impose upon their gullibility, and thus designedly and knowingly lead them astray, they would not connive at their measures. As to the preachers themselves, most of them know they are in error, and they seem determined to continue in error. Clergymen are of all other men the most difficult to convert. One of the evangelists informs us, that it was not till multitudes of the common people believed, that a great company of the priests became obedient to the faith! I hope those moderate persons who aim to steer between all extremes, will pardon me, for having said so much in relation to the Presbyterians, and for having said it so plainly too. God knows I have no desire to increase the bickerings and uncharitable feelings which now prevail among the different denominations. I mourn this evil in the church, but I see clearly it cannot be remedied. Though I never did nor never will advocate union: on the contrary I will ever oppose it. An attempt to effect such a thing is vanity, and try it who will, it will be found to give rise to vexation of spirit.

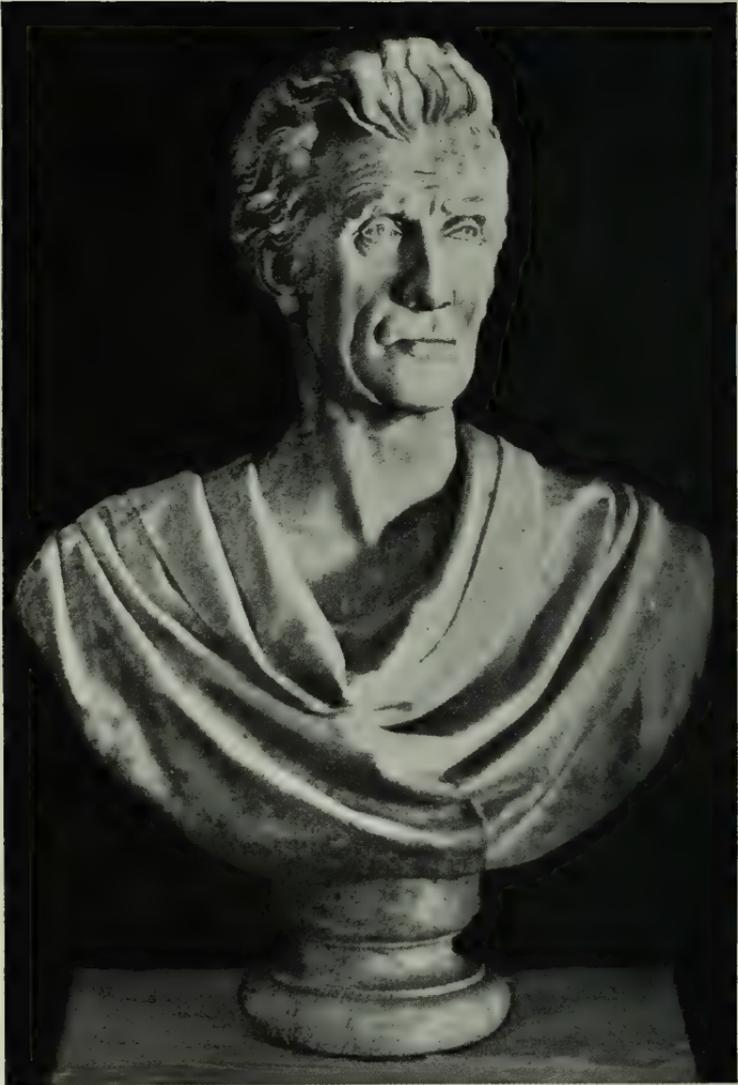
"During this year, there was no little excitement throughout the Hiwassee district, on the all-absorbing subject of Free Masonry; and this excitement has been kept up and increased, as the public prints will shew, till the present day; and in imitation of those zealous partizans at the north, they are even forming Anti-Masonic societies there. There is a lodge of no inconsiderable force in Athens, and another in Madisonville—with many of the members of both these lodges, I am personally and particularly acquainted. Many of them are honorable men and worthy citizens: others of them are scoundrels of the baser sort. This, however, argues nothing against the system of Masonry; for there are good and bad men belonging to all, and even the best associations. I have never published or preached one sentence against the system of Masonry, for the very reason too, that I know nothing certainly about the system. I suppose, however, that Morgan's exposition of it is a correct one;

and this opinion has been strengthened and confirmed, from the consideration that, from the days of Morgan down to the present, the system has been on the decline. Yet, I would give it as my opinion, that a minister had better say but little about Free Masonry in the pulpit, lest he should make false statements before he is aware of it. I am not a mason myself—I never was one—I never intend to be one. For I consider that the religion taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and which is contained in the New Testament, will answer all the gracious ends proposed in the system of masonry.

“Thus I have thrown together, as they occurred, a few thoughts, which may suffice for the present, to show the state of mind, and things on the Tellico circuit, during this year.

“May the good people in that section, live and die in the full enjoyment of that religion which is peaceable, permanent, and purifying; and whose reward is glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life.

“1831 This year, our conference was held in Athens—Bishop Hedding presided. From this conference I was sent to the Franklin circuit, in the western part of North Carolina. Here, again, I had another law-suit upon my hands, before I was aware of it, and that too against a host of the most bigotted and infuriated Baptists I ever met with in any country. Yes, I will venture to affirm—to use no harsh language—that they are without a parallel—they stand unrivalled in the whole world of inquisitorial accusers! The plaintiff in this suit, was however, a Baptist Preacher, who had all his lifetime been engaged in some paltry speculation or other, and in persecuting and slandering Methodist preachers, doctrines, disciplines &c. In a word, a man less depraved by means of ministerial trickery, less hardened by ardent and insidious aspirations for money, cannot be found in the western country. If I were called upon to point out a preacher, lost to all sense of honor and shame, blind to all the beauties of religion, and every way hackneyed in crime, I would point to this man. But, for the satisfaction of the reader, I will, by way of preliminary, give a brief account of this whole transaction. First, this man, in addition to having been almost all his lifetime engaged in mercilessly fleecing the flock, and in litigations of one kind or another, has also been unremittingly aspiring after preferment; and like some noxious character who lived in the days of our Saviour, he has always manifested a desire to ‘walk in long robes,’ while he has even loved ‘greetings in the markets, and the highest seats in the synagogues, and the chief rooms at feasts.’ In the next place, there has never been a Methodist traveling preacher in that country, for ten or fifteen years back, who this man has not directly or indirectly assailed, and attempted to injure. And as many as five highly respectable traveling preachers, have since certified that he had grossly slandered them, and their certificates have been twice published to the world. But to proceed. Previous to my entrance into that country, my predecessor, viz :



ANDREW JACKSON.

From the bust by Hiram Powers now at the Hermitage near Nashville, and owned by the Ladies Hermitage Association of Tennessee who bought it from Col. Andrew Jackson for three thousand dollars.

the preacher who had traveled there the year before, had been assailed, at the instance of this man, in an infamous little publication, written by a little old apostate whig—an official member of the Baptist church—the very but-cut of original sin. To this publication, this circuit preacher felt himself bound to reply, and accordingly did so. Some two months after this, the old Baptist priest replied in a pamphlet of some size, and in this publication slandered a number of Methodist preachers, together with the doctrines, government, and general policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the midst of this state of things, and upon the very heels of this controversy, as it were, I was appointed to this circuit, and the very next day after my arrival on the circuit before I had even seen this preacher, he made a violent attack upon my moral character, by circulating a most shameful false, and injurious report. After a few weeks had passed away, I was advised to clear up the matter. I accordingly addressed the parson a note, asking him if he had circulated so and so, and if he had, to be so good as to give me his authority for so doing. Contrary to my expectation, he wrote me quite an evasive answer. I addressed him again. He then united with a little Hopkinsian physician, and they replied to me jointly, at the same time laying the whole matter on an infamous negro, giving him as the author of the report!!! Now, in my last communication to this clergyman, I scored him so deeply that it, together with the report in the country, that I had used him up, led him to indict me before the grand jury, for a libel.—And it is worthy of remark, that this presentment was not made till in October, just a week before the circuit for conference. And, it is also worthy of remark, that this minister, in order to become a witness against me, artfully introduced one of the members of his church, as the prosecutor in the case. Nor would the grand jury have found a true bill against me at all, but for the fact, that this miserable old man, before them declared upon oath, that he had never circulated a report concerning me, which should have come from a negro, or provoked me in any way. This fact, with many other important items relating to this lawsuit, I have long since substantially confirmed by a host of respectable certificates, and published the same to the world, and as many as two different pamphlets. This unfortunate man, thought that this falsehood was deposed in secret, and that the jurors dared not divulge it, and that no ear had heard it. He forgot that the eye of an omniscient God was upon him; and he little thought that the dark deeds of that hour, would ever be proclaimed to the world, through the medium of the press! Surely nothing short of an emetic from hell, could have forced him to vomit so base a falsehood in the presence of Almighty God, and twelve honest men! I should not write this, but for the reckless, remorseless, and unrelenting manner in which this depraved set attacked, pursued, and persecuted me. For ministers of the gospel, and other professors of religion, who serve but one

master, manifesting their faith by their good works, I have a respect bordering on veneration; but for those libellers of the religion they profess, who, in the true spirit of him they serve, go about singing and praying, preaching, lying, slandering, defrauding, and false swearing, I feel inexpressible contempt. Nor shall their over-rated talents or mock-dignity; or yet, their menaces of violence, screen them from the rebuke they have merited. As nothing more was done in this "suit at law," during this year, I will dismiss it for the present, and resume the subject again in the sequel

"Thus it will be seen, that my labors on this circuit, were commenced, under auspices very unfavorable. I had expected, on entering into the coves and mountains of this country, to have found an atmosphere entirely freed from the baneful influence of Calvinism, but alas! the hydra headed monster had reached the country before I did. Here it was, that I became more and more impressed with the conviction, that this doctrine is death to religion, and the prolific mother of human miseries. A whole encyclopaedia of wit, argument, and abuse, could not more than do the subject justice.

"Here, too, in a good degree, I witnessed the dreadful effects of drunkenness upon religious society. I here expelled several of our members for this crime. As it respects the Baptists, custom seems to have licensed them to drink when they pleased; in so much that it was no uncommon thing to see them, with impunity, staggering about, having their faces carbuncled with brandy! In vain may a minister leave his house and home, and encounter the inclement skies to build up believers, and administer relief to dying sinners, while they continue to pour fermenting liquors down their throats. And as already intimated, I was here more deeply convinced than ever, of the propriety of entering a solemn protest against so fearful an enormity, particularly as it threatens to overrun our country, and lay waste our churches. But, the reader will not regard me as saying, that the citizens of this section of the country were all drunkards, or Calvinistic Baptists. The cause of Methodism was quite popular there; and the cause of temperance was daily gaining ground. There are some as worthy and honorable members of the Methodist church there, as I ever met with in any country. And I shall have a great many warm-hearted friends there, and I shall long carry with me the remembrance of the many kind favors, wishes, and feelings, I have received from them.—I trust I have not been and may not be ungrateful for them.

"During this year, I performed as many as three tours through what are called the Taxaway mountains, crossing the Blue Ridge, and wandering along among the head branches of the southern water courses, on a sort of a missionary excursion. Agriculture and the mechanic arts, were not in as high a state of cultivation there, as I supposed them to be in the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania; while there existed at least a shade of difference between the inhabitants of those mountains, and the citizens of Philadelphia, so far as their manners and customs were concerned.

"Having been elected a delegate to the general conference, held in Philadelphia, in May, 1832, I set out from my circuit for the city, the last of March, via Abingdon, Fincastle, Staunton, Fredricksburg, Washington and Baltimore. Upon my arrival in Abingdon, I was insulted and tongue-lashed by a people called Protestant Methodists, who were there employed in reforming from Episcopal Popery, for having dared to express my views of their system! Here I found a parson C. of this order, whose flaming zeal in maintaining the doctrines of 'reform,' led him to forge thunderbolts, and to pour out anathemas against despotism! This man was evidently actuated by a bad spirit, or a sordid interest, or a barbarous disposition to revenge, which animates most of the radicals as they are sometimes called, and produces all their pretended love of freedom. This town, once so harmonious, was now divided in religious opinion. And, as an emblem of the division, two spires now pointed up to heaven in Abingdon; and two men, who styled themselves Methodists and ministers of Christ, preached to distinct congregations, and as all allow, resorted to measures widely different in their tendency, in order to carry their points. But here, as in most other places, where these sticklers for reform have caused a secession from the mother church, the same has been found in reality, to have been an accession to it.

"At Evensham, some fifty miles beyond Abingdon, I was again charged on by the postmaster of that place, a sort of head man in the ranks of Protestant Methodism, who, as I was told after leaving there, published me in the Wythe paper. But poor man! he has since been tucked up for robbing the mail, and that too of no small amount of money. Since that time, the latest advices from that country say, that his zeal in the cause of religion has greatly abated.

"On my way to Philadelphia, I spent a week in the city of Washington, in visiting the different parts of the city, and in listening to the debates in Congress. While in Washington, in company with some ten or a dozen clergymen, I visited the President's house, also, and was honored by an introduction to Gen. Jackson. He had just recovered from a slight state of indisposition. He sat with Mr. Livingstone, the then secretary of state, examining some papers, when we entered, and though paler than usual, I was struck with the fidelity of the common portraits I have seen of him. Alexander's, I think, however, is the best by far, and his reflection in the mirror is not more like him. He rose with a dignified courtesy to receive us, and conversed freely and agreeably; till, unfortunately he bounced on the missionaries, who had crossed his views and feelings, in opposing the measures of Georgia and the general government. His whole appearance is imposing and in the highest degree gentlemanly and prepossessing. He is a very fine looking old man, though I left him with an unfavorable opinion of him. And though I dislike and disapprove of his administration, yet, I am free to confess, that if his face is an index of his character, he is an upright, fearless man. But I have long since learned that it will not do to take men by their looks.

"I am no politician, but so far as I am capable of understanding what I read, I am a Jeffersonian Republican.

"From here I proceeded to Baltimore, where, in company with a number of the preachers, I remained for several days. While here, I preached to the convicts in the penitentiary, at the request of the preacher in charge of the station. And while there, it occurred to me, that the Hopkinsians of Tennessee, had previously predicted that I would end my days in some such place, and that they would no doubt be somewhat gratified to hear that I was in the state prison of Maryland; and I accordingly sat down and communicated the information to a friend in Athens, who, as I was afterwards told, apprised them of the fact, without letting them know the circumstances under which I had gone there. Some of them rejoiced, and others mourned lest the report should not be true. While here, the keeper of the prison related to me an anecdote, which I cannot deny myself the pleasure of publishing. It was this: Some time before that, two self-important young Presbyterian ministers, during the sitting of the presbytery in that city, visited the penitentiary; and while they were walking about viewing the prisoners at work, one of them said to the other, 'I suspect that if the truth were known, the most of these unfortunate creatures came here out of the Methodist church.'

"The keeper having heard this, and knowing who they were, determined to score them, if a suitable opportunity presented itself. Well, it was not long until one of them asked him if any of the convicts had ever been members of any church, &c. He answered them in the affirmative. 'What church,' enquired the priest, 'were they members of?' . Said the keeper, 'the most of them came here out of the Presbyterian church!!!' The result was, the young clergyman made no further enquiries on the subject.

"From Baltimore, I proceeded to Philadelphia, on board of a steam-boat, accompanied by some twenty-five or thirty Methodist preachers, delegates to the general conference. Here, I remained all the month of May. While in this city, I attended the anniversary of the American Sunday School Union. To a superficial observer, this would have been an interesting meeting; but I saw too much management to please me.

"While the Methodist general conference was sitting, the Presbyterian general assembly was in session likewise. I was present in the assembly, when they had the great doctrinal question on the carpet—I mean the new school and the old school divinity, or as some of them termed it, 'heresy' and 'orthodoxy.' The debate grew out of an appeal from the decision of a synod, to the general assembly, on the part of some new school men, for a division of the Philadelphia Presbytery. On this question a violent personal debate arose, which would, for intemperance of language and wholesale abuse of private character, absolutely disgrace the lowest poster house, or ale cellar, in the lowest place in the lowest town or city in the lowest country in the world.

"During the sitting of this assembly, and also of our conference, in the midst too of the debates of the former, I was invited to dine at the house of Alexander Cook, Esq., in company with venerable Bishop Roberts, Ezekiel Cooper, John P. Durbin, Francis A. Owen and others, and before the bell rang for dinner, while we were sitting together in the parlor with several other persons, one of the company lifted a Presbyterian paper, just published, and read a brief sketch of the proceedings of the assembly, written by a member of that body, in which he stated that great peace and harmony prevailed among them, and that they had indubitable evidence that the Lord was with them!

"Bishop Roberts then enquired of me to know, smiling at the same time, how I would reconcile that statement with the account myself and others had given of their debates. I replied, that I supposed the writer did not use the terms peace and harmony, in their most common acceptations, and that on this ground there was no discrepancy in our statements; and that as to the Lord being present, the writer could prove by me, that John Lord, one of our delegation from New England, a very tall fine looking man too, was present and heard their debates, and that it was possible the writer alluded to him! But said I, if he meant to say that the good Lord of Heaven and earth was with them, he was certainly mistaken.

"Now, that an omnipresent God was there, in the sense in which he is in every part of creation, no man who believes the scriptures will doubt; but that the almighty was there to sanction and approve of their jarring affections, malevolent wishes, broils and contentions, discordant voices, hard names, and confusion, is impossible. I would say that a being of revengeful and depraved passions, slightly varnished over with hypocrisy, dissimulation, and the various forms of politeness which prevail in parliamentary usages and debates, presided over the assembly; and the spirit which evidently stimulated and excited them to action, and the horrible and extensive effects produced by their inflammatory debates, bear me out in this supposition.

"They called other 'heretics,' and gave other the 'lie;' and indeed, one of the members of the assembly called Dr. Ely an 'unregenerate heretic!' And in vain the moderator attempted to reconcile them. During the heat of their debate, the moral atmosphere surrounding the place, became so tainted, that it was fatal to dignity, respectability and virtue to breathe it. And, they must alter their manner of conducting their controversies in the general assembly, if they would turn our 'moral wilderness' into a paradise of national, social, and domestic happiness. In one word, there have never been just such signs in the Presbyterian zodiac, since the stamp act of 1765, and the night when Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, caused the tea to be thrown overboard in the harbor of Boston! I confess, for one, that I entertained a hope, that the system would soon be discomfitted, slain and buried, till the general judgment at least, and then finally, completely, and irretrievably annihilated!

"1832—This year, our conference held its annual session in Evensham, in western Virginia. Bishop Emory presided. At this conference, I was appointed to the Tugalow circuit, lying mostly in the district of Pickens, South Carolina. On this circuit, I was enabled to effect but very little in a moral point of view, it being over-run with Baptists. Though I had no controversy with the Baptists this year, I had the pleasure of preaching with their greatest man Mr. —, more than once.

"If by the term 'great preacher,' be understood the fermentations of a roving brain, paradox united to a depraved taste, unceasing apostrophes, exclamations, obscure hyperboles—in a word, if a style inflated with extravagant metaphors, indicates greatness in a preacher, then indeed was this a mighty man! And if sterile ideas clothed with a redundancy of improper words, accumulated substantives, crowded epithets, rapid contradictions, repetitions re-echoed, abundance of synonymous words, and unceasing contrasts, constitute true eloquence, then does this man stand unrivalled as an orator!

"This was a very cold winter; and the water courses kept up till late in the spring. I swam the Tugalow river four times during this winter, besides the large creeks, &c. More than once, after swimming these water courses, I preached in open meeting houses, with my clothes froze on me! At one time, in swimming the river, when it was very full, I was driven below the ford by the strength of the current, and had like to have never reached the land again. Indeed I was in a squirrel's jump of the good world!

"Here I learned that nullification is emphatically death to religion. The churches were all enveloped in the smoke of faction. The Presbyterian and Baptist clergy, in this country, volunteered to support the ordinance, and preached expressly on nullification, declaring that it was both scriptural and right! Having received a new commission from heaven, or elsewhere, to 'Go into all the world and preach nullification to every creature;' like the followers of Mahomet, and not like the disciples of Jesus, whose duty it is to preach peace and good will to mankind, they carried the alcoran of nullification in one hand, and the sword in the other, saying to the people, 'choose ye this day whom ye will serve.' 'If nullification be God serve it, and if submission to the law of the land be God, then follow it.' A Baptist minister in Greeneville district, just above where I traveled, made the discovery, that nullification was the 'quintessence of religion,' and that 'Jesus Christ himself was a nullifier!' Different Presbyterian ministers preached sermons on the subject, and some of them had their discourses published in pamphlet form, and circulated among the people, at large. In some Baptist congregations where the union party was the strongest, motions were submitted to exclude nullifiers from the pale of the church. The Methodist preachers, with few exceptions, were not guilty of such improprieties. As to Calvinistic ministers, they have both precept and example in their

churches, for nullification. John Calvin, in the cases of Servetus and Castellio, nullified that law of God which says, 'Thou shalt not kill.'

"The nullifiers throughout the country, distinguished themselves by wearing a cockade on their hats, made of blue ribbon. Even the boys, not free from the apron strings of their mothers, had them displayed in bold relief, and in the true style of chivalry. Some of the union party, however, by way of contempt, fastened the cockade on the necks of their dogs. And I heard much said of a certain little bobtail fiste, in one of the country towns, having the cockade upon the tip end of his tail, trotting about the streets, and thus carrying nullification 'sky-high!' Surely, Don Quixotte himself would have charged a dozen wind mills, and broken a hundred lances, and fought a kingdom of giants for such a badge!

"A vast number of the common people, or peasantry, left the state; and if many of those who held land and other property, could have disposed of it, on any thing like reasonable terms, they would have fled from the 'peaceful remedy' as fast and as thick as did the darts in the Trojan war.

"But as it regards this thing called nullification, I find scripture both for and against it. When the Babylonian king passed a law not warranted by the law of God, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, nullified it at the hazard of their lives, and were by the power of God successful. Darius, afterwards king of the Medes and Persians, trying a similar project, had his laws nullified at the peril of his life—he succeeded, and his enemies were destroyed, and the power and majesty of God in both instances was spread over the immense realms of those potentates.

"But there are other cases, in which nullification was attended with the worst of consequences. In the garden of Eden, our first parents were induced by the devil, in the form of the serpent, to nullify the law of God and taste the forbidden fruit; and believing it to be a 'peaceful remedy,' they made the 'experiment.' Cain, in the case of his brother Abel, nullified the law of God, for which he received a black mark in his forehead! A nation of Jews who perished in the siege at Jerusalem, were all nullifiers. So were the wretched inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorah. And the Antedeluvians, for their South Carolina politics, were all baptized by immersion. Last of all, the king of Egypt, in trying to carry his ORDINANCE into effect, got drowned in the Red Sea. And had the South Carolina nullifiers gone a little further with their scheme, old Hickory would have drowned them in the port of Charleston!

"For my own part, I think it best to obey the injunction of St. Paul, who says, 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.'

“During this year, I visited the Telulee Falls, in Habersham county, Georgia. The revolutions on our earth, by which its original appearance has been so repeatedly changed, together with the manner in which nature has embellished the temporary residence of man, have, at all times, commanded the attention, and excited the astonishment of the learned. These traces of desolation have always acted on the human mind; and the traditions of deluges, preserved among almost every people, are derived from the different phenomena, and the great variety of marine productions scattered over the earth. But, we can never learn much on a subject so extensive, so very remote, and so wonderful. I have been in different states in the Union, and have looked with peculiar delight upon the order, harmony, and beauty of the works of creation in each; but never have I witnessed a scene which struck my mind with such profound awe, and so completely filled me with admiration of the infinite skill of the great Architect of nature. These falls are situated twelve miles from Clarksville, the county seat of Habersham, on the Telulee river, a beautiful stream indeed, which meanders through the hills, dales, valleys and piney woods, till it loses itself in the great Savannah. These falls, for several years past, have been a place of great resort, especially with the lowlanders, who, for their health, spend the summer in this ‘hill country.’ And I have to regret, that I do not possess a more lively and acute genius, that I might give a more graphic and interesting description of them. The scene, is said in point of grandeur, to be superior to that at Niagara, by some who have visited both. But as I have never seen the falls of Niagara, I will not vouch for the truth of this statement. I will say however, that it is difficult to form even a tolerable idea of this stupendous cataract without visiting and examining it. And even then it is not easy to bring the imagination to embrace the magnitude of the scene. For some distance above rolls the gentle stream, almost without wave or ripple to disturb the tranquility of its bosom, till, all of a sudden, sweeping along to the dreadful precipice, leaping from rock to rock, gathering all its energies, it plunges into the awful abyss below.

“Where the water falls, and between the bluffs on either side, there is such an astonishing chasm, as, viewed from above, strikes the beholder with terror! Down this chasm the water rushes with surprising velocity, after its first and most tremendous pitch, which is a fall of some considerable distance, though not perpendicular. The pitch of the whole body of water produces a tremendous sound which may be heard at some distance. The dashing of the water also produces a mist which rises to a great height. And some small distance below, the water, the waves, and the foam, have quite a great appearance indeed. The eye of an observant mind must rest, indeed, with peculiar delight on the structure of these falls, viewing them as a matchless display of Almighty power. To be in sight of these falls, at this season of the year, upon an adjacent eminence, surrounded by an

extensive field, handsomely interspersed with timber; where one can inhale the balmy zephyrs, charmed with the splendor of the sun, and the variegated coloring spread over the face of the country, and then, in the midst of this grandeur, let the rich harmony of a choir of feathered songsters come pealing on the ear, and certainly no heart can be so dead to feeling, as to resist the charms.

"I am told by those who visit them amidst wintry storms, clouds, rain and fog, when a dense, hazy atmosphere, surcharged with watery exhalations, hangs all around, that the scene is awfully grand.

"If the traveller, in crossing the mountains to or from the south, will take the trouble to call in and see these falls, he may see the works of nature on a scale of magnitude and grandeur which it will be highly gratifying to behold and investigate, and which will raise to the highest pitch his conceptions of the magnificence and glory of him, whose works are very truly 'great and marvelous!' He will feel within him a burning desire to reach that eternal world of joy, where the redeemed shall acquire a more minute and comprehensive view of the attributes of the deity and of the connections, relations, and dependencies, of the vast physical and moral system over which his government extends.

"Decision of the Law-Suit. Having given security, at the time I was first presented, for my appearance at the ensuing superior court, I returned from the south, to North Carolina in February, in this year, and took out subpoenas for the witnesses by whom I intended to make good the charges alleged in the bill of indictment. Well, I came on to court; and on Monday, the first day of court, my counsel demanded a trial, and continued to do so every day, till the last evening of court, when, just at night, it was granted. The reason why a trial could not be had sooner, was, that the bill which had been drawn up at the former court, and which I was then prepared to answer, was found to be defective, or such an one as I would blow up; and hence, a new bill was drawn up, and a new presentment made to the jury, and a new plan of arrangements adopted. And what is more strange than all, the state (for this was a state case) nullified this bill, and the state forced me to pay the cost of the same, though I was ready for trial! The like was never heard of before!

"In this last bill of indictment, there were three specifications, of which the following was considered the most important:

"But sir, I am constrained to believe, that you are so destitute of feeling, so blind to the beauties of religion, so hacknied in crime, and so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that notwithstanding your faculties still enable you to continue your sordid pursuits, they will not permit you to feel any remorse, or acknowledge your errors.' To support this charge, I had various respectable witnesses present to prove the man a liar, a slanderer, and a defrauder; and after doing so, I intended to infer, according to scripture and reason, that he was what I had represented him to be.

I knew very well, that no man in his sober senses, would swear positively, that he was dead in sins and trespasses, and lost to all sense of honor and shame; but I simply supposed that upon making out this proof, the conclusion would be inevitable. And indeed, I afterwards procured the certificates of nineteen respectable men eight of whom were ministers of the gospel, proving him to be this kind of a man, and published them to the world, as before stated.

“Upon failing to get witnesses to swear to the man’s heart, my counsel submitted the case without any pleading, and I was fined five Dollars.

“But it is worthy of notice, that this man, in going to law, instead of bringing an action of slander, indicted me for libel. His motive for acting this, was, he had been told that in action for slander, the truth of the words spoken, or written, affords a complete justification, which is seldom the case in an indictment for libel. Besides, an action of slander would have enabled me as defendant, to defend my own character, and attack his more successfully, than the rigid rules which govern an indictment for libel would allow of. For, in this state, the British doctrine of libelling is incorporated in the constitution; and the laws enacted on the subject in Old England, were, for the most part, intended for the protection of the king, and when explained amount to this—the greater the truth, the greater the libel. So that, had the once intended scheme of the parliament of Great Britain, to pass a bill, which denied to persons accused on a criminal account the privilege of defending themselves by the help of counsel, been here carried out and acted upon, I could have sustained no additional injury by it. For, under the regulations which governed this indictment, the legal knowledge of a Blackstone, or a Mansfield, combined with the eloquence of Lord Bolingbroke and Charles Fox, would have been of no service to me. Now, under the laws which govern an indictment for a libel, David and Solomon, were they on earth, might be charged and convicted for having libelled the whole human race. David has said, ‘all men are liars,’ and Solomon has said, ‘there are none good.’ Now deprive the former of the testimony of an inspired prophet, who, speaking of the human family, as soon as they are born, says, ‘they go astray speaking lies,’ and he could not sustain the charge. Well, deprive the latter of the scripture proofs of general depravity, and he would make a complete failure likewise. And here I will remark, for your information reader, that if you are ever disposed to select a legal remedy in a case of this kind, and your general character is bad, indict for a libel, and not for slander; for, if you do, your opponent will be allowed to investigate your character from your youth up. And, if you should ever conclude to sue for your character, and it is not better than that of this man, sue for a new one, and not for the one you have!

"But, when a man is indicted for a libel, and is found guilty and taxed with the cost, the idea goes out among the ignorant and uninformed, that he signed a libel—an instrument of writing in which he acknowledges himself to be a liar, &c. And this has been said of me, both in Carolina and Tennessee, by the ignorant and malicious ministers and members of the Baptist church. But it is all as false, as its numerous authors are infamous. Nor am I anxious for those who are not accustomed to think for themselves, or the corrupt, or those who are under the influence of trained and active intriguers, to entertain any other view of the subject. The majesty of truth will command the reverence of the candid—those who refuse to comply with its stern demands, can peaceably enjoy their own opinions.

"Were I disposed to do so, I might give the public a dissertation on the posse comitatus, equally as ponderous, as that with which Lord North furnished the British House of Commons

"I will, however, only say, that there has never been such a trial, since the trial of William Penn, before the court of Old Bailey, in England, for preaching to the Quakers in the streets of London; and, for his controversy with the Baptists and Catholics. Perhaps, I might except the trial of John Wesley at Savannah, in 1737; and, more recently, the trial of Lorenzo Dow, in Charleston. Dow was indicted for a libel; and although he plead the truth of the allegations in justification, and rested his defense solely upon this plea, he was nevertheless, convicted, and the sentence of the law was that of a fine and imprisonment!

"A few remarks in relation to the cost of this suit, and I have done for the present. Having lost the suit, as a matter of course, it fell to my lot to pay the cost. The legal cost of the suit, amounted to quite a trifle, there being only two witnesses on the part of the prosecution, and but few of these whom I had subpoenaed, who proved their attendance. But, on my return to that country, I learned that a third person, not known in the suit, had summoned a host of old Baptist witnesses, who, after court had adjourned, and I had paid most of the legal cost and left there, went forward and proved their attendance! These witnesses were summoned for no other purpose under the sun but to create cost; and as evidence of this, they were never called into court, nor was it known to me that they were there as witnesses! Well, on Sabbath, in the month of June, about five miles from the court house, while I was at church, in company with my presiding elder, William Patton, and the circuit preacher, Stephen W. Earnest, a corrupt and inexperienced deputy sheriff, seized upon me for this illegal cost!

"To satisfy the demands of this extra-judicial claim, on the next morning, I gave the officer an elegant dun mare, saddle, bridle, saddle-bags, and umbrella, all of which he disposed of in short order.

“How true the remark of an eminent writer; ‘he that opposeth hell, may expect hell’s rage.’ Surely their conduct savors more of that of an Algerine banditti, than of a body of civilized men—not to say christians. And surely, in traversing the vast continent of America, in wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartars, I shall never have to encounter a more savage and unprincipled set! With but few exceptions, the whole pack are steeped to the very chin in corruption, living upon its wages, and pandering to its purposes. They are shrouded in the sack-cloth and ashes of shame and disgrace, and enclosed in vaults full of buried venality. Like the fabled apples on the shore of the Dead Sea, they are fair without, but ashes within. They are daily accustomed to low and dirty contemplations, and familiarized by habit to the most filthy and mistaken views of truth.

“Their abominable impurities—their enormous injustice—their profanation of holy things—their contempt of the Supreme Being—their rancor and animosity—their hypocritical artifices—their dark designs and insidious calumnies, if unrepented for, will one day seize upon them, and burn them with the most inexpressible anguish.

“But public opinion has long since sealed the fate of these miserable offenders, and they have well nigh perished amidst the universal execrations of an honest community; while the winds of heaven have wafted the dying shrieks of their flimsy characters, from the shores of time to the distant vaults of merited oblivion! Still, I would pray Omnipotence, in the dying language of Stephen, who, when a similar set were mangling his body with stones, said, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But as sure as that moral justice is not a fiction, when the day of retribution shall come, and the unclouded light of eternity dawns upon the disordered chaos of all human concerns, it will be seen that, throughout, this was a shameful transaction, on the part of these my inquisitorial accusers. For, never before, perhaps, has a case occurred within the compass of the whole civilized world, in which the laws intended for the protection of personal rights, have been so openly and basely set at defiance, and have proved, in practice, so entirely inadequate to their object. The judge, many of whose relations are Baptists, before and after he came to court, declared he would put it to me, or words to this amount. And the attorney-general, before the court, represented me as a foreigner, having come into the country, and made the attack upon the plaintiff! This is carrying out the doctrine of state rights much further, than even contended for by South Carolina; for if a member of the Hartford convention, were to settle within her limits, she would allow him all the privileges of a bona fide juredivino citizen. This is indeed state restrictions, instead of state rights. In matters of contro-

versy in Tennessee, this primogeniture citizenship is not taken into the account. The laws of Draco, were the very quintessence of justice and mercy, if compared with this inexplicable system of judicial ethics!

"The most infamous culprit is entitled to the benefit of a fair and impartial trial; and no individual, however talented or high in office, should be allowed to assume to himself the office of Judge, jury and executioner, all at the same time.

"The following extract from Volney's *Ruins; or Meditation on the Revolutions*,' upon the 'Universal basis of all Right and all Law,' contains an excellent view of the origin of all justice and of right:

"Whatever be the active power, the moving cause that governs the universe, since it has been given to all men the same sensations, and the same wants, it has thereby declared that it has given to all the same right to the use of its treasures, and that all men are equal in the order of nature. Secondly, since this power has given to each man the necessary means of preserving his own existence, it is evident that it has constituted them all independent one of another—that it has created them free — that no man is subject another—that each is absolute proprietor of his own person. Equality and Liberty are therefore two essential attributes of man.'

"In conclusion, all who are not too deeply rooted and grounded in error, to be convinced by reason and argument, will be perfectly satisfied with this account of this part of my life. The people of Carolina, who are well acquainted with the parties and circumstances under consideration, are the best judges, and with them rests the verdict, which will be awarded for or against the proper person. For my own part, I do not feel daunted in the least degree, in view of their decision; nor have I at all been annoyed because of the vile and scurrilous abuse of party, and of sectarian venom which have been poured upon me. And I shall go on in the bold, but even tenor of my way, and perform the duties I owe to God, to my conscience, and to the church of which I have the honor to be both a member and a minister. I have but little ambition to gratify, no private ends to answer, and no desire but the good of the whole human family; and while public and private scandal, secret malice, and all the baser passions of the human heart are brought to bear against me, I shall stand firm and steady, and endeavor by the assistance of God, to walk worthy of the vocation to which it has pleased God and the church to call me. As an individual, my reputation is untarnished; and all the worst occurrences of my life, are herewith submitted to the world.

"The great body, both of the membership and ministry, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, for many miles round, know me—and they know me well; and those who live at a distance, are well enough acquainted with Methodism to know, that no man of a suspicious character would be continued in the travelling con-

nection, or sent by an Annual Conference, to labor on any circuit, station or district. And the Journals of the Holston Annual Conference will shew, that a charge of immorality has never been brought against me and sustained, since I have been a member of said Conference.

"Indeed ministerial character, like female virtue, should challenge scrutiny; and with the fearlessness of conscious uprightness and purity, recoil not at the severest and most trying ordeal.

"1833—This year our Conference met at Kingsport, in the month of November. Bishop Roberts attended, but owing to bad health, did not preside more than a part of two days. Our esteemed brother, Thomas Wilkerson, by the appointment of the Bishop, presided the remainder of the session. At this conference, I was appointed to travel alone on the Dandridge circuit, a three weeks circuit, lying in the fork, between the Holston and French Broad rivers.

"In the commencement of this year, we had some encouragement. Our first quarterly meeting was very interesting; but considerations of a highly important character prevented the progress of the work in the latter part of the year. On this circuit, as on several other circuits, I had to expel some malcontents from the pale of our communion.

"Some of these miscreants immediately set about the work of raising a party, and of destroying the societies of which they had been members; but fortunately for the cause of Methodism, they could get but few disciples to aid them in this fiend-like work. And although the few followers they did muster up, made it their business to cry daily, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!'—'unfairness of trial'—'snap judgment,' &c. They were unable to effect anything save their own disgrace. And although they were untiring in their efforts, yet it should seem to me, that a conscious inability to defend a cause so weak, and to sustain a position so notoriously at variance with everything like truth, should have calmed them down to silence. Poor unfortunate creatures! They did not even act understandingly, in reference to their own interest. Every struggle they made to involve other and extricate themselves, only made their condition worse. By this time, I presume, they are prepared to adopt the sentiment, that man's whole life is but school hours; this world a great university; and the vicissitudes of the time his preceptor!

"The Meteoric Phenomenon Accounted For!—

"Between five and six o'clock on Wednesday morning, Nov. 13, 1833, it will long be recollected by thousands, that one of the most beautiful phenomena ever seen by the eye of man, appeared in the heavens. This extraordinary phenomena, consisted of a great number of what are vulgarly called shooting stars, which, from common centres, appeared to be shooting in every direction, except upwards, radiating the whole heavens, by leaving a streak of mild light on the unsullied blue. This occurred during my first

round on the Dandridge circuit. And while many were wrapped in wonder and delight, in contemplating the mild sublimity and glory of the millions of lines of light which were gradually appearing and disappearing in succession, during the continuance of this most beautiful of all celestial phenomena, others were seriously alarmed. Some predicted that the end of all things was just at hand; or that the prophetic period had arrived, 'in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat,'—and when 'the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up!' And some thought that, in the language of the General Epistle of Jude, they were 'wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever!' Others thought the meteors ominous of war; and some of one thing and some of another. While, to cap the climax, some knowing ones among the Baptists, who, I suppose, were disposed to account for this prodigy in nature, solely on philosophic principles, said it was a sign of the downfall of the Methodists!!

"But, soon after this occurrence, a company of females met at a quilting, in the bounds of a circuit I once traveled, and while they were wondering, and guessing, and prophesying, &c., with regard to the cause of this wonder of wonders, a Hopkinsian lady remarked, 'the whole matter has been occasioned by the death of Brownlow!' 'What,' exclaimed another, 'is it possible that Brownlow is dead!' 'Yes,' replied this sister Phebe of Cenchrea, 'he has been dead several weeks, and by tight squeezing he made out to go to heaven; but he had been there no time scarcely until he raised a fuss, and was running about all over the good world taking certificates to clear himself; and it took such hard work to get him out of heaven, that it set the stars to falling!'

"This, after my acknowledged and known dexterity in writing pamphlets, and in using up Hopkinsian missionaries and Sunday school agents, by certificates, I frankly confess, had liked to have plagued me. May this good hearted humorous sister, when she gets to heaven, in obedience to the apostle's injunction, bridle that unruly member, the tongue, and not meet with a similar defeat, is, I believe, about all the harm I wish her. And in the mean time, should I be so fortunate as to get to heaven again, the next time I die, I will try and be more on my guard.

"QUERY: From the circumstance of my having been cast 'out of heaven,' must I not have gotten there, upon Dr. Hopkins's principles of natural ability? Certainly I must. For the scriptures say, all who get there by grace, through faith in the son of God, 'go out no more.' And if all who go there on this principle, are in danger of being driven out, had not the most of the Hopkinsians now living, better do their 'first works over' again? Indeed, editor Hoyt, of the parish of Maryville, in publishing his philippic soon after this occurrence, in common with other editors, remarked, that on a certain morning 'a phenomena appeared in the heavens, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants!'—that is, the inhabitants of Heaven; for he makes a full stop after the word inhabitants.

"Now, brother Hoyt would have his readers believe, that the inhabitants of the good world were as 'greatly alarmed' on seeing the meteors, as were the pious priests and Levities of Maryville, on hearing that the Cholera was in West Tennessee! And, I suppose, that if the priests themselves had not been 'greatly alarmed,' they would have taken the advantage of the occasion, as they did in the case of the Cholera, and thereby produced another 'great revival' of religion!

"But, if any of the inhabitants of heaven were alarmed on the morning of the memorable thirteenth of November, they must have been Hopkinsians; for sure I am, that no persons who have gone there diegratia, have ever been alarmed at an occurrence which could be accounted for on principles of philosophy. For, from the very constitution of the human mind, it is evident, that every branch of science is recognized and fully understood by the righteous, in the blessed world above us.

"If the considerations now adduced be admitted to have any force, and if the position I have endeavored to establish, cannot be overthrown, either on scriptural or rational grounds—it must follow, I think, that brother Hoyt is altogether mistaken. But who informed him that the inhabitants of heaven were alarmed? I am conscious of not having reported such a thing on my return to earth. He must have gotten his information from this sagacious lady!

"Upon the whole, I have much reason to rejoice and give thanks for what I heard, and seen, and felt, during this year, and to regret that any circumstance should have occurred to prevent greater good from being done. But my regrets, though profound, shall be temperate and resigned, as one who mourns over a dispensation of Providence which seems to have been inevitable, and has been mercifully delayed far beyond what I could have expected. Deep, sincere, and lasting, will be these sensations, and mingled with them, the consolatory reflection, that I was acting correctly, and to the best of my abilities, endeavoring to promote the cause of truth.

"Dandridge, and the country round about, in a moral point of view, is a cold, unhealthy, damp and foggy region! When in this region, I felt pretty much as I suppose Job did when in the hands of the enemy. The Hopkinsians of this region, are fully as hostile to Methodism as any set I ever met with. When they speak of the Methodists, they do it without ceremony. They constantly appoint opposition meetings, to keep their members from attending Methodist meetings. In short, they oppose Methodism in every way; and latterly, they have opposed it under a false pretence of friendship, by endeavoring to persuade some of our own members that they feel a deep concern for our prosperity!

"Whenever they could hear of any one that had fallen out with me, or who had any slang to retail concerning me, they would flock to, and hang around such an one, like famished calves around a parent cow!

"In a word, their employment during this year, with here and there an exception, was, to either ruminare upon the rugged hills of malice, or to skulk about in the hollow caverns of falsehood, in pursuit of those whom they sought to devour. And yet, after death, they expect to go to heaven. It is devoutly hoped they may. But the heaven to which they are now journeying, I fear, is a dreadful place, the geographical location of which is nowhere, and whose tenants are the haggard phantoms of an over-heated imagination!

"The Lord, the Judge, his churches warns:
Let hypocrites attend and fear,
Who place their hopes in rites and forms,
But make not faith nor love their care.

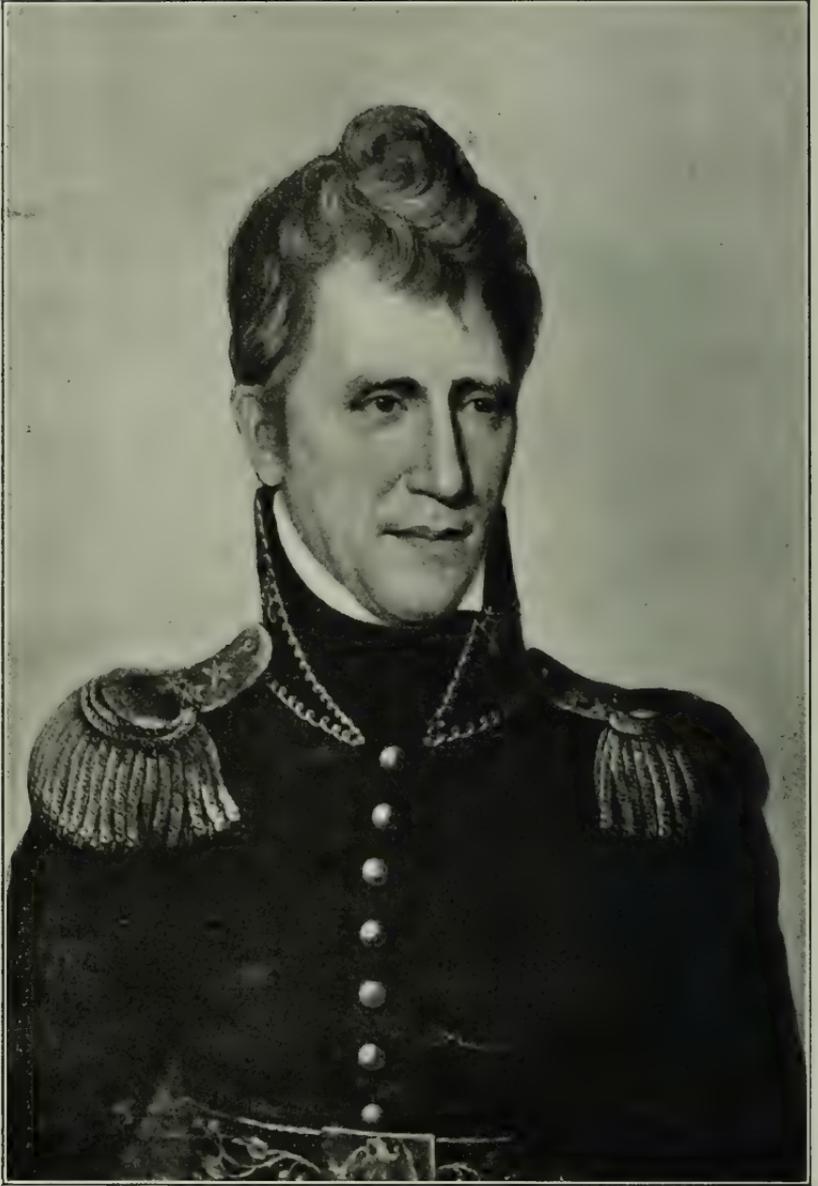
Wretches! they dare rehearse his name,
With lips of falsehood and deceit;
A friend or borthor they defame,
And soothe and flatter those they hate.'

"This year, at the request of the editor of the New Market Telegraph, I wrote several articles for publication in this paper—none of them were controversial. I wrote over the signature of 'An Observer;' and as it was not known who the writer was, most of these articles were quite popular with the Hopkinsians. But I felt confident that they would not be received, if they knew who the writer was. Hence, I determined to make an experiment. I wrote an article headed, 'THERE IS A GOD,' and endeavored to sustain the position by adducing the evidences of nature, reason, and revelation, making known at the same time that I was the author. Well, as strange as it may seem, I heard of two or three persons who objected to the article, and espoused the opposite side of the question, saying in effect, that there was NO GOD!

"During the month of June, in this year, a most vulgar, abusive and shameful publication, appeared against me in the New-Market Telegraph, entitled a 'Protest,' and having the signature of a poor, miserable creature tacked on to it, equally destitute of character and standing. But, I did not let myself down, in a formal way, to answer the publication under consideration; and some supposed, from this consideration, that I admitted the allegations it contained to be true. The truth is, however, I did not wish to wage either a defensive or offensive war with a misnomer. Nor can I condescend hereafter, to notice in any way, anything emanating from any such source, unless a voucher, or endorser of some note can be found to father what may appear. However, it has since been discovered, that this production was written by a Hopkinsian clergyman, and that the real author had only made a cat's paw of this miserable creature, whose name accompanies the same. The author of the piece, however, very artfully introduced a quantity of bad spelling, and sorry punctuation; and in numbers, he gen-

erally confounded the singular with the plural, and but seldom used the proper tense, intending thereby to influence the community to believe, that his relative had written it sure enough.

“Early in the month of August, in this year, a small circular made its appearance against me, purporting to be an appeal to the ‘Christian public,’ coming from the meridian of Western North Carolina, and having the names of seventeen men annexed thereunto. This miserable thing was afterwards published in the ‘Christian Index,’ and ‘Baptist Miscellany,’ a religious paper published in Washington, Georgia, a few copies of which found their way into Tennessee, and were read with great avidity by the ignorant Baptists, and malicious Hopkinsians of my acquaintance. This circular, or ‘half-sheet,’ as it has since been denominated, was intended to be a reply to a pamphlet I published thirteen months before its appearance, consisting of thirty-six octavo pages. Some few of the signers of this document, incline to the Hopkinsians; others of them are the oldest and most bigotted members of the Baptist church in that country; and others of them, as the saying is, lean towards the Baptists. And six out of the seventeen, are the relatives of the Baptist preacher with whom I had the lawsuit! In short, I have recently learned, that only one man out of the seventeen can be considered, in any respect, friendly to the Methodist church; and this poor little man permitted the Baptists to make a tool of him, in order to accomplish some political ends. In proof of their opposition to the Methodist church, they style the Methodists in that country a ‘lawless mob!’ As to the number of names attached to this circular, I care not for this circumstance. For had the writer written ten times as much more, and had it been ten times as slanderous as it is, these men would have stuck their paws to it. And if the firm will yet take the pains to come to Tennessee, they may find one hundred persons, who will either certify or swear, anything against me, their malice and ingenuity may dictate. Still, I stand as fair, and have as many friends in Tennessee as I desire to have. But these certifiers never advance an argument in their production. Take for example the following sentence: ‘The evidence is so caricatured, that it is impossible for any person to understand, from the reading of his pamphlet, anything in truth about the matter!!!’ Now it is a little strange, that there should not be ‘anything in truth,’ concerning a certain matter, in a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, when that whole pamphlet too, was written upon that one single subject! As to the impossibility of understanding the pamphlet, I have no doubt but those persons against whom it was written, would rejoice, could they believe it had not been read and fully understood by thousands. With what unpardonable laxity these certifiers have written! The whole pamphlet is false! And why is it false? Why, because! Because what? Just because it is!! Exquisite reasoning this!!! However, with a certain class of persons, strong assertions have great weight.



ANDREW JACKSON IN 1819
Painted by C. W. Peale, 1741-1827.

"After an attentive perusal of this affair, I hesitated whether I ought to take any notice of it or not. However, I ultimately replied to it, in a pamphlet of twelve pages. This hesitation, however, did not arise from any conviction on my part, of the difficulty of answering it; but mostly from an unwillingness to make something out of nothing. For surely he must be very indifferently employed, who would take upon himself to answer non-sense in form; to ridicule what is of itself ridiculous; and trouble the world to read a second something, for the sake of the impertinences of a former—to which his is a reply.

"In conclusion, I know not to what school of morals I shall trace the unblushing and false charges with which this circular abounds. The guilt of lying, which attaches itself to the features of the thing, is that of the most odious kind; it is guilt, the offspring of malice, illy reflected on, deeply corrupt, shamefully false, and secretly though badly matured.

"STEAM DOCTORS!— During this year, in the county of Jefferson, I renewed my acquaintance with a species of vermin called "steam doctors." During the spring and summer of 1833, in South Carolina and Georgia, I became personally acquainted with several of these miscreants, and with feelings of indescribable horror, I witnessed the spread of carnage, rapine and death, under their administration; and I then hoped, I might never meet with them again. But alas! I found them in great abundance in this part of Tennessee. These miserable victims to human refinement and intelligence, go about transforming portions of gum, pepper and alcohol, into a strong decoction called number six; and by a sort of mechanical process, they steam the animal life out of a man, almost in a moment, and thus cause him, in short order, to exchange an earthly, for a heavenly inheritance! These are wonderful men! Their mental eyes survey the whole circle of the science of medicine, and point out the path by which every branch of knowledge may be carried to perfection! They can detach the element of fire from the invisible air, surrounding a weed called lobelia, and cause the strongest constitution, and the stoutest frame to melt like wax under its powerful agency! These steamers can go still farther. They can penetrate beyond the limits of all that is visible in the immense world of experiments and range amidst the infinity of unknown systems and worlds dispersed throughout the boundless regions of Thomsonianism, and they can overleap the bounds of time, and expatiate amidst future scenes of misery, and pain, and suffering, and man-slaughter and murder, which 'eye hath not seen,' nor even 'ear heard,' throughout the countless ages of their infamous duration!

"Socrates, Plato, Archimedes, Newton, Locke, Boyle, La Place, and all other similar illustrious characters, Oh! that you were now living! That you might witness a demonstration of the vast capacity of the human intellect, the extensive range of thought it is capable of prosecuting, and the immense number of ideas

steaming crusaders, who are marching in such wild confusion through the country, can distinguished between the muscles and the bones belonging to the human frame, and the lacteal and lymphatic vessels of the same; or the veins and arteries belonging to man, and tympanum of his ear!

“Now, there is one consideration, which, apart from all others, is of itself sufficient, to forever fix the doom of this system of practice. It is this: they apply the same remedy to all sorts of complaints. All who know anything about diseases and remedies, know very well that that which relieves a person in certain cases of affliction, is death to the individual in other cases. And though this odious prodigy of would-be doctors, has now become almost as numerous as the croaking fry of Egypt, and though I perceive no limits to the excursions of these man-killers, but those which arise from the triumphant march of common sense; yet, until I wish to exchange worlds, or find myself chained down, as it were, with an unwieldy corporeal frame, I will never suffer one of them to come about me. I have never had any sickness in my life (thanks be to God for his mercies), and consequently have never needed a physician of any kind, farther than to give me some one or two simple doses of medicine; but should I ever need one, and one of the old school cannot be had, I shall certainly prefer dying a natural death, to be killed. However, we live in a free country, and all who prefer steaming have a right to be steamed or hanged or drowned, or put to rest in such other way as they choose.

“But in conclusion, I will take the liberty of advising the Methodist clergy, generally, to have nothing at all to do with this pepper and whiskey system of practice. It will do very well to connect this system of practice with the womanish, squeaking, canting, odd, whimsical, whining tone, and insipid jargon of a Baptist preacher. Or it would suit the cold-blooded selfishness of a Hopkinsian priest, who believes that the introduction of moral evil into the world, is for the greatest good of the universe! But never let a Methodist preacher, who believes that men are to be judged according to their works, have any thing to do with the wretched system. Nor never let a Methodist preacher use the medicines, unless, in the language of Job, he prefers ‘strangling and death, rather than life.’ And let a Methodist preacher, instead of reading these doctor books, read that noble and excellent book, the old records of God’s providence. Finally, there is nothing more disgusting to me, than to see a Methodist minister with a Bible and hymn book in one end of his saddle bags, and a large black bottle full of number six, stopped with a corn cob, having a rag around it, in the other end! Well may the Presbyterians charge such with being incompetent. Brethern, quit it! For God’s sake—for your own credit’s sake—and for the sake of the honor of Methodism, quit it! And let all our people say amen!

“HOLSTON SEMINARY— In the close of this year, I attended the semi-annual examination of this institution, which

it is capable of acquiring! Esculapius, thou father of the science of medicine, Rush, and all others who have since written, and all ye knowing men, so far as the science of medicine is concerned, that you were yet living! that you might witness the new discoveries in the healing art, which these reformers are making! And ye sublimer sciences of Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Fluxions, Algebra, and other branches of mathematics, stand aside, and see Thomsonianism evince the acuteness and perspicacity of the human intellect! Our world has produced numerous philanthropic characters, who have shone as lights in the moral world, and have acted as benefactors to the human race. But the names of Alfred, Penn, Barnard, Raikes, Neilde, Clarkson, Sharpe, Buxton, Wilberforce, Venning, and many others, so familiar to all who are at all acquainted with the annals of benevolence, must give way to these new-comers! These illustrious steamers, from a principle of pure benevolence, devote their lives to active beneficence, and to the alleviation of human wretchedness, in every section where they travel,—diving into the depths of coves, and exposing themselves to the infectious atmosphere of towns and villages, in order to ameliorate the conditions of the afflicted!

“From realm to realm with cross or crescent crowned,
Where'er mankind and misery are found,
O'er towering mountains, deep valleys, or wilds of snow
These steamers journeying seek the house of woe!
They go, inemulous of fame or wealth,
Profuse of toil and prodigal of health;
Lead stern-ey'd calomel to certain dark domains,
If not to sever—to relax its chains;
Persecuted and opposed, by the living and the dead,
Regardless of them all, as Crockett says, they 'go ahead!
Onward they move! disease and death retire,
While the Old Faculty hate them and admire.”

“But as a supplement to the preceding eulogy, it may be seriously asked—is it possible that an obscure, and ordinary citizen, possessing neither learning nor superior powers of intellect, and having read but very few books of any kind, can spring up like a mushroom—purchase 'a right' for twenty dollars—and all of a sudden, become fully acquainted with the human system, and the various and complicated diseases of our country, and as suddenly effect a cure for them all? If such a supposition could be admitted, man would be the most inexplicable phenomenon in the universe; his existence an unfathomable mystery; and there could be no conceivable mode of reconciling his condition and destination with the wisdom, the rectitude, and the benevolence of his Creator! I do not say that all the steam-doctors are ignorant and unlearned; but in the language of St. Paul, I do say, that the most of them have 'stretched themselves beyond their measure,' and that they 'boast in another man's line of things.' And not one in ten of these

took place in the hall of the seminary. The exercises were conducted under the special directions of Mr. Saffel, the president of the institution, and in his usually prompt and efficient manner, who, on the last day of the examination read an eloquent, learned and appropriate address. The students were all examined very minutely, in the various branches of literature in which they had been engaged during the session, and in the hearing of a number of visitors, acquitted themselves with great honor. On the last day of the examination, the students closed by delivery, each, an oration, of original composition; and in this, particularly, they did themselves great honor, and greatly delighted the listening auditory.

"The friends of this institution may rest assured that East Tennessee does not afford a finer young man than Mr. Saffel, or one better qualified, in every respect, to take charge of an institution of the kind; and the conference which appointed him to preside over it, has more than once expressed its entire satisfaction as to the manner in which he has performed his arduous duties.

"I thus particularize, because I wish to recommend this institution to all, into whose had a copy of this work shall fall.

"This seminary, was set on foot three years ago, under the patronage of the Holston annual conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the suggestion of the members and friends of said church, who desire an opportunity of giving their children an education, on reasonable terms, without endangering both their religious principles and moral habits—as is the case at our public colleges and academies. Still, ours is not a theological institution.

"The town in which this seminary is located—New-Market, Jefferson County, Tennessee—is a beautiful little village, situated in one of the most fertile valleys in the state.

"Beside the advantage already named, and many others not named, which this institution possesses—I would mention the cheapness of tuition and boarding.

"Once more: The time has at length arrived, when the trustees of this institution, have found themselves able to commence the manual labor system, in connection with the seminary, by means of which, industrious and promising young men, destitute of pecuniary means, may acquire an education.

"During this year, I incurred the sore displeasure of the Hopkinsians by circulating a pamphlet entitled, 'Calvinism, and its influence on the church,' written and published by Rev. James Cumming, a minister of high standing in the Holston Conference. I had no further connection with this production, than simply to circulate it; and this I did with great pleasure. This pamphlet is well written, and for its size, is the best exposition of the kind I have ever seen. And the truth is, it is unanswerable. The Hopkinsians, however, have replied to it, in the way they generally reply to a production of the kind, they have affected to treat it with silent contempt!

"1834—Knoxville, Tennessee, October 15th. Our conference is now in session in this place, and has been since Wednesday, the 8th of this instant. Our bishop having failed to attend with us, from some unknown cause, we have called our esteemed friend and brother, John Henninger, to the chair, who has filled the highly responsible station in such way, as to do honor to himself, and at the same time give general satisfaction to the conference.

"The preachers have generally attended, and are in the enjoyment of usual health and spirits. Thus, God in his goodness has rolled us together once more. What changes have been witnessed since we assembled last. How many of our friends have gone to reap their reward in heaven, while we have been spared as monuments of unchanging goodness! Yes, the recurrence of another annual meeting, in the history of our conference, calls for the public expression of our gratitude to the great head of the church, that we have been privileged one time more, to mingle our praises and thanksgivings together here in the temple of the Lord, and in celebration of the prosperity of our efforts. As ministers, these thoughts should lead us to a serious examination of our hearts before God, to ascertain whether or not we are growing wiser and better in proportion to the privileges we enjoy, and the opportunity of improvement afforded us. The year just past, has been replete with such events, as have left the public mind in that state of excitement which is not very friendly to the prosperity of religion. And even now, both the civil and religious atmospheres, seem highly charged with combustible materials. What the final issue of all these things will be, time alone can tell. However, in the midst of the 'signs of the times,' God has abundantly blessed the labors of his servants, in various parts of the world.

"From this conference I hope to be enabled to date the commencement of the reign of reform—a most signal triumph of Wesleyan itinerancy over a sort of legalized semi-itinerancy.

"It is manifest that our people are on the eve of revolting in disgust from established local traveling ministry. For one, I rejoice to think that our conference is about to be redeemed from the sway of a miserable system of 'accommodation,' whose whole course for several years past, has tended to anarchy and destruction, in a moral point of view. By this, I mean that we, as a conference, have, for several years past, paid too much attention to the interests of individuals, and not enough to the wants of the circuits and stations within our bounds. These remarks are correct. They are truth—every word truth.

"As a conference, we have an immense field spread out before us, and great encouragement to labor. I say encouragement to labor, for I apprehend that some of our friends have incorrect ideas of the real state of things, and having heard so much of the triumphs of the cross in different parts of the country, and of the utter defeat and ruin of so many enemies of the Son of God, are disposed to regard the soldiers they have sent hither, rather as a

garrison quartered in an enemy's country in a time of profound peace, than as an army with their weapons in their hands, daily meeting and contending with the foes of their king. But, I must not be regarded as attempting to discourage the exertions, to deaden the hopes, and to quell the spirits of our friends by proclaiming to the world, that nothing is doing in the Holston conference. Nor is there a lack of harmony in our conference. Nor yet, do the tongues of our preachers, when in the pulpit, dance only to the jingle of the dollars and cents in the people's treasury, as is the case with some of our clerical neighbors. Of such neighbors, I have only to say, I am puzzled to account for their conduct upon any known principle of ministerial fidelity.

"That which has most particularly arrested my attention at this conference, is the circumstance of so many of the preachers having married the past year. Never have I known so many of them to marry in one year. But, I cannot object to this—for, as Cowper, who by the by, was a hypochondriac old bachelor, asked:

"What is there, in the vale of life,
Half so delightful as a wife?"

"Old bachelor! are you so lost to a sense of the pleasures and enjoyments of a married life; that you can remain contented in a state of 'single blessedness,' while the old and young, the middle aged, and all around you, are joining their hearts and hands in this lawful and scriptural enterprise? But do you excuse yourself on the ground, that no one seems willing to have you? This is by no means a plausible excuse; for it is well known, that every old widow, maid and girl, in all the country, are candidates for matrimony.

"As an individual, I have ever stood aloof from every-thing like coquetry, and I hope ever to do so. The truth is, no gentleman ever did or ever will make a constant practice of courting every girl he might chance to meet with, and impress the belief upon her mind that he intended to marry her, &c. Much less would a christian minister act thus. And although I never was engaged to be married, and never even asked a female to marry me in my life, yet, I have some good desires, as the Hopkinsians would say, on this subject; and I think it quite probable, I shall some day or other, make some amorous advances towards some one. For, born as man obviously is, for the companionship of his fellows, it must be evident that the main tendencies and aptitudes of his nature, should every day be looked for in connection with his social relationships. After the marriage ceremony is the most interesting spectacle social life exhibits. To see two rational beings in the glow of youth and hope, which invests life with a 'halo of glory,' appear together, and openly acknowledging their preference for each other, voluntarily enter into a league of perpetual friendship and christian union—is it not delightful? Be constant my brother—Be condescending, my sister—and what can earth offer so pure as your friendship, so dear as your affection? Well might Virgil say:

“The wife and husband equally conspire,
To work by night, and rake the winter fire:
He sharpens torches in the glimmering room;
She shoots the flying shuttle through the loom;
Or boils in kettles must of wine, and skins.
With leaves, the dregs that over flow the brims.
And till the watchful cook awake the day,
She sings to drive the tedious hours away.”

“As my book is now printing, I have gone to the office and examined that part which is ready for folding. I consider that the type for its size is very good, and seems to be well distributed over the page; so that the words are everywhere sufficiently distinct, which is not always the case with the books printed in this country. The paper is good—the ink very good, and the typographical execution quite respectable. Of course I think the matter is excellent. I am also of opinion, that the punctuation is at least passable. But my readers, I presume, will not, as do the Mahommedans, consider the points essential.

“This work, from first to last, be it well or ill executed, has not been done without great labor and toil, on my part, nor has any labor been omitted, to make it, in every respect, as far as possible, what the title page promises—‘Helps to the Study of Presbyterianism,’ &c. Thus, through the merciful assistance of God, my labor now terminates, a labor which, were it yet to be commenced, I would, in view of its being called for, most cheerfully undertake. Since it is finished, I regret not the labor; while writing it I have had ‘the testimony of a good conscience.’

“Having critically and cautiously examined a point in the prosecution of this work, I have fearlessly followed the convictions of my own mind, without servilely crouching to the opinions of others, whether right or wrong. Having carefully studied a subject, deriving all the light I could from every source within my reach, without timidly calculating the consequences which might result from publishing my convictions in reference to it, I have boldly proclaimed what I conscientiously believed, allowing others the liberty of thinking, writing, speaking, and acting for themselves. And, while this fearless course subjects me to censure from the timid, as well as unmerited abuse from the bigotted, it will relieve me from servilely imitating others, and secure to me the approbation of an approving conscience. And let my occupation in future life be what it may, God forbid that I ever should pursue that timid and vascillating course of conduct, which evinces a greater solicitude to please the multitude than to arrive at truth, and to obtain popular applause at the expense of a good conscience! And may the Lord pity the man, who would compromit his character, by prostrating principle, before the idol of popularity!

“At this conference, which has just closed, I have been appointed to travel the Scott circuit, in Virginia. I shall set out for the circuit in a few days. I am told this circuit is situated in the mountainous part of the state—in a fine grazing country, which enables the farmer to raise stock, &c. The valleys between the mountains are generally fertile, and produce excellent grain.

"RELIGION: Methodists are the most numerous denomination. Next to these, the Baptists.

"CLIMATE: Scott county enjoys a mild climate.

"The weather is generally moderate till towards Christmas, when winter commences, and continues variable till the middle of March, sometimes pleasant, and at other times disagreeable.

"The life of a Methodist travelling preacher, with all its losses, crosses, and disappointments, has nevertheless been a pleasant one to me; and had its vicissitudes been more numerous and grievous than they even were, I should not have retired from the field. On every circuit I have travelled, there have been acts of kindness paid to me which, though I can never repay them in this life, I will never forget them. Kind attentions are at all times pleasant, but when one is far from home, and among strangers, it is delightful indeed to meet with those who are kind and affectionate. My stay on each circuit, has of course been short, but I shall long remember the polite, yea, the christian friendship of many persons on those circuits. There is something in these transient attachments which show us that we were born to do each other good, notwithstanding all the evil there is in the world. But to many of those friends, whose kindness induced me to love them as relations, I have long since bid a last adieu, perhaps, no more to meet, till,

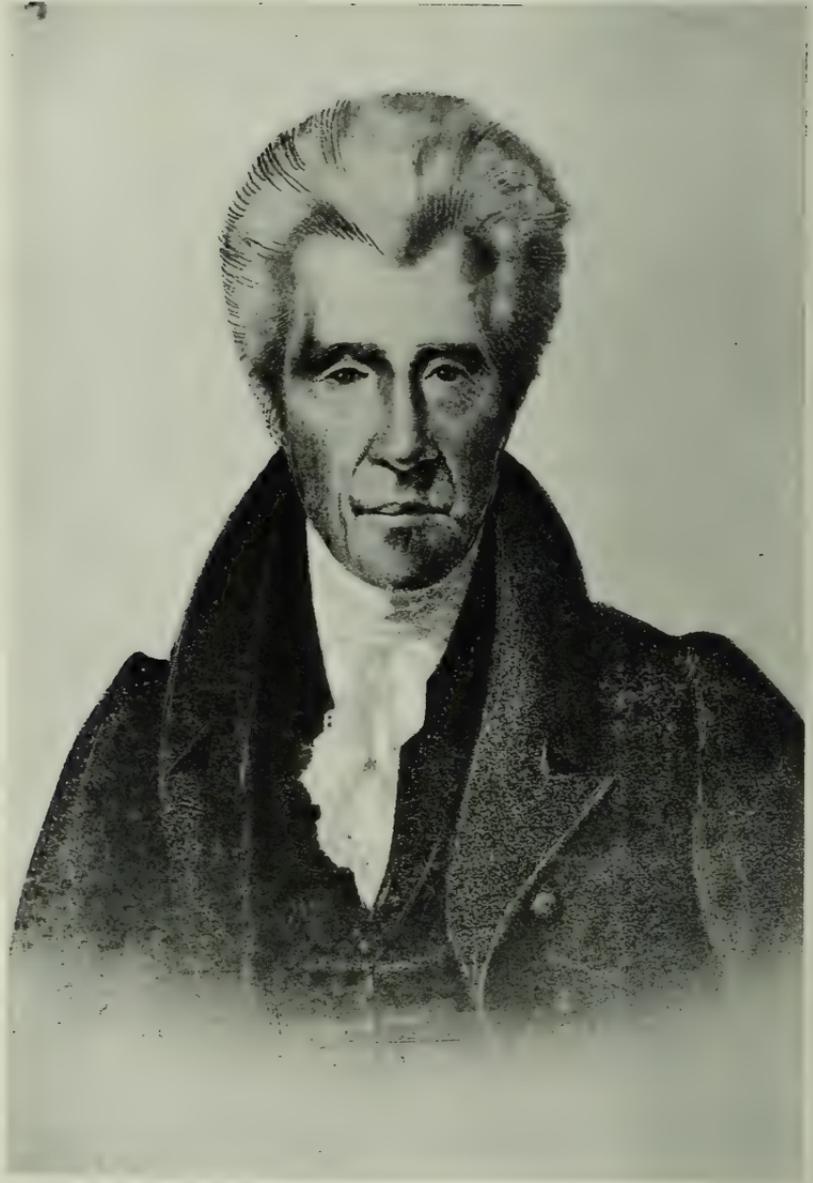
"Wrapt in fire the realms of ether glow,
And heaven's last onset shakes the world below."

And O Lord, irradiate our minds with all useful truth, instill into our hearts a spirit of benevolence, give us understanding, meekness, temperance, fortitude, patience, and all the excellent graces of the Spirit. Be indulgent to our imperfect nature, and supply our imperfections with thy heavenly favor.

Conclusion.

"I have a few remarks to make on some four or five points, before I finally close. As a man, and as a minister, I am objected to from several considerations, by many within the circle of my acquaintance. Every man living, has those within his vicinity who hate, who envy, and affect to despise him;—these will see his actions with a jaundiced eye, and will represent them to others in the same light in which they themselves behold them. No virtue, no prudence, no caution or generosity, can preserve a man from misrepresentations; his conduct must be judged of by weak and prejudiced intellects, or by such as only see a part of it, and hastily form a judgment of the whole. Well might the poet say:—

"When cruel slander takes her impious flight,
What man's secure against her baleful sway,
Virtue herself must sink in shades of night,
And spotless innocence must fall a prey."



ANDREW JACKSON.

This photograph is from an engraving sent to Dr. E. M. Patterson by Andrew Jackson, thanking Dr. Patterson for some new corn meal, a neighborly gift. Dr. Patterson lived in Davidson County, Tennessee. The engraving is now the property of Hon. Jno. W. Gaines of Nashville.

"I will state the several objections urged against me, and answer them in detail. I say I hasten to reply to these several objections, with the hope that my remarks will be read—carefully and candidly read—by every class of readers. I intend no quibbling—no special pleading. I shall plead upon the broad merits of the case, First, *Inconsistency of Character*:

"This is the most common, though not the most inconsiderable objection to me, as a minister. By the term inconsistency, we are to understand a disagreement—incongruity. When, therefore, it is urged that I am inconsistent, it is not intended to say that I am hypocritical, or that I am clad with a tissue of deception, by which I impose on my fellow-creatures. I am glad of this, for of all the offsprings of depravity, deception, perhaps, bears the nearest resemblance to its father the devil. But to the subject. It is true, I cannot mingle in my looks, the piety of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, and the fervor of Isaiah; nor am I exact to a degree of scrupulosity in small matters, and at the same time neglect the most important points in the law of God. I have never thought myself deputed from the heaven for the general reformation of manners, nor would I try all men at my bar. Nor yet, am I one of those blind guides, who would strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. I have my faults, no doubt, as well as all other men—I am not infallible, because I am not immortal. There are spots in the sun—there are specks in me. I am a man, and therefore liable to err. Yes, I am a right down man, and without any sort of disguise, I exhibit to the world what I am. In a word, many say, 'Lo! here is Christ, or Christ is there,' but few can consistently witness that 'the kingdom of heaven is within them.' With more truth than ever, we may say:

"Ye different sects, who all declare,
Lo! here is Christ, or Christ is there;
Your stronger proofs divinely give,
And show us where the christians live;
Your claim, alas! ye cannot prove,
Ye want the genuine mark of love."

"*A Great Many Persons Dislike Me*:

"To this I reply, that every man who does his duty in life, in the uncompromising spirit of integrity, must make enemies, and meet with opposition. Daniel, Isaiah, Micah, Elijah, and all the Lord's faithful prophets, had their enemies. So had Peter, and Paul, and James and the rest of the apostles. In modern times, what man had more enemies than Luther?—And Knox, and Wesley, and Fletcher, and Whitfield?; not comparing myself to them however. Even the mild and amiable Son of the Most High, could not escape the persecutions of the wicked. And every faithful witness for the Saviour, may expect to be constantly exposed to the enmity of evil doers. While I dwell in a 'house of

clay whose foundation is the dust;’ while I sojourn in ‘a land of pits and snares,’ and within ‘the region of the shadow of death;’ while I walk amidst scenes of sorrow and suffering, surrounded by ‘the tents of strife,’ and exposed to the malice of ‘lying lips and deceitful tongues,’ I am admonished not to make any other calculations, but to ‘suffer for righteousness sake.’ As long as I live, I expect to stand as a mark, for the vengeance of cankered hearts, and the malice of envenomed tongues. Nor do I even desire a different state of things.

“No glory I covet, no riches I want,
Ambition is nothing to me;
The one thing I beg of kind heaven to grant,
Is a mind independent and free.
With passion unruffl’d untaint’d with pride,
By reason my life let me square;
The wants of my nature are chiefly suppli’d,
And the rest is but folly and care.”

“Indeed, it is a matter of but little consequence with me, to hear, that this, that, or the other man, is displeased with me, and ‘utter loud swelling words’ against me. One among the many incontestible evidences I have, of making advancement in the divine life is, that all men do not speak well of me. I rather request of all, who, when they look at me, have a blot on their optics, and over the same spectacles of malice, never to say anything in my favor. And I should be seriously alarmed, to learn certainly, that the community at large, admire me, or that I am exceedingly popular. I hope, therefore, always to have certain winning ways, to make a certain class of human beings hate me! For by this I shall know, I am in the road to a better world. Said a divine personage, ‘Wo unto you, when all men speak well of you! for so did their fathers of the false prophets.’ And again: ‘If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.’ Again: ‘If ye were of the world the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.’ And again: ‘Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.’ And to cap the climax, Christ says: ‘If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.’ Now, the religion which can endure these things, is a firm and effectual support in the midst of every calamity to which a believer is exposed. Is the christian persecuted?—this is a part of his earthly inheritance. Is he visited with sickness?—he anticipates the period when pain and sorrow shall forever flee away. Is he oppressed by poverty? he reflects with peculiar delight, upon the treasure which he possesses in the heavens. In a word, he knows and believes, that all things shall

work together for his good; and that his light afflictions, which are but for a moment, shall work out for him a far more exceeding, even an eternal weight of glory.

"BUT I AM ALWAYS QUARRELLING.

"To this grave charge, I reply, I have, it is true, been engaged in several judicial and clerical contests; but I assert, in view of a judgment to come, that I have never engaged in any controversy whatever, unless I myself, my brethern in the ministry, or our doctrines and institutions, have first been assailed. And in defense of each, or all of these, I would risk as many characters, lives and fortunes, if I had them, as there are atoms of the universe, or minims embodying the immensity of space. Yes, should secret calumnies and public scandals, private associations and public testimonies, ridicule, and satire, poetry and prose, paragraphs and pamphlets, dreams, and dialogues, and all the presses and lying tongues, in the union, be employed against me, I shall nevertheless maintain the truth. For I have embarked in the glorious enterprise of preaching the gospel, with a proportion of ambition and zeal, and with a perseverance not to be daunted by the chilling and sickening blasts of poverty and persecution. Therefore, I am prepared to endure all the dreadful consequences of sectarian malice and management, even should they include—pains and penalties—bills of attainder—confiscation of estate—all the horrors of ecclesiastical and civil war—nay, death upon the scaffold!

"Then let it be urged, that I am, and always have been, 'a mover of seditions'—the pest of general society, and the fruitful source of domestic broils; or a being whose heart is full of rancor and animosities, jarring affections, and discordant and malevolent feelings! Yes, ring my death knell from steep to steep—let its swelling sounds be heard in startling echoes, mingling with the rush of the mountains' torrents, and the mighty cataract's earthquake voice! Spread the unfurled banner of calumny upon every breeze—let it float in the atmosphere till my name becomes a mockery and a byword! Like the Phoenix, in newness of beauty and majesty, amid the fires of opposition, I hope to rise to victory and triumph. What can be more noble than to brave the censure of disappointed ambition—to bear with arrogance, pride, and infirmities of a priest-ridden community, and blind bigots, for the good of mankind! To suffer all this, I am perfectly aware, must require a considerable degree of moral courage; and I think I possess the courage that can endure it all, and even death itself. I pretend not to be a candidate for the honors of martyrdom, yet, I should feel that I had gone down to my grave disgraced, did I not incur the censure and abuse of bloated bigotry, and priestly corruption.

"MY STYLE AS A WRITER, TALENTS AS A PREACHER, AND MANNERS AS A MAN:

"When I write, preach, converse, or mingle with society, I do all after the texture so to speak, of my own mind. But it will be

said, I am a minister of the gospel, and that no temptation, no unjust usage, should provoke me to come down from my high abode, and seat myself upon the dunghill of anger and revenge. This is all very true. I believe the scriptures when they say, 'God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God.' But I have yet to be convinced that it is sinful for a christian to defend himself, and that too, in an independent and pointed way. As in respects my accomplishments, I never professed to have a great deal of polish about me, nor do I desire to be polite.

"As it regards my intellectual faculties, I never believed I was a Solomon. I have never been able as yet, by my flowing eloquence, and manly arguments, or the incomparable liveliness and power of reasoning, to enable a congregation to see things that are not. I could never induce a man to believe, by the magic influence of a long whining exhortation or prayer, that twice five would not make ten in America, as well as in France! In a word, I never thought I was a great man—I never desire to be what the world calls a great man. No verily:

"My name from out the temple where the dead
Are honored by the nations—let it be—
And light the laurels on a loftier head!
And be the Spartan's epitaph on me—
Sparta hath many a worthier son than he."

In testimony whereof, I sign the same with my own hand, this seventeenth day of October, in the town of Knoxville, and state of Tennessee, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and in the fifty-ninth year of American Independence.

"William G. Brownlow."



MRS. MARY DONELSON WILCOX.

Daughter of Major Andrew Jackson Donelson and great niece of Mrs. Andrew Jackson. Born in the White House in Jackson's first administration; sister-in-law of Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson of Nashville, Tennessee, who was one of the five founders of the Ladies Hermitage Association of Tennessee, and who for thirty years was a member of the Board of Directors of the Association.

CHAPTER 11.

Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox on Rachel Donelson Jackson, wife of General Jackson, and on numerous facts and incidents connected with Jackson, the Donelson family and Jackson's two Administrations.

The matter in this chapter was written by Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox, and is reproduced as an authoritative statement from the standpoint of Mrs. Andrew Jackson's family—the Donelsons—of many things connected with Jackson, Mrs. Jackson, the Donelsons, and Jackson's two administrations. Coming from Mrs. Wilcox what is set out is historically very valuable, and, allowing for her warm advocacy of Mrs. Jackson and everything pertaining to Andrew Jackson, it can be accepted as throwing great light on matters which it undertakes to treat. There are statements in it which were first given to the public by Mrs. Wilcox by whom it was prepared for Leslie's Magazine about twenty-five years ago. When Hon. Horace Maynard, deceased, formerly member of Congress from the Knoxville District, United States Minister to Turkey and Postmaster General, was holding the latter office, he gave Mrs. Wilcox an appointment in the postoffice department at Washington. She was a sister-in-law of Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson now of Nashville who was one of the founders of the Ladies Hermitage Association of Tennessee, and, for about thirty years, a member of the Board of Directors.

Major Andrew Jackson Donelson was a nephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson and son of Mrs. Jackson's brother Samuel Jackson, who was a law partner of Andrew Jackson. Major Donelson was raised and educated by Gen. Jackson, graduated at West Point and accompanied Jackson as aide-de-camp to Florida in the Seminole War. He resigned his position in the Army when Jackson became President to perform the duties of his private secretary, which he did through the entire eight years of his presidency with the exception of a few months when the Peggy O'Neal differences were up.

In the first presidential term a daughter, Mary Emily Donelson, the author of this chapter, was born in the room of the White

House that fronts on Pennsylvania Avenue, and the christening of the infant was made a brilliant function. Representatives in Congress, Senators, Members of the Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps, and prominent citizens were present at the ceremony which was performed in the East Room by Rev. Mr. Gallaher, a Presbyterian Minister. The ritual of the protestant Episcopal Church was used. Miss Cora Livingston, daughter of the Secretary of State, was God-Mother, and Andrew Jackson and Martin VanBuren were God-Fathers. Robert E. Lee then a young lieutenant of engineers, was present with Mrs. Lee.

At the close of Jackson's second term, Major Donelson and family went back to the Hermitage and remained there for a period; and in 1846 he took his family with him to Prussia where he went as minister by appointment of President James K. Polk, and remained abroad five years, returning to the United States in 1851. On May 27th, 1852, his daughter Mary married John A. Wilcox, a member of congress from Mississippi, who had served as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Mexican War. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Mr. Gallaher, the same who had christened the bride. Col. Wilcox subsequently moved to Texas and represented that State in the Confederate Congress.

PART I

"To few women has history been so unjust as to Andrew Jackson's wife, and a review of her life, disproving the misstatements of her husband's enemies, and showing her claims to the respect and admiration of her compatriots, seems demanded by right and justice. Well born, highly endowed, both mentally and personally, she enjoyed every educational advantage then attainable, and was the equal in culture and refinement of any mistress of the White House, not excepting Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Madison, and she was superior to these two in individual charm and native wit. Many of her letters still extant compare favorably in spelling, diction and entertaining information with any known to have been written by prominent women of her day. She inherited a musical ear, sang sweetly, and took great delight in playing on a piano similar in size and design to the one at Mount Vernon said to have belonged to and been used by Nelly Custis, which Jackson had obtained on one of his Eastern trips. He had a flute and violin, and playing duets was a favorite evening recreation. My father, who went to live with them when quite young, often mentioned his childish pleasure at hearing them play "Campbells are Coming" and "Money Musk," himself stowed away for the night in a corner trundle-bed, a pet cat and dog dozing on the hearth, forming delighted auditors of an enjoyable if not artistic concert. There are interesting traditions of her as an inimitable entertaining raconter.

"Mrs. Jackson's father, Colonel John Donelson, was the only son of John Donelson, a successful London ship-merchant, who emigrated to America in 1716, settled on Delaware Bay, and married Catherine Davis, a sister of the famous Presbyterian divine. Their son, born in 1720, early gave promise of the energy, integrity and executive ability prominent in his after career. Having studied surveying and engineering, he married Rachel Stockley, of Maryland, and removed to Virginia, where the Colonial Government appointed him Surveyor of Pittsylvania County. Many lines and charts surveyed by him are still recognizable on maps, and some treaties negotiated by him as Colonial Agent with Indian tribes were never abrogated. Elected, in 1764, Colonel of a Colonial regiment, he served, in 1765, '66 and '67, in the House of Burgesses, where his speeches on finance and taxation elicited favorable comment. Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry were personal friends and occasional guests at his comfortable Dominion home. Owning valuable iron works and large tracts of land, he was considered one of Virginia's most respected and influential citizens; but becoming involved, by reason of some unfortunate securityships, he was forced to sacrifice much valuable property, and concluded to emigrate West. He built, in 1779, mostly by his own means and labor, a flotilla of boats, accompanied by about forty emigrant families, embarked in December for the Cumberland settlements, Captain James Robertson, with a pioneer party, having preceded them to build cabins, plant corn, and otherwise provide for their comfort and safety. Colonel Donelson kept a diary, the first entry of which reads: "Journal of a voyage intended by God's permission in the good ship Adventure, from Fort Patrick Henry, on the Holston River, to the French Lick Salt Springs, on the Cumberland"—which is noteworthy not only because well spelled, well penned, well expressed, it describes geographically a remarkable expedition; but also because it is the only diary ever kept by a Western pioneer (those men, so brave and wise, seldom wielding pen or pencil), the only document illustrating the domestic life of those who subdued the wilderness and founded that great empire now leading and controlling national civilization. Conspicuous among the "good ship Adventure's" voyagers was Rachel, the youngest of Colonel Donelson's thirteen children, born in 1867. There are pleasant pictures of her leading the flatboat dance, steering the helm, while her father and brothers answered the fire of Indians lining the river banks, and of nursing the sick, cheering the disheartened, always bright and helpful.

"The little colony encountered innumerable hardships and dangers. Indians were numerous and aggressive; provisions scarce; peace, comfort, pleasure impossible. Their brave leader, active and indefatigable, seemed almost ubiquitous—now crossing to Clover Bottom to plant the first corn and cotton grown south of the Ohio River, now locating lands in widely separated sections, now journeying to Kentucky. Returning from his second Kentucky trip about 1784, he was murdered, supposedly by Indians.

After his death his widow, accompanied by her younger children, removed to Kentucky and settled in a neighborhood in which there lived a Widow Robards, who, having built a large handsome house, rented to Mrs. Donelson the one just vacated.

"If historic injustice to Mrs Jackson be regrettable, historic neglect of her first husband is equally so, and it seems unaccountable that, in the century in which he has been quoted as the unworthy husband of an injured wife, none of his relatives, many of whom were rich, influential and ditinguished, should have volunteered a word in his defense. About 1750 William Robards, a well-to-do Welchman, immigrated to America, settled in Goochland County, Virginia, and married Sally Hill, related to the Mosby, Lee, Imboden and Carter families. Two of their sons enlisted in Colonial regiments and became captains. When the war closed they emigrated to Kentucky, buying with the scrip accepted for military service land in Mercer County. Their sisters, noted for beauty and social tact, made brilliant marriages, the eldest marrying Thomas Davis, first Congressman from Kentucky; the second, Floyd, Territorial Governor; the third, John Jouett, ancestor of the artist and Admiral Jouett; the youngest, William Buckner, ancestor of General Simon Boliver Buckner. Their mother, proud and high-spirited, was considered the most influential personage in the Blue Grass region. Rachel Donelson's wit, beauty and vivacity attracted many suitors, among whom was Lewis Robards. A speedy marriage, sanctioned by his mother and sisters, followed an ardent wooing. That she should have been welcomed to such a household is proof positive that the charges of her illiteracy, coarseness and levity were unfounded. He was handsome, well educated, polished in manner and conversation, far superior to any man of her acquaintance in those attributes supposed to have facination for women; but, high-tempered, jealous-hearted, he proved a cruel, tyrannical husband.

"There are men—and men not altogether bad—with whose affections there mingles a strain of singular perverseness. If they have pets—cats, dogs, birds and horses—they tease and torment them, and their wives and children are alternate victims and idols. Robards belonged to this category. He doubtlessly loved his wife, but with a passion that blighted, violent love scenes would end in jealous wrangles, cruel taunts and upbraidings follow flattering endearments. The first object of his jealousy, Peyton Short, a young lawyer boarding with his mother (in those days, inns being scarce, private houses accomodated boarders) hearing of his suspicions, swore in court that he believed her to be a faithful wife, and that he had never addressed her an improper word. Surprising them chatting together on his mother's porch, Lewis Robards sent a messenger to Mrs. Donelson, lately returned to the Cumberland, to send for Rachel, as he was convinced of her infidelity. He had often threatened to do this, but Rachel, conscious of her innocence, paid no heed to him and, even when her brother came, laughingly said: 'Lewis is not in earnest—he could not live a day without

me.' Rising the next morning early, Robards rode off, saying to her: 'The sooner you leave and the longer you stay the better.' His mother and sisters, uniformly kind and considerate, regretted, though they did not attempt to prevent her departure.

"One can easily imagine her shame and humiliation, as, turning from her husband's home, she began her desolate wilderness ride. Sitting on a blanket behind her brother, they trotted along on horse-back through the woods, constantly dreading attacks from Indians or wild beasts. There was a midway house where travelers generally rested over-night; but, fearing curious question, she persuaded her brother not to stop there, so he kindled a fire, and lying near it, slept while she watched—too miserable for sleep. Robards, speedily repenting his unseemly action, came for her, bringing a letter from his mother, who seems to have really loved and admired her daughter-in-law, and to have been a generous, warm-hearted woman.

"Rachel called her 'Mother Robards,' and always remembered gratefully her kindness. Had she consulted her own feelings she would probably have refused to go with him, but Mrs. Donelson, than whom no Pope of Rome ever held more sacred and inviolable the marriage tie, urged her to do so. Mrs. Donelson's descendants, now numbering many hundreds, are to be found in nearly every State of the Union, and, true to the traits inherited from her, are models of conjugal fidelity and domestic excellence, true, loving wives, kind, generous husbands.

"Boarding with his mother on their return was a young attorney from the Cumberland—Andrew Jackson, whom she, having previously described him as "uncouth and ignorant, but honest and true," introduced to her son's wife. Occupying a room near the young couple, Jackson unwillingly heard Lewis's jealous accusations and Rachel's protestations of innocence. Robards, after his return from Tennessee, was at first kinder toward his wife, but soon redoubled his spiteful persecution, and his mother, thinking the presence of her relatives would exercise a restraining influence on him, advised him to take her to the Cumberland and advanced the money wherewith to buy land there.

"Jackson, who had returned from Kentucky, was boarding with Mrs. Donelson, and occupying a room near Mr. and Mrs. Robards, again heard their incessant bickerings. No knight of the Holy Grail cherished holier reverence for women than Andrew Jackson, or felt himself more imperatively called to shield the persecuted and oppressed. Sincerely pitying her he remonstrated with Robards, saying, 'Had God given me such a wife no tear should dim her beautiful eyes.' Robards furiously resented his interference, and they had several stormy interviews, at one time exchanging harmless shots, when Jackson found another boarding house.

"Driving to church one Sunday they—Mrs. Donelson, Captain and Mrs. Robards—met Jackson, and Mrs. Donelson having a vacant seat, invited him to take it. As he entered the wagon

Robards sprang out of it. Returning from church they found he had left, saying to a servant: 'I am going home. Jackson can take her and be d——.' He, however, wrote, ordering her to join him, and Mrs. Donelson advised her to obey and offered to accompany her; but Rachel, heretofore meek and yielding, resolutely refused to go, saying: 'He drove me off once like a dog; now, if he cares for me, let him come here and give some sign of his regard.'

"About this time, December, 1790, some friends planned a trip to Natchez, Miss., and asked her to join them. There being rumors of heavy river overflows below, and of dangerous Indian outbreaks, they invited Jackson and two other men to go along for protection.

"Jackson returned to Nashville in May, and found in his office two Kentucky papers; one contained Robard's application through his brother-in-law, Major Jouett (a member), to the Virginia Legislature for divorce from his wife, alleging that she had eloped and was co-habiting adulterously with one A. Jackson; the other paper announced that, the allegations having been proved, the divorce had been granted.

"Stung to the quick, Jackson's first impulse was to pursue Robards and at the pistol's point make him retract his base, cowardly charge, but, duly reflecting, he said: 'Our first duty is to guard her sacred name from further gossip.' Then, Sir Lancelot like, he went to Mrs. Donelson and asked permission to offer his hand and heart to her daughter. Her astonished query and his chivalric reply were equally characteristic: 'Mr. Jackson, would you sacrifice your life to save my poor child's good name?' 'Ten thousand lives, madam, if I had them.'

"En route to and at Natchez, Rachel, haunted by the fear that Robards was pursuing and would overtake and inflict some terrible punishment, was restless and miserable, often being found on her knees in tears. Learning of the divorce proceedings she cried: 'I expected him to kill me, but this is worse.' Divorces, then rare and universally condemned, were considered the foulest stigma possible to cast upon a wife, and in no circle was a divorced woman *persona grata*. Like the wounded heart which turns in despair from the purling brook and tempting shade, she shrank from pity and sympathy and paid no heed to Jackson's suit; but there is nothing so irresistible as earnestness, and he was terribly in earnest. They were married at Natchez by a Catholic priest in July, 1791, and spent several weeks in a cabin near Bayou Pierre. Returning to the Cumberland they occupied a cabin built by him on some newly purchased land, and in poverty and obscurity began that wedded life never darkened by a suspicion or reproach, lighted by love and sympathy and crowned with life's choicest blessings. Her prospects as his wife were far inferior to those of the rich autocratic Kentuckian. The turn in Jackson's fortune leading so rapidly to wealth and power came only fifteen years before her death, when age and infirmity rendered them more embarrassing than desirable.

“Vivacious, high-spirited, witty and tactful, she was of medium height, beautifully molded form, lustrous black eyes, dark, glossy hair, full red lips, brunette complexion, though of brilliant coloring, a sweet oval face rippling with smiles and dimples and bright with intelligence—just the style of beauty irresistible to men of Jackson’s type. Tall, angular, reddish bristling hair, face badly freckled and pockmarked, he was awkward and constrained, unattractive in person and repulsive in manner. His marriage to Colonel Donelson’s daughter, though dictated by chivalric motives, was the first of the lucky steps—something like Napoleon’s to Josephine—that insured his marvelous future, securing the support of a powerful clannish family and admittance to a circle not accessible to all.

“Mrs. Jackson’s brothers and brothers-in-law were prosperous, influential men. Their name to a note gave it gold value; their indorsement of a man marked him as trustworthy. To Jackson their support was invaluable—time, money, influence being given without stint. Many will befriend a man poor and obscure; but let him rise above them, and they stand aloof, marvel at his luck, sneer at his pretensions. Not so with Jackson and the Donelsons. Friends and allies when needed, they were loyal to life’s end.

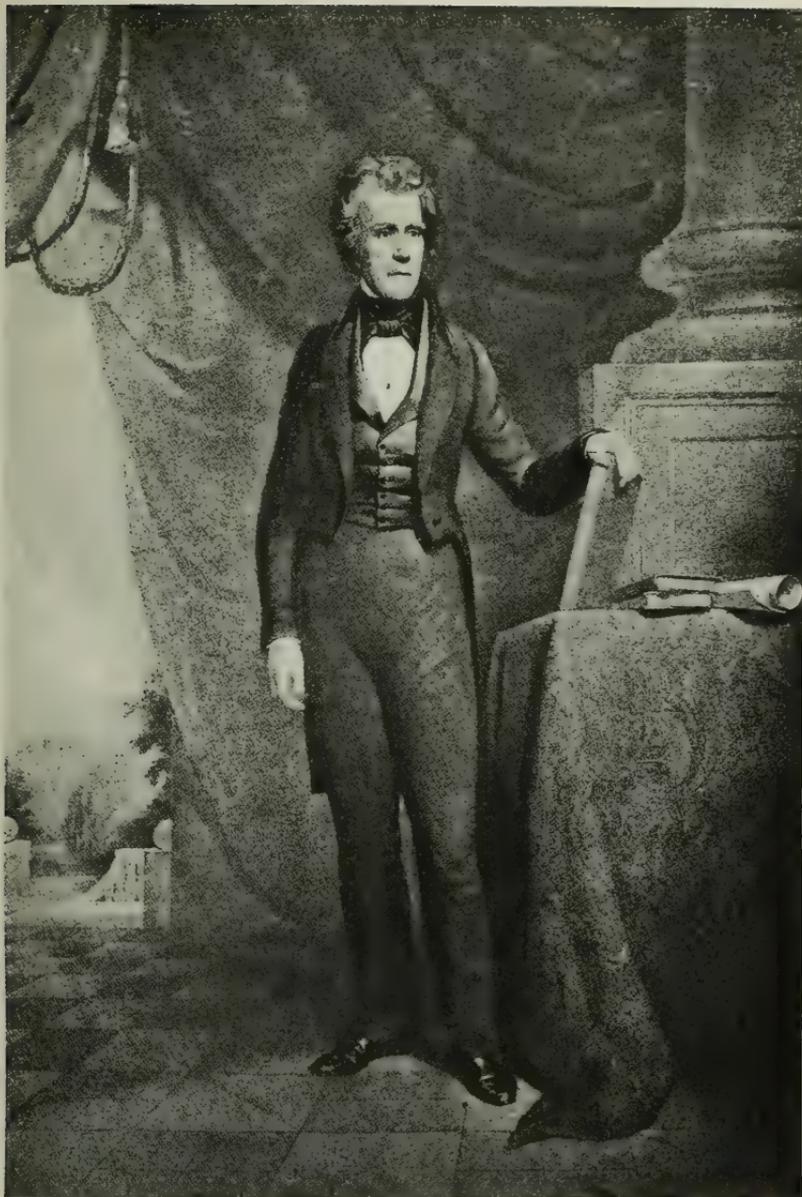
“In October, 1793, Judge Overton visited Kentucky, and returning, informed them that the divorce applied for by Robards in 1791 had just been granted. Jackson immediately obtained a license, and, in the presence of a large assembly, had the marriage ceremony again performed. They had lived together as man and wife over two years before she was legally free; but, believing the divorce granted when published in the Kentucky papers, they exonerated themselves from blame or guilt, and the subject would never have been publicly discussed had not partisan malice seized it to wound one otherwise invulnerable to spite and jealousy. Nobody blamed her, but many believed that Jackson, being a lawyer, should have convinced himself of the legality of the proceedings before asking her to become his wife. But he was really not a lawyer in the technical sense of the term, and so wasted no time on abstruse legal points, and probably never investigated divorce laws. When in his practice he needed authorities, he hunted them up and used them. Roused from sleep by hissing flames, and finding the roof over our heads falling in, we seek the first exit regardless of effect or consequences; and they, suddenly confronting public contumely and pursued by malevolent hate, accepted the relief apparently offered by personal safety and religious duty; and if ever a marriage illustrated the maxim ‘Matches are made in heaven,’ it was the marriage of Andrew Jackson to Rachel Robards. Hear his testimony: ‘We lived together, happy husband, loving wife, for nearly forty years; in all those years, whenever I entered my home it seemed hallowed by a divine presence. I never heard her say a word that could sully an angel’s lips, or knew her to commit any act her Maker could have condemned. What I have

accomplished I owe to her; had I always taken her advice, deeds I now regret would never have been committed. She made earth a paradise for me; without her there could be no heaven.' Could tongues of angels or archangels pronounce a more touching eulogy? Only the smiles of God could add brightness to a memory so luminous with love and content.

"Their affairs prospered; riches, public honors, domestic happiness crowned their labors. They built and occupied Hunter's Hill, a two-story brick house overlooking Cumberland River, and in it inaugurated that baronial style of living never abandoned. Here, about 1797, occurred the marriage of her brother Samuel (her companion on her wilderness ride) to General Daniel Smith's only daughter, with whom he had a few hours before eloped. To Jackson home had a peculiar significance. His childish recollections were of humiliating dependence and galling discomfort, his poor mother performing household drudgery in return for the niggardly maintenance of herself and children. He once said he never remembered receiving a gift as a child, and that, after his mother's death, no kind, encouraging words ever greeted his ear. Having no blood relations, none he cared to claim, he adopted his wife's family, and lavished on her nephews and nieces the care and tenderness his generous heart could not repress. Kind and considerate to dependents and inferiors, to be a member of his household seemed to furnish an undeniable claim on his bounty and protection; and probably, could Sevier, Clay, Nick Biddle, Poindexter, or any one of that long list referred to by him so often and so grandiloquently as 'my enemies' have slept beneath his roof or broken bread at his table, some picturesque historic episodes, if described at all, would have received different coloring.

"In early married life, when desire for offspring was natural, a sister-in-law, bringing her baby, came to spend the day. The ladies sat chattering while Jackson played with the baby under the trees, now stroking its curls, now kissing its hands and feet, now delighting it with that never-failing source of infantile ecstasy, 'This little pig went to market; this little pig stayed at home; this little pig went squeak, squeak!' Mrs. Jackson, watching them greedily, burst into tears, sobbing: 'Oh, husband! how I wish we had a child!' Returning the baby gently to its mother, he embraced her, saying tenderly: 'Darling, God knows what to give, what to withhold; let's not murmur against Him.' Shortly before her death, she referred to this scene, adding: 'He would have given his life for a child; but, knowing how disappointed I was at never being a mother, he, pitying me, tried to console me by saying: 'God denies us offspring that we may help those who have large families and no means to support them.' Once, returning from a child's funeral, the bereaved mother's frantic grief almost unmaning us, he said: 'Your heart, my love, will never be pierced by that cruel knife.'

"An excellent housekeeper, taking great pride in all housewifely



ANDREW JACKSON.

From engraving by Sartain of J. R. Landin's painting.

accomplishments—sewing, pickling, preserving, gardening—she managed home affairs during his long absences as Congressman, Senator, Judge, Attorney, Military Commander—farm, store, even race-track showing a master-hand's careful supervision. A gentle, affectionate mistress, her slaves—many of them, like Abraham's, born and reared in the family, tenacious of its customs and instincts, loyal to its traditions and memories—almost worshipped her.

"In 1804, a man to whom Jackson had made large land sales, accepting in payment notes used to buy goods in Philadelphia, failed and, forced to validate these notes, he was obliged to sell Hunter's Hill and other property. When his wife learned his embarrassment, she said, cheerfully: 'I knew something was wrong, and am relieved that it's only about money.' Jackson explained to her that some of the property involved being hers by inheritance could not be rightfully sacrificed; but she nobly said: 'Your debts are mine, your troubles mine; together we can easily bear hardships and privations.' They removed to a frame house (still standing) on the Hermitage tract, using adjoining cabins as guest rooms; and there, as at Hunter's Hill, their home was the family rallying point—the centre of a generous hospitality, shared alike by the rich and distinguished, the poor and unfortunate. She had the art of making everybody feel at home, instinctively divined people's sore points and pet pretensions, gracefully avoiding the former and tactfully exploiting the latter.

PART II.

RACHEL DONELSON JACKSON.

"Among the guests of the Jacksons while they lived in the frame house in the Hermitage grounds was Aaron Burr, who, after his duel with Hamilton, came South, having previously written Jackson relative to the construction of flat boats for the transportation of troops and provisions to the Wachita River, where he proposed establishing a settlement. He arrived in May, 1805, remained a while and returned in December, and probably no visitor ever entertained by Jackson so potently influenced his opinions and shaped his future course. To impressions received from Burr may be ascribed his distrust and aversion, never overcome, to Jefferson, his antipathy to Hamilton's financial schemes, to the National Bank, to New England cant and fancicism; his predilection for Van Buren and approval of New York political methods. History has emphasized Burr's magnetic personality, and no two people ever yielded more readily to its fascination than Mr. and Mrs. Jackson. They talked, on the night he spent with them, into the wee sma' hours, he delighting Jackson with inside pictures of national politics and politicians and charming Mrs. Jackson with tender allusions to his dead wife, and bright anecdotes of his beautiful young daughter whom he promised to bring to see her while visiting Blannerhesset Island, and whom he begged her to remember in her prayers.

"Posterity has reached no decision as to Burr's real aims and ambitions, though it is conceded that, dazzled by Napoleon's success, he hoped, in imitation of him, to found a Western empire, including Mexico and Texas. This, though impracticable, was possible, and did not necessarily imply treason to the Federal Government. While in Nashville he expressed the opinion that Jackson, the most forceful, prominent man in the West, would be the first Westerner elected President of the United States, and then and there nominated him. After Burr's departure Jackson received some anonymous letters accusing Burr of treasonable designs and of trying to implicate him in them. He at once said 'the contracts agreed upon must be fulfilled, but no new ones considered until all suspicion is removed, for I have no sympathy with treason or traitors!' Then came the collapse of the expedition—Burr's arrest, trial and nominal acquittal at Richmond. Insisting that no man of his affectionate nature could be a traitor, Mrs. Jackson urged her husband to attend the trial and befriend him, and it was while preparing his testimony as a witness in that trial that Jackson began that thorough and exhaustive study of constitutional law which made him so familiar with the provisions and limitations of the Constitution and enabled him to contend so successfully in after years with Congress and the courts. When Burr's daughter was lost, supposedly in a storm at sea, Mrs. Jackson wrote him, saying: 'Let me, who have no daughter, weep with you in your great sorrow.'

"It was also while living in that little frame house that the most deplored event of Jackson's life—the Dickinson duel—occurred. He had a store at Clover Bottom (three miles distant) to which he daily rode to and fro, and in the valley below, where Colonel Donelson planted Tennessee's first corn and cotton patch, he had a track noted as the scene of many exciting races. In December, 1805, a race planned between Jackson's horse Truxton, and Plowboy, owned by Captain Erwin, came off. Charles Dickinson, Erwin's son-in-law, bet heavily on Plowboy, and seeing Truxton forge ahead, screamed, though Mrs. Jackson sat near: 'His horse is gaining, an will win the stake, just as he ran off with and kept another man's wife!'"

"It was said and believed that a political clique, alarmed at Jackson's immense popularity, saw the necessity of getting rid of him, and to accomplish this, prompted Dickinson to pick a quarrel by this and other insulting remarks, sure to be repeated. Dickinson remembered that in the Sevier-Jackson feud the unforgivable, only to-be-wiped-out-with-blood words were, 'I know of no great service rendered by Jackson unless it be running off to Natchez with Robard's wife.' Dickinson was considered the best shot in the world, while Jackson, known to be a poor marksman, was singularly averse, notwithstanding his numerous frays, to personal encounters. A challenge was sent and accepted, date and place being named for the meeting. Mrs. Jackson, knowing that Dickinson's young wife

was with child, implored her husband earnestly to arrange the difficulty if possible. Kissing him good-by as he rode off with his second, Judge Overton, she said: 'Forget his remarks about me, think only of his wife and babe, and if consistent with honor spare him.' Awaiting his return and noting his pallor and blood-stained clothes, she screamed: 'You are wounded!' 'Yes, only slightly, but Dickinson will insult no more innocent women;' then, remarking her look of dismay, he added: 'I promised you to spare and meant to keep my promise. On the road I saw signs of his skill—hairs cut in two, small circles on trees and fences black with shot, then heard his messages, 'Tell Jackson I will snap his life's threads like that hair, will pepper his craven breast with lead like that disk!' Even when we took our places on the ground and waited for the seconds to give the word, I still intended to fire in the air, but when I felt his bullet plowing through my body and heard him shriek, 'Great God, have I missed the d—d scoundrel, hate of me overpowering even death's agony, the demon in me awoke. I fired and he fell.' Mrs. Jackson, almost fainting, fell on her knees, praying: 'Oh, God have pity on the poor wife, pity on the babe in her womb.' Years afterward, Jackson said: 'There never lived a woman in whom the mother instinct so predominated, she would have gathered in her pitying arms every afflicted being. Why, she even wept and prayed for Dickinson's wife and child.'

In 1809, they adopted a twin son born to Mrs. Jackson's brother, Severn Donelson, named him Andrew Jackson, reared him tenderly, and bequeathed him their large estate. Naturally religious and a devout Bible reader, Mrs. Jackson, under the teachings of Parson Blackburn, joined the Presbyterian Church. Wish-
in to make her a present, Jackson asked what she would prefer. 'A church near-by where I can worship God regularly,' was the ready reply. The little brick church, now the object of such curious interest, and the scene of many memorable services, was the result of that wish. Without steeple or belfry, nave or chancel, it looks more like a plain farmhouse than a church. It was there that General Jackson made his first profession of faith and took his first communion. Mrs. Jackson's family, the Donelsons, still worship there and keep it in repair.

"When war was declared against Great Britain in 1812, Jackson, then in command of Tennessee militia, offered his services to the Government; and, they being accepted, he headed that Southern expedition which, though it accomplished no great public benefit, brought into prominence his great executive ability and superior military qualifications. It was in that expedition that he acquired the familiar soubriquet of 'Old Hickory,' and laid the foundation of that all-embracing popularity never before or since equaled by an American, and which today, over fifty years after his death, is still strong.

"One bright October morning, 1813, they attended service to-

gether in the little brick church, after which, embracing her tenderly, he, though still prostrated by Benton's bullet, hardly able to mount his horse, but determined to check Creek depredations and avenge Fort Mims, started on that campaign from which, victorious at Tallustatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, he returned the most famous, most courted, most idolized man in the world, hailed by his own nation as its deliverer, by all as the conquering hero. The country, depressed and humiliated by the disasters attending the Northern and Eastern commands, by the capture and burning of Washington, and dreading a successful British invasion in the South, hailed the news from New Orleans with extravagant demonstrations of rejoicing. People said: 'Jackson seals and perpetuates the liberty and independence gained by Washington and Bunker Hill receives its glorious fulfillment at Charleston.' Mrs. Jackson, urged to accompany the delegation that went to meet him on his return to Nashville, declined, saying: 'I prefer waiting for him at home;' and probably her simple greeting, 'I am so thankful to have you back again!' outweighed the many laudatory addresses he received. Henceforth exchanging the happy, peaceful quiet of backwoods farmers for glamour and turmoil of public notoriety, they lived amid ceremonial pomp and parade. Their home became the Western Mecca, was always crowded with visitors and alive with excitement. Finding their residence (the little frame house) unsuited to new conditions, they built a large, handsome home, christening it the Hermitage, and a hermitage it proved—a refuge from all care and worry; a haven whence, departing for the spirit land, they entered heaven as from an outer chamber. Then came the Presidential campaigns of '24 and '28, when the flood-gates of partisan virulence stood wide open and torrents of slanderous falsehoods deluged the country. Unable to check his great popularity or deny his gallant public service, his opponents sought to mortify and belittle him by besmirching his wife's character. Charges *ad nauseam* were rung on 'the marriage before divorce,' caricatures of her person and manners were scattered broadcast, processions singing burlesques aimed at her paraded the streets. This vituperation, however, did him no harm. Brave men honor a man for fidelity to an injured wife. Yet mud-flinging generally leaves some stain, and falsehoods, often repeated and widely circulated, finally gain credence. Impressions still prevailing of Jackson's ignorance (bad spelling and bad grammar) and of his wife's unrefinement may be traced to the malice of partisan enemies in those crucial years.

"Lately Mr. Richardson, by authority of Congress, has compiled and published the records of Presidential administrations, an examination of which shows Jackson to have been the equal in spelling, rhetoric and general scholarship of any contemporary—to have been an earnest student of state matters and thoroughly conversant with constitutional law and governmental policy. At a dinner party in London in 1850, at which my father (then United

States Minister to Prussia) and the Duke of Wellington were guests, the latter, speaking of American affairs, said: 'I know you Americans admit no comparison with Washington; but, in my opinion Jackson is the greatest man your Republic has produced. His course in his Indian campaigns was remarkable, his generalship at New Orleans worthy of Hannibal or Caesar; and his policy as President, though arbitrary and despotic, was both wise and patriotic. I predict that the time will come when the absence of a man of his nerve and self-confidence in the executive office will result in a great national disaster.' Did his prophetic eye foresee the days in '61, when people, seeing Buchanan blanch and quail before the coming storm, cried: 'Oh, for twenty-four hours of Jackson in the White House!'

"There was great political excitement in Tennessee in the summer of 1844, even school-children becoming violent partisans. I, then in the preparatory department of the Nashville Female Academy, was the Democratic champion, Lou——being the Whig. After school we met in the hall to discuss public questions. One Thursday afternoon we had an angry debate, Lou quoting Clay, I Jackson, closing my argument with the words then familiar: 'Westward the star of empire wends its way.' Suddenly Lou sprang up, arms akimbo, head erect, danced up and down the platform, singing to jig tune: 'The girl kicked the kiver off and I kotcht cold.' The girls, giggling at first, said: 'Don't, Lou; that's unfair.' The meeting broke up, Lou's friends going with her, mine with me. Then one of them told me that it was said that, at a grand ball given in New Orleans to General and Mrs. Jackson, she said to a lady inquiring kindly about her health: 'Poorly, thank God. To tell the truth, the girl kicked the kiver off and I kotcht cold!—that the Whigs, using these words as the chorus to a scurrilous song, had chanted them all over the United States during his Presidential campaigns. Of course I was indignant and deeply hurt. Aunt Jackson died before my birth, but I had been taught to love and honor her memory, revering her name as do good Catholics the Holy Virgin's. I generally went home Friday (Tulip Grove, twelve miles from Nashville), returning Monday, and calling Saturday at the Hermitage to tell Uncle Jackson the week's school incidents, seemingly much relished by him. I found him propped up in an easy chair near his wife's tomb, where, when the weather and his strength permitted, he always went after breakfast to smoke and meditate. Greeting me affectionately, he said, pointing to the birds overhead and the flower-beds near: 'In life she loved birds and flowers, and I enjoy seeing them near her grave.' He was then very feeble—seldom able to leave his bed; and his snow-hair, palled, pain-drawn features, bent, trembling form, warned his friends that the empty grave near his wife's would soon be tenanted. I had intended to mention and ask the verity of the occurrence alluded to at the debate, but, to save my life, I could not repeat those revolting words at that sacred spot, where the very

air seemed redolent with the fragrance of deathless love. I, however, visited and questioned my grandmother, who lived near, and who was Aunt Jackson's sister-in-law and most intimate friend.

'False, cruel and wicked,' she said, emphatically. 'Sister Jackson was not only well-informed, but elegant and dignified—far superior to her detractors. Her father stood well, and moved in the best Virginia society. She visited with him, when a little girl, both Monticello and Mount Vernon, and had interesting reminiscences of Colonial customs and usages, often describing to us the appearance, manners and customs of the grand dames then prominent in aristocratic circles. No woman in the Western country had traveled so extensively or better used the opportunities for self-improvement afforded by travel and association with cultured people. On her trips with General Jackson to New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Washington, Cincinnati and other cities, she was the honored guest, the recipient of the most distinguished courtesies and attentions. They entertained handsomely and lavishly at the Hermitage, Louis Philippe, Lafayette, Aaron Burr, and many distinguished men and women enjoying their hospitality, and testifying by word and letter to her grace as a hostess and charm as a woman. Generous and kind-hearted, none appealed to her in vain for comfort, advice or pecuniary aid, bestowed as of acceptance were the favor, and she, the donor, the one obliged.

LETTERS OF ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS WIFE
AND ONE TO HIS SON.

New Port, March 22nd, 1803.

"My Love:

"I am this far on my way to Knoxville from Jonesborough and being about to part with Colo. Christmas, who has promised to call and deliver some garden seeds and this letter to you, I write fully impressed with a belief that the letter and garden seeds will be handed you.

"These are a variety of seeds and as large quantities of each as I could obtain. If there should be any to spare of any kind sent I have said to Colo. Christmas that you would divide with him.

"On the 15th instant in Jonesborough Mr. Rawlings stable was set on fire. It and two more stables were burnt down and four horses, with great exertions and the calmness of the night, and other buildings were saved. During this distressing scene I was a great deal exposed, having nothing on but a shirt. I have caught a very bad cold which settled on my lungs, occasioned a bad cough and pain in my breast. It was with the utmost exertion I saved my horse from the flames—not until I made the third attempt before I could force him into the passage. You may easily judge the anxiety by seeing the poor animals in danger. I shall write you from Knoxville, and would write you more fully, but the Colo. has promised to call, from whom you can receive all the information that I could give. I wish you to say to Mr. Gowery that I wish

my cotton planted between the 15th and 25th of April. I hope the apple trees have been safely brought and planted. I have been afraid they received injury from frost, from the very severe frost that fell about that time.

"I hope it has been in his power to make your time more agreeable with the servants. I also hope that he has brought Aston to a perfect state of obedience. I have not heard a single syllable from you since I left home. I hope you have enjoyed and are now enjoying health, and may health and happiness surround you until I have the pleasure of seeing you is the sincere wish of your affectionate Husband.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Mrs. Rachel Jackson."

JACKSON TO HIS WIFE AND SON.

"Fort Jackson, July 16th 1814.

"Headquarters,
"7th M. District.

"My Love:

"I reached this place on the 10th instant, found the Indians through whom we passed apparently friendly—Rumor states, that the followers of the Prophet, *Nelieshaja*, or Frances, and the leader of the war party McQueen—has gone to Pensacola with their founders, and have been rec'd. with great attention by the Spanish Governors, and has been furnished with arms and ammunition by the British. I have taken the best means in my power to ascertain the truth of their reports in the shortest time.

"Should not the hostile attitude of my war party, supported by British Troops, detain me in the nation, I shall be able to leave this on the 10th proximo, for Tennessee. The Chiefs are to meet me here on the first of next month and the convention with them cannot take up more time than five days, in five more I can make the necessary engagements for the support and defense of the chain of garrisons, from Georgia to the Alabama Heights. This being done, unless war rages, I shall immediately set out for Nashville. I hope my brown filley and the sorrell horse that I was compelled to leave on the way, has reached home. I have to ask you, my love, to charge the overseer to have them in good order when I return. I am induced to believe this is a healthy country, the soldiers here are unusually healthy and my escort and Lt. Donelson all enjoy health. You can inform Mrs. Caffery that her son is well.

"With my prayers for your health, and that of my little Andrew, and the compliments to all friends, I am with sincere respect your
"Affectionate Husband,

"P. S.

"Andrew Jackson.

"It is enough to make humanity shudder to see the distressed situation of the Indians. Eight thousand are kept alive, being fed by the government daily—and I fear, should they be supported by foreign aid, we will have half of the men we are feeding to keep from starvation to fight.

"The bearer of this letter is Lt. Colonel Carson, who I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance, and polite attention—the Col., if he calls, can give you a full account of the prospects here. Adieu A. J."

JACKSON TO HIS WIFE.

"HEADQUARTERS 7TH M DISTRICT.

"Mobile, October 20th, 1814.

"My Love—

"I had the pleasure of receiving yours of Sept. 18th last night by Capt. Deadrick. It was handed him by Cap. J. Donelson, who had halted at Fort Stephens to refresh his horses and men, the patriotism displayed by the connection reflects on them great honor, and I hope a grateful country will reward them. The example set by the western part of State of disinterested patriotism, if followed by our sister States, will soon put an end to the war, an end to the war, and restore the blessings of peace to our country, on an honorable and durable basis. I recd. a letter from Genl. Coffee last night of the 14th instant, all well, he will be with me in a few days. I sent Biley and Jackey with an answer to him today, I hope they will meet him tomorrow. Be assured that I will watch over these two youths with all the care of a father, and every attention shall be paid to them that my situation will permit.

"I am happy to hear that Mr. Fields is doing well. If he is slow he is honest, and in honesty there is safety; he will be faithful in the—*, he will be faithful elsewhere, and better to keep him than risque a new one with the recent recollection of Nalley boy on our minds. I wrote you last mail, which will have advised you of the hopes and prospects I have of sending for and meeting you, I trust in the smiles of heaven and the justice of our cause, added to the valour of my troops for success, through this means to place this section of the union in safety. The moment that is done I shall write and get some faithful friend to bring you and my sweet little Andrew to me. How is Syncoga? If he is a heathen he is an orphan, and I know you will extend a motherly care over him.

"My health is perfectly restored altho I am weak, but a little active life will soon restore my strength. I shall write you often, altho you must reflect if a mail passes and you do not receive a letter from me, that it is owing to the press of business. I am truly sorry to hear that your ankle is again troublesome. I hope it may be restored shortly to health. You must not walk much on it until it is well. With compliments to all friends I reciprocate my ardent prayers for your health, and believe me to be your affectionate Husband.

"Andrew Jackson.

"P. S.—Tell my son God bless and keep him for his sweet papa."

"Mrs. R. Jackson.

' Huntsville, Janry. 27th, 1818.

"My Love:

"I reached the Bluff on yesterday nine o'clock A. M. after the most fatiguing ride I ever experienced, occasioned by unusual muddy roads.

"I found our business only in a tolerable condition, however, I made such engagements from which I trust things will progress well.

"I left there this morning at 4 o'clock and reached here a little in the night, such was the state of the roads, until we got clear of the land, that we have been compelled to get out every morning before day. I leave here early tomorrow morning. I fortunately met General Coffee here. I have left you this journey with greater regret than I have ever done. I hope that that God who controls the destinies of nations and decrees to all things, will permit me to execute the duty assigned me and return to you in a short time. Kiss the two little Andrews for me and accept a tender of my best wishes and sincere affection. With my prayers for your preservation and happiness. I shall write you from Georgia, adieu.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Mrs. Rachel Jackson.

"P. S. Give my love to Jane and Mrs. Caffery and all friends.

JACKSON TO HIS WIFE.

"Staunton, Novbr 28th, 1823.

"My Love—

"I reached here at 11 o'clock last night in the mail stage in my usual health. I rest here to-day for my friend Major Eaton who I left yesterday morning, he is on horse back, and will take the stage with me here. . . . If we can procure private Hacks we will go on to-morrow morning, if not we will leave on Sunday in the mail stage for Fredricksburg, where we will take the Steam Boat; and two days travel will now take us to the steam boat, and in 14 hours after we will reach the city. I can now say that my fatigue of the journey is nearly over, we have been blessed with fine weather on our journey, we have experienced but one inclement day, to avoid which I took the stage and Major Eaton came on horse back.

"I have been greeted by the people wherever I have halted. To avoid much of this was one reason why I took the stage, and even then in many places, on the way side were collections who hailed and stopped the stages, to shake me by the hand. This through Virginia I did not calculate on. Altho tiresome and troublesome still it is gratifying to find that I have triumphed over the machination of my enemies, and still possess the confidence of the people. Were you only with me I could be satisfied. But should providence once more permit us to meet, I am solemnly resolved with permission of Heaven never to separate, or be separated from you in this world. Present me to Capt. A. J. Donelson, say

to him I will write him so soon as I reach the city. Say to my son and my little ward Hutchings that I expect them to be obedient and attentive to you, bless them for me, and accept my prayers for your health and happiness until I return, and believe me to be your affectionate Husband,
"Andrew Jackson."

JACKSON TO HIS WIFE.

"Washington, April 2nd, 1824.

"My dear Wife:

"Major Eaton on yesterday showed me your letter to him which gave me much pleasure to be informed of your continued good health, may it continue.

"I cannot yet say when I will be able to leave this, or when Congress may rise, I hope I will be able to give this information in all next week. The Tariff bill is still under discussion and until that is disposed of, no idea can be formed when Congress will rise.

"My route when I leave here will be that which will afford me the greatest despatch combined with ease; my anxiety to see you is superior to all other considerations. I therefore will not pass through Philadelphia; as I know it would detain me some days.

"My health is improving altho we experience much variable weather and is now very cold for the season; I am obliged to take great care, and never go out in the evenings.

"Say to Capt. A. J. Donelson I have nothing new to write him; the papers will give him all the news on political subjects that I possess; and as yet I have nothing to write Colo. Butler: present me to them both and all our relations; say to the Andrews and Syncoga I hope to be home soon when I shall expect to find they *all* have much improved. My love to the young ladies who may be with you; and accept the prayers of your affectionate Husband for your preservation, and health until his return. Yrs.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Mrs. Rachel Jackson."

JACKSON TO HIS WIFE.

Washington City.

Wednesday Evening, May 19th, 1824.

' My dear Wife—

"The Tariff Bill that has been under discussion so long and which has retarded all other business, has this day finally passed both houses of Congress. I am now detained only by Genl Call; I hope tomorrow to get his Bills through the Senate and leave here on Sunday morning next. I would leave here tomorrow morning, but one of the Bills is to authorize the President of the U States to order that the Florida lands shall be surveyed, under which I hope to have Colo. Butler appointed surveyor-Genl., and I do not wish, as I have staid so long, to leave here before I see that done, as there are but little reliance here to be placed in promises. I have another



RACHEL DONELSON JACKSON, 1767-1828.

reason for delay. The act for paying your father and other commissioners under Georgia was lost by intrigue and inattention of its friends in the House of Representatives; Major Eaton introduced a Bill in the Senate which passed unanimously, and is now before that House; and I hope it will be acted on to-morrow and on Sunday I hope to leave here by the way of Wheeling, Louisville and home. But my Love, as it is so uncertain at what day I could reach Louisville and I might miss you on the way, and being so anxious to see you, and reach home, that I think it will be best for you not to set out to meet me. If I get a Steam Boat at Wheeling when I arrive there, I shall, I hope, reach you shortly after you receive this letter. Give my respects to the Andrews, and all friends, and may God take you, and them in his holy keeping until I unite with you; is the prayer of your affectionate husband.

“Andrew Jackson.

“Mrs. Rachel Jackson.

“P. S. We passed a Joint Resolution today for Congress to rise on the 27th of this month. I feel happy to believe that I can get away from this place in a few days. My anxiety is great, and I am truly wearied, nothing but imperious necessity has detained me; all the wealth of the Indies could not.

“A. J.”

ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS SON.

Novbr. 2nd, 1835.

“My dear Andrew:

“I enclose you a letter from your dear Sarah, and have only time to say that our dear little ones are in good health, improving every day, the son with tironic sway governs all.

“As you have set the 15th instant to leave the Hermitage you need not expect any more letters from us unless we should be advised by you that you will be detained longer. With my prayers for your health and speedy return, referring you to my former letters I remain yr affectionate father

“Andrew Jackson.

“A. Jackson, Esq., Jun.”

CHAPTER 12.

Jackson's Cabinets, State Papers First Inaugural Address, Bank Veto, Second Inaugural Address, Message on Texas and Mexico.

JACKSON'S CABINETS.

Secretary of State:

Martin Van Buren, New York, March 6, 1829.
 Edward Livingstone, Louisiana, May 24, 1831.
 Louis McLane, Delaware, May 29, 1833.
 John Forsyth, Georgia, June 27, 1834.

Secretary of Treasury:

Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania, March 6, 1829
 Louis McLane, Delaware, August 8, 1831.
 William J. Duane, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1833.
 Roger B. Taney, Maryland, September 23, 1833.
 Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, June 27, 1834.

Secretary of War:

John H. Eaton, Tennessee, March 9, 1829.
 Lewis Cass, Michigan, August 1, 1831.

Secretary of Navy:

John Branch, North Carolina, March 9, 1829.
 Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, May 23, 1831.
 Mahlon Dickerson, New Jersey, June 30, 1834.

Attorney General:

John M. Berrien, Georgia, March 9, 1829.
 Roger B. Taney, Maryland, July 20, 1831.
 Benjamin F. Butler, New York, November 15, 1833.

Postmaster General:

William T. Barry, Kentucky, March 9, 1829.
 Amos Kendall, Kentucky, May 1, 1835.

JACKSON'S STATE PAPERS, 1829-1837.

First Inaugural Address,	March 4, 1829
First Annual Message,	December 8, 1829
Veto Message,	May 27, 1830
Second Annual Message,	December 6, 1830
Message on Indian Affairs,	February 22, 1831
Third Annual Message,	December 6, 1831
Veto Message, Bank of the United States,	July 10, 1832
Fourth Annual Message,	December 4, 1832
Message on the South Carolina Ordinance and Proclamation of Governor Haynes,	January 16, 1833

Anti-Nullification Proclamation,	December 10, 1832
Second Inaugural Address,	March 4, 1833
Removal of the Public Deposits—Paper read to the Cabinet,	September 18, 1833
Fifth Annual Message,	December 3, 1833
Veto Message—Public Lands,	December 4, 1833
Protest on the Expunging Resolution,	April 15, 1834
Sixth Annual Message,	December 1, 1834
Seventh Annual Message,	December 7, 1835
Message on Affairs with France,	January 15, 1836
Eighth Annual Message,	December 5, 1836
Message on Texas and Mexico,	December 21, 1836
Farewell Address,	March 4, 1837

JACKSON'S STATE PAPERS.

Jackson's State Papers include the twenty-one documents set out above, all of which but two were officially communicated to Congress. The two were the papers read to his Cabinet September 18, 1833, on the Removal of the Deposits and his Farewell Address, issued March 4, 1837, the day Van Buren was inaugurated as his successor. It was found inexpedient to include all these twenty-one communications in this volume in full, but we have reproduced in full his two Inaugural Addresses, the Veto of the Bank of the United States, the great Nullification Proclamation, the Message on Texas and Mexico, the Paper on the Removal of the Deposits, the Protest on the Expunging Resolution and his Farewell Address. These are the greatest.

A study of these will, we believe, convince any student of American State papers that Jackson's rank among the very best of them all.

We believe also that they will convince the student that Jackson's enduring and bright fame will rest not on the Battle of New Orleans nor on his successful Indian campaigns, but upon the strength and power and statesmanship so abundantly shown in his communications and views throughout his civil life. His career in this respect is the exact reverse of that of General U. S. Grant. Gen Grant was one of the great Generals of history and he operated upon a vast scale and success followed him. As President of the United States he was out of place and a failure.

Jackson was a successful General operating on a small scale, but as President he was one of our greatest, and in conception of patriotic duty, willingness to perform, and in comprehension of what his duty was, he was excelled by no character in our history.

His limited military success gave him the opportunity by making him President to achieve things not before dreamed of.

JACKSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

(March 4, 1829.)

"FELLOW CITIZENS: About to undertake the arduous duties that I have been appointed to perform by the choice of the free people, I avail myself of this customary and solemn occasion to express the gratitude which their confidence inspires and to acknowledge the accountability which my situation enjoins. While the magnitude of their interests convinces me that no thanks can be adequate to the honor they have conferred, it admonishes me that the best return I can make is the zealous dedication of my humble abilities to their service and their good.

"As the instrument of the Federal Constitution it will devolve on me for a stated period to execute the laws of the United States, to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations, to manage their revenue, to command their forces, and by communication to the Legislature, to watch over and promote their interests generally. And the principles of action by which I shall endeavor to accomplish this circle of duties it is now proper for me briefly to explain.

"In administering the laws of Congress I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power, trusting hereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority. With foreign nations it will be my study to preserve peace and to cultivate friendship on fair and honorable terms and in the adjustment of any differences that may exist or arise to exhibit the forbearance becoming a powerful nation rather than the sensibility belonging to a gallant people.

"In such measures as I may be called on to pursue in regard to the rights of the respect for those sovereign members of our Union, taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves with those they have granted to the Confederacy.

"The management of the public revenue—that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours, and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy. This I shall aim at the more anxiously, both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt, the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence, and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the Government is but too apt to engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of Congress for the specific appropriation of public money and the prompt accountability of public officers.

"With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of impost with a view to revenue it would seem to me that the spirit of equity, caution, and compromise in which the Constitution was formed



NICHOLAS BIDDLE.

President of the Bank of the United States at the time of the Bank's conflict with Andrew Jackson. From National Portrait Gallery.

requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturers should be equally favored, and that perhaps the only exception to this rule should consist in, the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence.

"Internal improvement and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the Federal Government, are of high importance.

"Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to civil power. The gradual increase of our Navy, whose flag has displayed in distant climes our skill in navigation and our fame in arms; the perservation of our forts, arsenals, and dockyards, and the introduction of progressive improvements in the discipline and science of both branches of our military service are so plainly prescribed by prudence that I should be excused for omitting their mention sooner than for enlarging on their importance. But the bulwark of our defense is the national militia which in the present state of our intelligence and population must render us invincible. As long as our Government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person, and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, it will be worth defending; and so long as it is worth defending a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable aegis. Partial injuries and occasional mortifications we may be subjected to, but a million of armed freemen, possessed of the means of war, can never be conquered by a foreign foe. To any just system, therefore, calculated to strengthen this natural safeguard of the country, I shall cheerfully lend all the aid in my power.

"It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe towards the Indian Tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government and the feelings of our people.

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of the Executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of *reform* which will require particularly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

"In the performance of a task thus general delineated I shall endeavor to select men whose diligence and talents will insure in their respective stations able and faithful cooperation, depending for the advancement of the public service more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers than on their numbers.

"A difference, perhaps too just, in my own qualifications will teach me to look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors, and with veneration to the lights that flow from the mind that founded and the mind that reformed our system. The same difference induces me to hope for instructions and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally. And a firm reliance on the goodness of that Power whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy, and has since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that He will continue to make our beloved country the object of His divine care and gracious benediction.

JACKSON'S VETO MESSAGE—BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

(July 10, 1832.)

"TO THE SENATE: The bill 'to modify and continue' the act entitled 'An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States' was presented to me on the 4th July instant. Having considered it with that solemn regard to the principles of the Constitution which the day was calculated to inspire, and come to the conclusion that it ought not to become a law, I herewith return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with my objections.

"A bank of the United States is in many respects convenient for the Government and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion, and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the power and privileges possessed by the existing bank are unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the states, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, I felt it my duty at an early period of my Administration to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution combining all its advantages and obviating these objections. I sincerely regret that in the act before me I can perceive none of these modifications of the banks charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice with sound policy, or with the Constitution of our country.

"The present corporate body denominated the president, directors and company of the bank of the United States, will have existed at the time this act is intended to take effect twenty years. It enjoys an exclusive privilege of banking under the authority of the General Government, a monopoly of its favor and support, and, as a necessary consequence, almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange. The powers, privileges, and favors bestowed upon it in the original charter, by increasing the value of the stock far above its par value, operated as a gratuity of many millions to the stockholders.

"An apology may be found for the failure to guard against these results, in the consideration that the effect of the original act of incorporation could not be certainly foreseen at the time of its passage. The act before me proposes another gratuity

to the holders of the same stocks, and in many cases, to the same men, of at least seven millions more. This donation finds no apology in any uncertainty as to the effect of the act. On all hands it is conceded that its passage will increase, at least twenty or thirty per cent more, the market price of the stock, subject to the payment of the annuity of \$200,000 per year secured by the act; thus adding, in a moment, one fourth to its par value. It is not our own citizens only who are to receive the bounty of our Government. More than eight million of the stock of this bank are held by foreigners. By this act, the American Republic proposes virtually to make them a present of some millions of dollars. For the gratuities to foreigners, and to some of our own opulent citizens, the act secures no equivalent whatever. They are the certain gains of the present stockholders under the operation of this act, after making full allowance for the payment of the bonus.

"Every monopoly, and all exclusive privileges, are granted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent. The many millions which this act proposes to bestow on the stockholders of the existing bank, must come directly or indirectly out of the earnings of the American people. It is due to them, therefore, if their Government sell monopolies and exclusive privileges, that they should at least exact for them as much as they are worth in open market. The value of the monopoly in this case may be correctly ascertained. The twenty-eight millions of stock would probably be at an advance of fifty per cent., and command in the market at least forty-two millions of dollars, subject to the payment of the present bonus. The present value of the monopoly, therefore, is seventeen millions of dollars, and this act proposes to sell for three millions, payable in fifteen annual instalments of \$200,000 each.

"It is not conceivable how the present stockholders can have any claim to the special favor of the Government. The present corporation has enjoyed its monopoly during the period stipulated in the original contract. If we must have such a corporation, why should not the Government sell out the whole stock, and thus secure to the people the full market value of the privileges granted? Why should not Congress create and sell twenty-eight millions of stock incorporating the purchasers with all the powers and privileges secured in this act, and putting the premium upon the sales into the Treasury?

"But this act does not permit competitions in the purchase of this monopoly. It seems to be predicated on the erroneous idea that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right not only to the favor, but to the bounty of Government. It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class. For their benefit does this act exclude the whole American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly and dispose of it for many millions less than it is worth? This seems the

less excusable, because some of our citizens, not now stockholders, petitioned that the door of competition might be opened, and offered to take a charter on terms much more favorable to the Government and country.

"But this proposition, although made by men whose aggregate wealth is believed to be equal to all the private stock in the existing bank, has been set aside, and the bounty of our Government is proposed to be again bestowed on the few who have been fortunate enough to secure the stock, and at this moment wield the power of the existing institution. I cannot perceive the justice or policy of this course. If our Government must sell monopolies, it would seem to be its duty to take nothing less than their full value; and if gratuities must be made in fifteen or twenty years, let them not be bestowed on the subjects of a foreign government, nor upon a designated and favored class of men in our own country. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to confine our favors to our own fellow-citizens, and let each in his turn enjoy an opportunity to profit by our bounty. In the bearings of the act before me, upon these points, I find ample reasons why it should not become a law.

"It has been urged as an argument in favor of rechartering the present bank, that the calling in its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample; and if it has been well managed, its pressure will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce distress, the fault will be its own; and it would furnish a reason against renewing a power which has been so obviously abused. But will there ever be time when this reason will be less powerful? To acknowledge its force, is to admit that the bank ought to be perpetual, and, as a consequence, the present stockholders, and those inheriting their rights as successors, be established a privileged order, clothed both with great political power, and enjoyment of immense pecuniary advantages, from their connection with the Government.

"The modifications of the existing charter, proposed by this act are not such, in my view, as make it consistent with the rights of States or the liberties of the people. The qualifications of the right of the bank to hold real estate, the limitation of its power to establish branches, and the power reserved to Congress to forbid the circulation of small notes, are restrictions comparatively of little value or importance. All the objectionable principles of the existing corporation, and most of its odious features, are retained without alleviation.

"The fourth section provides 'that the notes or bills of the said corporation, although the same be on the faces thereof, respectively, made payable at one place only, shall, nevertheless, be received by the said corporation at the bank, or at any of the offices of discount and deposit thereof, if tendered in liquidation or payment of any balance or balances due to said corporation, or to such office of discount and deposit, from any other incorporated bank.' This

provision secures to the State banks a legal privilege in the Bank of the United States, which is withheld from all private citizens. If a State bank in Philadelphia owe the Bank of the United States, and have notes issued by the St. Louis Branch, it can pay the debt with those notes; but if a merchant, mechanic, or other private citizen be in like circumstances, he cannot, by law, pay his debt with those notes; but must sell them at a discount, or send them to St. Louis to be cashed. This boon conceded to the State banks, though not unjust in itself, is most odious; because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor. To the extent of its practical effect, it is a bond of union among the banking establishments of the nation erecting them into an interest separate from that of the people; and its necessary tendency is to unite the Bank of the United States and the State banks in any measure which may be thought conducive to their common interest.

"The ninth section of the act recognizes principles of worse tendency than any provision of the present charter.

"It enacts that 'the cashier of the bank shall annually report to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of all stockholders who are not resident citizens of the United States; and, on the application of the Treasurer of any State, shall make out and transmit to such Treasurer a list of stockholders residing in, or citizens of such state, with the amount of stock owned by each;' although this provision, taken in connection with a decision of the Supreme Court surrenders, by its silence, the right of the States to tax the banking institutions created by this corporation, under the name of branches, throughout the Union, it is evidently intended to be construed as a concession of their right to tax that portion of the stock which may be held by their own citizens and residents. In this light, if the act becomes a law, it will be understood by the States, who will probably process to levy a tax equal to that paid by the stock of the banks incorporated by themselves. In some States that tax is now one percent., either on the capital or on the shares, and that may be assumed as the amount which all citizens or resident stockholders would be taxed under the operation of this act. As it is only the stock held in the States, and not that employed between them, which would be subject to taxation, and as the names of foreign stockholders are not to be reported to the Treasurers of the States, it is obvious that the stock held by them will be exempt from this burden. Their annual profits will, therefore, be one percent. more than the citizens stockholders; and, as the annual dividends of the bank may be safely estimated at seven percent., the stock will be worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than to citizens of the United States. To appreciate the effect which this state of things will produce, we must take a brief review of the operations and present condition of the Bank of the United States.

"By documents, submitted to Congress at the present session, it appears that, on 1st of January, 1832, of the twenty-eight millions

of private stock in the corporation, \$8,405,500. were held by foreigners, mostly of Great Britain. The amount of stock held in nine western and south-western States, is \$140,200. and in the four southern States, is \$5,623,100. and in the middle and eastern States, is about \$13,522,000. The profits of the bank in 1831, as shown in a statement to Congress, were about \$3,455,598.: of this there accrued, in the nine western States about \$352,507.; and in the middle and eastern States, about \$1,463,041. As little stock is held in the west it is obvious that the debt of the peoples, in that section, to the bank, is principally a debt to the eastern and foreign stockholders; that the interest they pay upon it, is carried into the eastern States and into Europe; and that it is a burden upon their industry, and a drain of their currency, which no country can bear without inconvenience and occasional distress. To meet this burden, and equalize the exchange of the bank, the amount of specie drawn from those States, through its branches, within the last two years, as shown by the official reports, was about \$6,000,000. More than half a million of this amount does not stop in the eastern States, but passes on to Europe to pay the dividends of the foreign stockholders. In the principle of taxation recognized by this act, the western States find no adequate compensation for this perpetual burden on their industry, and drain of their currency. The branch bank at Mobile made last year 95,140 dollars; yet, under the provisions of this act, the State of Alabama can raise no revenue from these profitable operations, because not a share of the stock is held by any of her citizens. Mississippi and Missouri are in the same condition in relation to the branches at Natchez and St. Louis; and such, in a greater or less degree, is the condition of every western State. The tendency of the plan of taxation which this act proposes, will be to place the whole United States in the same relation to foreign countries which the western States now bear to the eastern. When, by tax on resident stockholders, the stock of this bank is made worth ten to fifteen percent more to foreigners than to residents, most of it will inevitably leave the country.

"Thus will this provision, in its practical effect, deprive the eastern as well as the southern and western States of the means of raising a revenue from the extension of business and great profits of this institution. It will make the American people debtors to aliens, in nearly the whole amount due to this bank, and send across the Atlantic from two to five millions of specie every year to pay the bank dividends.

"In another of its bearings this provision is fraught with danger. Of the twenty-five directors of this bank, five are chosen by the Government, and twenty by the citizen stockholders. From all voices in these elections, the foreign stockholders are excluded by the charter. In proportion, therefore, as the stock is transferred to foreign holders, the extent of suffrage in the choice of directors is curtailed. Already is almost a third of the stock in foreign hands and not represented in elections. It is constantly passing out of

the country; and this act will accelerate its departure. The entire control of the institution would necessarily fall into the hands of citizen stockholders; and the ease with which the object would be accomplished, would be a temptation to designing men to secure that control in their own hands, by monopolizing the remaining stock. There is danger that a president and directors would then be able to elect themselves from year to year, and without responsibility or control, manage the whole concerns of the bank during the existence of its charter. It is easy to conceive that great evils to our country and its institutions might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men, irresponsible of the people.

"Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a bank, that, in its nature, has so little to bind it to our country? The President of the bank has told us that most of the State banks exist by its forbearance. Should its influence become concentrated, as it may be under the operations of such an act as this, in the hands of self-elected directory whose interests are identified with those of the foreign stockholders, will there not be cause to tremble for the purity of our elections in peace, and for the independence of our country in war? Their power would be great whenever they might choose to exert it; but if this monopoly were regularly renewed every fifteen or twenty years, on terms proposed by themselves, they might seldom in peace put forth their strength to influence elections or control the affairs of the nation. But if any private citizen or public functionary should interpose to curtail its powers or prevent a renewal of its privileges, it cannot be doubted that he would be made to feel its influence.

"Should the stock of the bank principally pass into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and we should unfortunately become involved in a war with that country, what would be our condition? Of the course which would be pursued by a bank almost wholly owned by the subjects of a foreign power, and managed by those whose interests, if not affections, would run in the same direction, there can be no doubt. All its operations within, would be aid of the hostile fleets and armies without. Controlling our currency, receiving our public moneys, and holding thousands of our citizens in dependence, it would be more formidable and dangerous than the naval and military power of the enemy.

"If we must have a bank with private stockholders, every consideration of sound policy, and every impulse of American feeling, admonishes that it should be PURELY AMERICAN. Its stockholders should be composed exclusively of our own citizens, who, at least, ought to be friendly to our Government, and willing to support it in times of difficulty and danger. So abundant is domestic capital, that competition in subscribing for the stock of local banks has recently led almost to riots. To a bank exclusively of American stockholders, possessing the powers and privileges granted by this act, subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars

could readily be obtained. Instead of sending abroad the stock of the bank in which the Government must deposit its funds, and on which it must rely to sustain its credit in times of emergency, it would rather seem to be expedient to prohibit its sales to aliens under penalty of absolute forfeiture.

"It is maintained by the advocates of the bank that its constitutionality in all its features ought to be considered as settled by precedent, and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent. Mere precedent is a dangerous source of authority, and should not be regarded as deciding questions of constitutional power, except where the acquiescence of the people and the States can be considered as well settled. So far from this being the case on this subject, an argument against the bank might be based on precedent. One Congress, in 1791, decided in favor of a bank; another in 1811, decided against it. One Congress, in 1815, decided against a bank; another, in 1816, decided in its favor. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source were equal. If we resort to the States, the expressions of legislative, judicial, and executive opinions against the bank, have been, probably, to those in its favor as four to one. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favor of the act before me.

"If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authorities of this Government.

"The Congress, the Executive, and the Court, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the constitution. Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate and the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress, than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and, on that point, the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.

"But in the case relied upon, the Supreme Court have not decided that all the features of this corporation are compatible with the constitution. It is true that the Court have said that the law incorporating the bank is a constitutional exercise of power by Congress. But taking into view the whole opinion of the Court, and the reasoning by which they have come to that conclusion, I understand them to have decided that, inasmuch as a bank is an appropriate means for carrying into effect the enumerated powers of the General Government, therefore the law incorporat-

ing it is in accordance with that provision of the constitution which declares that Congress shall have power 'to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying those powers into execution.' Having satisfied themselves that the word 'necessary' in the constitution, means 'needful,' 'requisite,' 'essential,' 'conducive to' and that 'a bank' is a convenient, a useful, and essential instrument, in the prosecution of the Government's 'fiscal operations,' they conclude, that to 'use one must be within the discretion of Congress,' and that 'the act to incorporate the Bank of the United States is a law made in pursuance of the constitution; but, say they, 'where the law is not prohibited, and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government, to undertake here, to inquire into the degree of its necessity, would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial department, and to tread on legislative ground.'

"The principle here affirmed is, that the 'degree of its necessity,' involving all the details of a banking institution, is a question exclusively for legislative consideration. A bank is constitutional; but it is the province of the Legislature to determine whether this or that particular power, privilege or exemption, 'is necessary and proper' to enable the bank to discharge its duties to the Government; and, from their decision there is no appeal to the courts of justice. Under the decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, it is the exclusive province of Congress and the President to decide whether the particular features of this act are necessary and proper in order to enable the bank to perform conveniently and efficiently the public duties assigned to it as a fiscal agent and therefore constitutional; or unnecessary and improper, and therefore unconstitutional. Without commenting on the general principle affirmed by the Supreme Court, let us examine the details of this act in accordance with the rule of legislative action which they have laid down. It will be found that many of the powers and privileges conferred on it cannot be supposed necessary for the purpose for which it is proposed to be created, and are not, therefore, means necessary to attain the end in view, and consequently not justified by the Constitution.

"The original act of incorporation, section 21, enacts 'that no bank shall be established, by any future law of the United States, during the continuance of the corporation hereby created, for which the faith of the United States is hereby pledged; Provided, Congress may renew existing charters for banks within the District of Columbia, not increasing the capital thereof; and may also establish any other bank or banks in said district, with capitals not exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars, if they shall deem it expedient.' This provision is continued in force, by the act before me, fifteen years from the 3rd of March, 1836.

"If Congress possessed the power to establish one bank, they had power to establish more than one if, in their opinion, two or more banks had been 'necessary' to facilitate the execution of

the powers delegated to them in the constitution. If they possessed the power to establish a second bank, it was a power derived from the constitution, to be exercised from time to time, and at any time when the interests of the country or the emergencies of the Government might make it expedient. It was possessed by one Congress as well as another, and by all Congresses alike, and alike at every session. But the Congress of 1816 have taken it away from their successors for twenty years, and the Congress of 1832 proposes to abolish it for fifteen years more. It cannot be 'necessary' or 'proper' for Congress to barter away, or divest themselves of any of the powers vested in them by the constitution to be exercised for the public good. It is not 'necessary' to the efficiency of the bank, nor is it 'proper' in relation to themselves and their successors. They may properly use the discretion vested in them; but they may not limit the discretion of their successors. This restriction on themselves, and grant of a monopoly to the bank, is, therefore, unconstitutional.

"In another point of view, this provision is a palpable attempt to amend the constitution by the act of legislation. The constitution declares that 'the Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases what-so-ever,' over the district of Columbia. Its constitutional power, therefore, to establish banks in the District of Columbia, and increase their capital at will, is unlimited and uncontrollable by any other power than that which gave authority to the constitution. Yet this act declares that Congress shall not increase the capital of existing banks, nor create other banks with capital exceeding, in the whole, six millions of dollars. The constitution declares that Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation over this District 'in all cases whatsoever;' and this act declares they shall not.

"Which is the supreme law of the land? This provision cannot be 'necessary,' or 'proper, or constitutional, unless the absurdity be admitted, that whenever it be 'necessary and proper,' in the opinion of Congress, they have a right to barter away one portion of the powers vested in them by the constitution, as a means of executing the rest.

"On two subjects only does the constitution recognize in Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges or monopolies. It declares that 'Congress' shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.'

"Out of this express delegation of power, have grown our laws of patents and copy-rights. As the constitution expressly delegates to Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges, in these cases, as the means of executing the substantive power 'to promote the progress of science and useful arts,' it is consistent with the fair rules of construction, to conclude that such a power was not intended to be granted as a means of accomplishing any other

end. On every other subject which comes within the scope of Congressional power, there is an ever living discretion in the use of proper means, which cannot be restricted or abolished without an amendment of the constitution. Every act of Congress, therefore, which attempts, by grants of monopolies, or sales of exclusive privileges for a limited time, or a time without limit, to restrict or extinguish its own discretion in the choice of means to execute its delegated powers is equivalent to a legislative amendment of the Constitution, and palpably unconstitutional.

"This act authorizes and encourages transfers of its stock to foreigners and grants them an exemption from all State and national taxation. So far from being 'necessary and proper' that the bank should possess this power to make it a safe and efficient agent of the Government in its fiscal operations, it is calculated to convert the bank of the United States into a foreign bank to impoverish our people in time of peace, to disseminate a foreign influence through every section of the Republic, and in war to endanger our independence.

"The several States reserved the power at the formation of the constitution to regulate and control titles and transfers of real property, and most, if not all, of them have laws disqualifying aliens from acquiring or holding lands within their limits. But this act, in disregard of the undoubted right of the States to prescribe such disqualifications, gives to aliens stockholders in this bank an interest and title, as members of the corporation, to all the real property it may acquire within any of the States of this Union. This privilege granted to aliens is not 'necessary' to enable the bank to perform its public duties, nor in any sense 'proper,' because it is vitally subversive of the rights of the States.

"The Government of the United States have no constitutional powers to purchase lands within the States except 'for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings,' and even for these objects only 'by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be.' By making themselves stockholders in the bank and granting to the corporation the power to purchase lands for other purposes they assume a power not granted in the Constitution and grant to others what they do not themselves possess. It is not necessary to the receiving, safe-keeping, or transmission of the funds of the Government that the bank should possess this power, and it is not proper that Congress should thus enlarge the powers delegated to them in the Constitution.

"The old bank of the United States possessed a capital of only \$11,000,000, which was found fully sufficient to enable it with dispatch and safety to perform all the functions required of it by the Government. The capital of the present bank is \$35,000,000—at least twenty-four more than experience has proved to be necessary to enable a bank to perform its public functions. The public debt which existed during the period of the old bank and on the

establishment of the new has been nearly paid off, and our revenue will soon be reduced. This increase of capital is therefore not for public but for private purposes.

"The Government is the only 'proper' judge where its agents should reside and keep their offices, because it best knows where their presence will be 'necessary.' It can not, therefore, be 'necessary' or 'proper' to authorize the bank to locate branches where it pleases to perform the public service, without consulting the Government, and contrary to its will. The principle laid down by the Supreme Court concedes that Congress can not establish a bank for purposes of private speculation and gain, but only as a means of executing the delegated powers of the General Government. By the same principle a branch can not constitutionally be established for other than public purposes. The power which this act gives to establish two branches in any State, without the injunction or request of the Government and for other than public purposes, is not 'necessary' to the due execution of the powers delegated to Congress.

"The bonus which is exacted from the bank is a confession upon the face of the act that the powers granted by it are greater than are 'necessary' to its character of a fiscal agent. The Government does not tax its officers and agents for the privileges of serving it. The bonus of a million and a half required by the original charter and that of three millions proposed by this act are not exacted for the privilege of giving 'the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place within the United States or Territories thereof, and for distributing the same in payment of the public creditors without charging commission or claiming allowance on account of the difference of exchange,' as required by the act of incorporation, but for something more beneficial to the stockholders. The original act declared that (the bonus) is granted 'in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon the said bank,' and the act before me declares it to be 'in consideration of the exclusive benefits and privileges continued by this act to the said corporation for fifteen years, as aforesaid.' It is therefore for 'exclusive privileges and benefits' conferred for their own use and emolument, and not for the advantage of the Government, that a bonus is exacted. These surplus powers for which the bank is required to pay cannot surely be 'necessary' to make it the fiscal agent of the Treasury. If they were, the exaction of a bonus would not be 'proper.'

"It is maintained by some that the bank is a means of executing the constitutional power 'to coin money and regulate the value thereof.' Congress have established a mint to coin money and pass laws to regulate the value thereof. The money so coined, with its value so regulated and such foreign coins as congress may adopt are the only currency known to the constitution. But if they have other power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be ex-

exercised by themselves, and not to be transferred to a corporation. If the bank be established for that purpose with a charter unalterable without its consent, congress have parted with their power for a term of years, during which the constitution is a dead letter. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative power to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional.

“By its silence, considered in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *McCulloch* against the State of Maryland, this act takes from this state the power to tax a portion of the banking business carried on within its limits, in subversion of one of the strongest bearers which secured them against Federal encroachments. Banking, like farming, manufacturing, or any other occupation or profession is a business, the right to follow which is not originally derived from the laws. Every citizen and every company of citizens in all of our states possessed the right until the State Legislatures deemed it good policy to prohibit private banking by law. If the prohibitory state laws were now repealed, every citizen would again possess the right. The State Banks are a qualified restoration of the right which has been taken away by the laws against banking, guarded by such provisions and limitations as in the opinion of the State Legislatures the public interest requires. These corporations, unless there be an exemption in their charter, are, like private bankers and banking companies, subject to state taxation. The manner in which these taxes shall be laid depends wholly on legislative discretion. It may be upon the bank, upon the stock, upon the profits, or in any other mode which the sovereign power shall will.

“Upon the formation of the Constitution the states guarded their taxing power with peculiar jealousy. They surrendered it only as it regards imports and exports. In relation to every other object within their jurisdiction, whether persons, property, business, or professions, it was secured in as ample a manner as it was before possessed. All persons, though United States officers, are liable to a poll tax by the States within which they reside. The lands of the United States are liable to the usual land tax except in the new States, from whom agreements that they will not tax unsold lands are exacted when they are admitted into the Union. Horses, wagons, any beasts or vehicles, tools or property, belonging to private citizens, though employed in the service of the United States, are subject to State taxation. Every private business, whether carried on by an officer of the General Government or not, whether it be mixed with public concerns or not, even if it be carried on by the Government of the United States itself, separately or in partnership, falls within the scope of the taxing power of the State. Nothing comes more fully within it than banks and the business of banking, by whomsoever instituted and carried on. Over this whole subject-matter it is just as absolute, unlimited, and uncontrollable as if the Constitution had never been adopted, because in the formation of that instrument it was reserved without qualification.

“The principle is conceded that the States can not rightfully tax the operations of the General Government. They can not tax the money of the Government deposited in the State banks, nor the agency of those banks in remitting it; but will any man maintain that their mere selection to perform this public service for the General Government would exempt the State banks and their ordinary business from State taxation? Had the United States instead of establishing a bank at Philadelphia, employed a private banker to keep and transmit their funds, would it have deprived Pennsylvania of the right to tax his bank and his usual banking operations? It will not be pretended. Upon what principle then, are the banking establishments of the bank of the United States and their usual banking operations to be exempted from taxation? It is not their public agency or the deposits of the Government which the States claim a right to tax, but their banks and their banking powers, instituted and exercised within State jurisdiction, for their private emolument—those powers and privileges for which they pay a bonus, and which the States tax in their own banks. The exercise of these powers within the State, no matter by whom or under what authority, whether by private citizens in their original right, by co-operate bodies created by the States, by foreigners or the agents of foreign governments located within their limits, forms a legitimate object of state taxation. From this and like sources, from the persons, property, and business that are found residing, located or carried on under their jurisdiction, must the States, since the surrender of their right to raise a revenue from imports and exports, draw all the money necessary for the support of their Government and the maintenance of their independence. There is no more appropriate subject of taxation than banks, banking, and bank stocks, and none to which the States ought more pertinaciously to cling.

“It cannot be necessary to the charter of the bank as a fiscal agent of the Government that its private business should be exempted from that taxation to which all the State banks are liable, nor can I conceive it ‘proper’ that the substantive and most essential powers reserved by the State shall be thus attacked and annihilated as a means of executing the powers delegated to the general Government. It may be safely assumed that none of those sages who had an agency in forming or adopting our Constitution ever imagined that any portion of the taxing power of the States not prohibited to them nor delegated to Congress was to be swept away and annihilated as a means of executing certain powers delegated to Congress.

“If our power over means is so absolute that the Supreme Court will not call in question the constitutionality of an act of Congress the subject of which ‘is not prohibited, and is really calculated to effect any of the objects intrusted to the Government.’ Although, as in the case before me, it takes away powers expressly granted to Congress and rights scrupulously reserved to the States, it becomes

us to proceed in our legislation with the utmost caution. Though not directly, our own powers and the rights of the States may be indirectly legislated away in the use of means to execute substantive powers. We may not enact that Congress shall not have the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, but we may pledge the faith of the United States, that as a means of executing other powers it shall not be exercised for twenty years or forever. We may not pass an act prohibiting the States to tax the banking business carried on within their limits, but we may, as a means of executing our powers over other objects, place that business in the hands of our agents and then declare it exempt from State taxation in their hands. Thus may our own powers and the rights of the States, which we can not directly curtail or invade, be frittered away and extinguished in the use of means employed by us to execute other powers. That a bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers or the reserved rights of the States I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed. In the absence of such a call it was obviously proper that he should confine himself to pointing out those prominent features in the act presented which in his opinion make it incompatible with the Constitution and sound policy. A general discussion will now take place, eliciting new light and settling important principles; and new Congress, elected in the midst of such discussion, and furnishing an equal representation of the people according to the last census, will bear to the Capitol the verdict of public opinion, and, I doubt not, bring this important question to a satisfactory result.

“Under such circumstances the bank comes forward and asks a renewal of its charter for a term of fifteen years upon conditions which not only operate as a gratuity to the stockholders of many millions of dollars, but will sanction any abuses and legalize any encroachments.

“Suspicious are entertained and charges are made of gross abuse and violation of its charter. An investigation unwillingly conceded and so restricted in time as necessarily to make it incomplete and unsatisfactory discloses enough to excite suspicion and alarm. In the practices of the principal bank partially unveiled, in the absence of important witnesses, and in numerous charges confidently made and as yet wholly uninvestigated there was enough to induce a majority of the committee of investigation—a committee which was selected from the most able and honorable members of the House of Representatives—to recommend a suspension of further action upon the will and a prosecution of the inquiry. As the charter had yet four years to run, and as a renewal now was not necessary to the successful prosecution of its business, it was to have been expected that the bank itself, conscious of its

purity and proud of its character, would have withdrawn its application for the present, and demanded the severest scrutiny into all its transactions. In their declining to do so there seems to be an additional reason why the functionaries of the Government should proceed with less haste and more caution in the renewal of their monopoly.

"The bank is professedly established as an agent of the executive branch of the Government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action nor upon the provisions of this act was the executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say that it neither needs nor wants an agent clothed with such powers and favored by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which makes it necessary or proper. Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act, it can not be found either in the wishes or necessities of the executive department, by which present action is deemed premature, and the powers conferred upon its agent not only unnecessary, but dangerous to the Government and country.

"It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evil is only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rain, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary department from these just principles.

"Nor is our Government to be maintained or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our General Government strong we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and States as much as possible to themselves—in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection, not in binding the States more closely to the center, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit.

"Experience should teach us wisdom. Most of the difficulties our Government now encounters and most of the dangers which impend over our Union have sprung from an abandonment of the

legitimate objects of Government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied in this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union. It is time to pause in our career to review our principles, and if possible revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the Revolution and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our Government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our Government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

"I have now done by duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not I shall find in the motives which impel me ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us, in the dangers which threaten our institutions, there is cause for neither dismay or alarm. For relief and deliverance let us firmly rely on that kind Providence which I am sure watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our Republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through His abundant goodness and their patriotic devotion our liberty and Union will be preserved."

Thomas H. Benton in his "Thirty Years View," Volume 1, page 265, makes this quotation from Hugh Lawson White, Senator from Tennessee:

"On the other hand, Mr. White, of Tennessee, exalted the merit of the veto message above all the acts of General Jackson's life, and claimed for it a more enduring fame, and deeper gratitude than for the greatest of his victories; and concluded his speech thus:

'When the excitement of the time in which we act shall have passed away, and the historian and biographer shall be employed in giving his account of the acts of our most distinguished public men, and comes to the name of Andrew Jackson; when he shall have recounted all the great and good deeds done by this man in the course of a long and eventful life, and the circumstances under which this message was communicated shall have been stated, the conclusion will be, that, in doing this, he has shown a willingness to risk more to promote the happiness of his fellow-men, and to secure their liberties, than by the doing of any other act whatever.'

JACKSON'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

(March 4, 1833)

"FELLOW CITIZENS; The will of the American people, ex-

pressed through their unsolicited suffrages, calls me before you to pass through the solemnities preparatory to taking upon myself the duties of President of the United States for another term. For their approbation of my public conduct through a period which has not been without its difficulties and for this renewed expression of their confidence in my good intentions, I am at a loss for terms adequate to the expression of my gratitude. It shall be displayed to the extent of my humble abilities in continued efforts so to administer the Government as to preserve their liberty and promote their happiness.

"So many events have occurred within the last four years which have necessarily called forth sometimes under circumstances the most delicate and painful my views of the principles and policy which ought to be pursued by the General Government that I need on this occasion but allude to a few leading considerations connected with some of them.

"The foreign policy adopted by our Government soon after the formation of our present Constitution, and very generally pursued by successive administrations, has been crowned with almost complete success, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth. To do justice to all and to submit to wrong from none has been during my administration its governing maxim, and so happy have been its results that we are not only at peace with all the world, but have few causes of controversy, and those of minor importance, remaining unadjusted.

"In the domestic policy of this Government there are two objects which especially deserve the attention of the people and their representatives, and which have been and will continue to be the subjects of my increasing solicitude. They are the preservation of the rights of the several States and the integrity of the Union.

"These great objects are necessarily connected, and can only be attained by an enlightened exercise of the powers of each within its appropriate sphere in conformity with the public will constitutionally expressed. To this end it becomes the duty of all to yield a ready and patriotic submission to the laws constitutionally enacted, and thereby promote and strengthen a proper confidence in those institutions of the several States and of the United States which the people themselves have ordained for their own government.

"My experience in public concern and the observation of a life somewhat advanced confirm the opinions long since imbibed by me, that the destruction of our State governments or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people would lead directly to revolution and anarchy, and finally to despotism and military domination. In proportion, therefore, as the General Government encroaches upon the rights of the States, in the same proportion does it impair its own power and detract from its ability to fulfill the purposes of its creation. Solemnly impressed with these considerations, my countrymen will ever find me ready



ANDREW JACKSON.

Painting now hanging in the Council Chamber of the City Hall, Charleston, South Carolina. Painted by John Vanderlyn, 1775-1852, in 1815 it is thought.

to exercise my constitutional powers in arresting measures which may directly or indirectly encroach upon the rights of the State to tend to consolidate all political power in the General Government. But of equal, and, indeed, of incalculable importance in the union of these States, and the sacred duty of all to contribute to its preservation by a liberal support of the General Government in the exercise of its just powers. You have been wisely admonished to 'accustom yourselves to think and speak of the Union as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.' Without union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved; without union they never can be maintained. Divided into twenty-four, or even a small number, of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened with numberless restraints and exactions; communication between distant points and sections obstructed or cut off; our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace; the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies, and military leaders at the head of their victorious legions becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the Union. In supporting it, therefore, we support all that is dear to the freeman and the philanthropist.

"The time at which I stand before you is full of interest. The eyes of all nations are fixed on our Republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability of our federal system of government. Great is the stake placed in our hands; great is the responsibility which must rest upon the people of the United States. Let us realize the importance of the attitude in which we stand before the world. Let us exercise forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate.

"Deeply impressed with the truth of these observations, and under the obligation of that solemn oath which I am about to take, I shall continue to exert all my faculties to maintain the just powers of the Constitution and to transmit unimpaired to posterity the blessings of our Federal Union. At the same time, it will be my aim to inculcate by my official acts the necessity of exercising by the General Government those powers only that are clearly delegated; to encourage simplicity and the economy in the expenditures of the Government; to raise no more money from the people than may be requisite for these objects, and in a manner that will best promote the interests of all classes of the community and of all portions of the Union. Constantly bearing in mind that in entering into society 'individuals must give up a share of liberty

to preserve the rest,' it will be my desire so to discharge my duties as to foster with our brethren in all parts of the country a spirit of liberal concession and compromise, and, by reconciling our fellow-citizens to those partial sacrifices which they must unavoidably make for the preservation of a greater good, to recommend our invaluable Government and Union to the confidence and affections of the American people.

"Finally, it is my most fervent prayer to that Almighty Being before whom I now stand, and who has kept us in His hands from the infancy of our Republic to the present day, that He will so overrule all my intentions and actions and inspire the hearts of my fellow-citizens that we may be preserved from dangers of all kinds and continue forever a united and happy people.

JACKSON'S MESSAGE ON TEXAS AND MEXICO.

(December 21, 1836).

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:— During the last session information was given to Congress by the Executive that measures had been taken to ascertain 'the political, military, and civil condition of Texas.' I now submit for your consideration extracts from the report of the agent who had been appointed to collect it relative to the condition of that country.

"No steps have been taken by the Executive toward the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas, and the whole subject would have been left without further remark on the information now given to Congress were it not that the two Houses at their last session, acting separately, passed resolutions 'that the independence of Texas ought to be acknowledged by the United States whenever satisfactory information should be received that it had in successful operation a civil government capable of performing the duties and fulfilling the obligations of an independent power., This mark of interest in the question of the independence of Texas and indication of the views of Congress make it proper that I should somewhat in detail present the considerations that have governed the Executive in continuing to occupy the ground previously taken in the contest between Mexico and Texas.

"The acknowledgment of a new state as independent and entitled to a place in the family of nations is at all times an act of great delicacy and responsibility, but more especially so when such state has forcibly separated itself from another of which it has formed an integral part and which still claims dominion over it. A premature recognition under these circumstances, if not looked upon as justifiable cause of war, is always liable to be regarded as a proof of an unfriendly spirit to one of the contending parties. All questions relative to the government of foreign nations, whether of the Old or the New World, have been treated by the United States as questions of fact only, and our predecessors have cautiously abstained from deciding upon them until the clearest evidence

was in their possession to enable them not only to decide correctly, but to shield their decisions from every unworthy imputation. In all the contests that have arisen out of the revolutions of France, out of the disputes relating to the crowns of Portugal and Spain, out of the revolutionary movements of those Kingdoms, out of the separation of the American possessions of both from the European Governments, and out of the numerous and constantly occurring struggles for dominion in Spanish America, so wisely consistent with our just principles has been the action of our Government that we have under the most critical circumstances avoided all censure and encountered no other evil than that produced by a transient estrangement of good will in those against whom we have been by force of evidence compelled to decide.

"It has thus been made known to the world that the uniform policy and practice of the United States is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party, without reference to our particular interests and views or to the merits of the original controversy. Public opinion here is so firmly established and well understood in favor of this policy that no serious disagreement has ever arisen among ourselves in relation to it, although brought under review in a variety of forms and at periods when the minds of the people were greatly excited by the agitation of topics purely domestic in their character. Nor has any deliberate inquiry ever been instituted in Congress or in any of our legislative bodies as to whom belonged the power of originally recognizing a new State—a power the exercise of which is equivalent under some circumstances to a declaration of war; a power nowhere expressly delegated, and only granted in the Constitution as it is necessarily involved in some of the great power given to Congress, in that given to the President and Senate to form treaties with foreign powers and to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers, and in that conferred upon the President to receive ministers from foreign nations.

"In the preamble to the resolution of the House of Representatives it is distinctly intimated that the expediency of recognizing the independence of Texas should be left to the decision of Congress. In this view, on the ground of expediency, I am disposed to concur, and do not, therefore, consider it necessary to express any opinion as to the strict constitutional right of the Executive, either apart from or in conjunction with the Senate, over the subject. It is to be presumed that on no future occasion will a dispute arise, as none has heretofore occurred, between the Executive and Legislature in the exercise of the power of recognition. It will always be considered consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and most safe, that it should be exercised, when probably leading to war, with a previous understanding with that body by whom war can alone be declared, and by whom all provisions for sustaining its perils must be furnished. Its submission to Congress, which rep-

resents in one of its branches the states of this Union and the other the people of the United States, where there may be reasonable ground to apprehend so grave a consequence, would certainly afford the fullest satisfaction to our own country and a perfect guaranty to all other nations of the justice and prudence of the measures which might be adopted.

"In making these suggestions it is not my purpose to relieve myself from the responsibility of expressing my own opinions of the course the interests of our country prescribe and its honor permits us to follow.

"It is scarcely to be imagined that a question of this character could be presented in relation to which it would be more difficult for the United States to avoid exciting the suspicion and jealousy of other powers, and maintain their established character for fair and impartial dealing. But on this, as on every trying occasion, safety is to be found in a rigid adherence to principle.

"In the contest between Spain and her revolted colonies we stood aloof and waited, not only until the ability of the new States to protect themselves was fully established, but until the danger of their being again subjugated had entirely passed away. Then, and not till then, were they recognized. Such was our course in regard to Mexico herself. The same policy was observed in all the disputes growing out of the separation into distinct governments of those Spanish-American States who began or carried on the contest with the parent country united under one form of government. We acknowledged the separate independence of New Granada, of Venezuela, and of Ecuador only after their independent existence was no longer a subject of dispute or was actually acquiesced in by those with whom they had been previously united. It is true that, with regard to Texas, the civil authority of Mexico has been expelled, its invading army defeated, the chief of the Republic himself captured, and all present power to control the newly organized government of Texas annihilated within its confines. But, on the other hand, there is, in appearance at least, an immense disparity of physical force on the side of Mexico. The Mexican Republic under another executive is rallying its forces under a new leader and menacing a fresh invasion to recover its lost dominion.

"Upon the issue of this threatened invasion the independence of Texas may be considered as suspended, and were there nothing peculiar in the relative situation of the United States and Texas our acknowledgment of its independence at such a crisis could scarcely be regarded as consistent with that prudent reserve with which we have heretofore held ourselves bound to treat all similar questions. But there are circumstances in the relations of the two countries which would require us to act on this occasion with even more than our wonted caution. Texas was once claimed as a part of our property, and there are those among our citizens who, always reluctant to abandon that claim, can not but regard with solicitude

the prospect of the reunion of the territory to this country. A large proportion of its civilized inhabitants are emigrants from the United States, speak the same language with ourselves, cherish the same principles, political and religious, and are bound to many of our citizens by ties of friendship, and kindred blood; and, more than all, it is best known that the people of that country have instituted the same form of government with our own, and have since the close of your last session openly resolved, on the acknowledgment by us of their independence, to seek admission into the Union as one of the Federal States. This last circumstance is a matter of peculiar delicacy, and forces upon us considerations of the gravest character. The title of Texas to the territory she claims is identified with her independence. She asks us to acknowledge that title to the territory, with an avowed design to treat immediately of its transfer to the United States. It becomes us to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves. Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that we should still stand aloof and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself or one of the Great foreign powers shall recognize the independence of the new Government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved beyond cavil or dispute the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty and to uphold the Government constituted by them. Neither of the contending parties can justly complain of this course. By pursuing it we are but carrying out the long-established policy of our Government—a policy which has secured to us respect and influence abroad and inspired confidence at home.

“Having thus discharged my duty, by presenting with simplicity and directness the views which after much reflection I have been led to take of this important subject, I have only to add the expression of my confidence that if Congress shall differ with me upon it their judgment will be the result of dispassionate, prudent, and wise deliberation, with the assurance that during the short time I shall continue connected with the Government I shall promptly and cordially unite with you in such measures as may be deemed best fitted to increase the prosperity and perpetuate the peace of our favored country.”

CHAPTER 13.

Life and history of Peggy O'Neal; her own story in interview in the National Republican of Washington in 1874; resignation of Maj. J. H. Eaton from the Cabinet; Jackson's reply to Maj. Eaton; correspondence between Maj. Eaton and Secretary of the Treasury, S. D. Ingham; Ingham to Jackson; Jackson to Col. Campbell of the U. S. Treasury and others; their reply.

The story of Peggy O'Neal, who married Maj. John H. Eaton, for eleven years United States Senator from Tennessee and also Secretary of War in the first Cabinet of Andrew Jackson, is one in which the pathos, mistakes and suffering make an appeal to all right-minded men and women; and in which the same class can see an exhibition of some of the most offensive possibilities of American politics either in high places or low. Early American politics had no hesitancy about getting down into the mud and throwing the mud upon both men and women. Such methods seem to have been looked upon as a matter-of-course procedure and as deserving censure from nobody. Bringing Mrs. Andrew Jackson into a public discussion that was rotten created an easy precedent for assaulting in the newspapers of the day, the character of the wife of Jackson's Secretary of War, who generally, and probably truly, was regarded as having as much influence over Old Hickory as any other one man among his friends.

The sad part of her life after she married Major Eaton was due to no fault of hers and to no true and authenticated charge against her character. History brings down to us not a scrap of testimony establishing the charge that she was or ever had been an impure woman. She was the victim of that irresponsible social gossip in Washington that riots in detraction and spares nobody.

A study of all available sources of evidence as to the allegations of misconduct that have reached us, fails utterly to disclose any charge against Peggy except vague Washington gossip that exhibits neither substance, dimensions, probability or circumstances of time and place. Nothing alleged against her character will stand the test of criticism or reason or that does not dissolve into the thin air of social gossip when tests are applied to it.



PEGGY O'NEAL EATON, 1796-1879.

Wife of John H. Eaton, Secretary of War. Engraving is copied from an oil painting by Henry Inman, 1801-1846, made in Mrs. Eaton's lifetime, and now owned by Mr. Arthur Meeker of Lake-Shore Drive, Chicago by whose permission a copy is reproduced in this volume. See Chapters 13 and 22.

Where Peggy O'Neal is subject to criticism was when at the age of sixty she married a young Italian who was the dancing master of her two daughters, and who wheedled her out of the greater part of her property, and fled to Europe with it. This marriage of hers was an act of supreme folly for which it is impossible to find any excuse or mitigation.

But let us take up in some detail the story of this woman who in Jackson's Administration loomed large in newspapers, politics, the kindest regards of Old Hickory and in the devoted affection of Major Eaton.

Wm. O'Neal, her father, also spelled O'Neil was a Pennsylvanian by birth, fine looking, friendly, given to hilarity, very popular, and a tavern keeper in Washington, D. C., in a house that was subsequently called "The Franklin." After his death in 1837 his hotel was bought by John Gadsby, greatly improved, and run by him for several years as a hotel. Gadsby then moved into what was called the "National Hotel" and changed the Franklin into five residences.

Wm O'Neal had a wife who died in 1860, three daughters, Margaret Peggy, Mary, Georgiana, and two sons, Robert and Wiliam. Peggy married John Bowie Timberlake, a purser in the Navy, June 16, 1816, who committed suicide leaving two daughters. She was 17 years of age when married. Timberlake was a Virginian. Mary O'Neal married Lieut. Grimes Randolph of Va., an Assistant Surgeon, United States Navy, and Georgiana married Rev. Frank S. Evans, on July 23, 1829, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Wm. O'Neal was probably of Irish descent, but he had no brogue and all accounts agree that he was a man of respectability and many friends, and that General Jackson, Major John H. Eaton, John Randolph and many of the political leaders of the day, lived at his hotel when Congress was in session. Here Peggy got acquainted with the politicians of the country. She was a pretty if not a beautiful woman, a close observer, gay, quick, lively, prompt in retort, fearless, sarcastic and combative from her girl-hood up. She was just such a woman that would be popular with men and unpopular with women, and it was women more than men who contributed most to the misfortunes of her life.

No American woman ever had the influence in politics and public affairs that she had, and none ever had more loyal and de-

terminated friends or more relentless enemies, and these enemies were mostly women. Opinions that have come down to us differ as to the kind and degree of her beauty but are unanimous as to the fascination and magnetism that she possessed. She had a wholesome joy of life and keen and exuberant love of pleasure. No wonder, she was popular among men. Living was a joy to her and that of itself radiates attractiveness to others.

Her personality was marked and distinguished wherever she went, and drew from the first American lyric poet, Edward Coate Pinkney, who saw her in Baltimore after she married Timberlake, this beautiful toast, entitled "*Health*," and dedicated it to the most beautiful woman in America:

"I fill this cup to one made up
Of loveliness alone,
A woman of her gentle sex
The seeming paragon.
To whom the better elements
And kindly stars have given
A form so fair, that like the air,
'Tis less of earth than Heaven.

"Of her bright face one glance will trace
A picture on the brain,
And of her voice, in echoing hearts
A sound must long remain;
And memory such as mine of her
So very much endears,
When death is nigh my latest sigh
Will not be life's but hers.

"Affections are as thoughts to her,
The measure of her hours;
Her feelings have the fragrancy
"The freshness of young flowers.
And lovely passions changing oft
So fill her, she appears
The image of themselves by turns,
The idol of past years.

"I filled this cup to one made up
Of loveliness alone,
A woman of her gentle sex
The seeming paragon.
Her health! And would on earth there were
Some more of such a frame,
That life might be all poetry
And weariness a name!"

On January 1, 1829, Major Eaton married Peggy O'Neal whom he had known at her father's hotel as a girl, as Mrs. Timberlake and as a widow, and with this marriage began the troubles of himself and wife which got into politics and forms one of the most contemptible episodes in American history.

That the reader may appreciate the real inwardness of the Peggy Eaton episode it should be stated that John C. Calhoun was elected vice-president with Jackson as President in 1828, and was very anxious to succeed Jackson in the White House. It was uncertain whether Jackson would want a second term. In fact at heart he did not want a second term, but his friends talked him into running again.

Calhoun's friends opposed Jackson for a second race as they wanted Calhoun to run. The Senate refused to confirm Van Buren as Secretary of State in Jackson's first Cabinet and the Democrats nominated him for Vice-President with Jackson as President in the election of 1832.

Then began a determined political battle as to who should succeed Jackson at the end of his second term, on March 4, 1837, Van Buren or Calhoun.

It became known before the names of Jackson's first Cabinet were sent to the Senate, that Major John H. Eaton would be Secretary of War. The opponents to his being Secretary of War turned out afterwards to be all advocates of John C. Calhoun for President and against Van Buren, who was Jackson's choice as his successor. They began to try to keep Jackson from making Van Buren his successor, and in this fight began to make vague charges against the chastity and character of Mrs. Eaton. If Major Eaton had been for Calhoun for President the world would never have heard of what Van Buren calls in his autobiography "The Eaton Malaria." Calhoun's friends reasoned that Jackson would have controlling influence in the selection of his successor; that Major Eaton had great influence with Jackson, and was a friend and supporter of Van Buren for President, and if allowed to get in and remain in the Cabinet, would prove the undoing of Calhoun's ambition to run for President at the next election.

Happily for Major Eaton and his wife, Peggy O'Neal Eaton, they have both left behind them full statements of their social and political troubles which are reproduced in full in this volume, and which to a thoughtful reader does not afford a pleasant picture of the life and customs of that day. The author can recall no in-

stance in American history where a reputable public man has been compelled to endure the humiliation of placing before the public his domestic and private affairs in order to defend his wife, who held no public position, and who in decent politics was not amenable to assault from any political source for any reason of a public nature whatever. There are numbers of black episodes in our politics, but on none of them can an American citizen gaze with more humiliation than upon the treatment accorded Major Eaton and his wife.

The bone of contention was that Mrs. Eaton was not a virtuous woman, yet John C. Calhoun took his wife to call on her, and the call was returned by the Eatons. If Mrs. Eaton was not a virtuous woman what justification can there be for Calhoun and his wife calling on her at all? Calhoun shrinks in our estimate of him in this matter.

But our contempt for J. M. Berrien is probably greatest of all. He was a guest at the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Eaton and afterwards repudiated both of them. Here is his explanation in a public letter to Major Eaton in trying to justify himself.

“Although therefore I have the most unaffected reluctance to enter upon such a subject, and certainly did not acquiesce in your right to demand it, it seems to me that you have by making the inquiry, imposed upon me the obligation to do so, from a just consideration of what I owe to myself and to the public. I have then to state to you, that up to the time of your marriage I had not heard the rumors which have since in various forms, been presented to the public, and was ignorant of Mrs. Eaton’s relation to the society of this place. I accepted your invitation to be present at your wedding therefore, with no distrust of the propriety of my doing so other than that which resulted from my own situation at that period. You are yourself no doubt aware how much that event and your subsequent introduction into the Cabinet, made these rumors the subject of conversation. I could not longer continue in ignorance of that which was publicly and generally spoken of, and it consequently became necessary for me, embarrassed as the question was by the official relation in which we stood to each other, to determine my future conduct. In doing this it did not seem to me to be necessary to decide upon the truth or falsehood of the statements which were made. It was sufficient to ascertain the general sense of the community of which I had recently become a member; and having done so, to conform to it.”

This explanation is worse than the original offense. It brands Berrien as a social trimmer and political coward, and, withal, as having so little judgement as to believe that his defense would

justify him in the eyes of any intelligent person. He says, in effect, he did not consider it his duty to pass on the charges made against Mrs. Eaton and did not do so; but that he found the run of public opinion to be against her and he concluded he would fall in with what the people among whom he had come to live while in the Cabinet, appeared to think of Mrs. Eaton, and therefore, did not exchange social courtesies with her and Major Eaton. This is not only pussillanimous, it is silly. He not only did pass judgment on Mrs. Eaton and found her guilty on the testimony of the social gossip of Washington, but he proclaimed her guilty to all the United States by refusing to have social contact with her, and letting that fact be known in the controversy over Mrs. Eaton that was going on in Washington. The fact of his refusing to recognize her socially was in itself a judgment of guilty and could not be construed any other way. He was cited as among those who credited the charges against her. He never publicly or privately said a word in her defense, yet, this spineless politician would have posterity believe that he did not pre-judge her to her detriment.

PEGGY O'NEAL.

In 1874 during a visit of Mrs. John H. Eaton—Peggy O'Neal—to Washington, D. C., from her home in New York City, the National Republican newspaper of Washington sent one of its representatives to call on Mrs. Eaton, and, if possible, have a lengthy interview with her about incidents of her life, and, if possible, get her consent to make the interview public. The representative was successful in his mission and reported a very carefully prepared statement of what was said at the interview, which was published in full in the National Republican. It is historically the most valuable statement in reference to Peggy O'Neal and her life that was ever published, and throws much light upon many incidents in her life over which controversy once angrily raged.

The author thinks that the truth concerning this part of Jackson's first administration as well as justice to Major Eaton and his wife, demand that the latter's version of their unhappy experiences, narrated from their stand-point, should be preserved in some permanent form. Amidst all the dreary and nauseating slush that has reached us in vague, indefinite and slanderous terms, Mrs. Eaton's statement is the only one that faces and overthrows every insinuation, and quiets the submarine charges and gum-shoe whispers that did her and her husband so much harm.

Among those who have written against Eaton and his wife, not one has ever quoted a witness or furnished credible proof of wrong doing at any definite time or place or given circumstances of guilt, against them.

We quote from the National Republican's article which embraces Mrs. Eaton's interview:

"That decade included within the dates of 1828 and 1838 is one of the most remarkable in our nation's history. It glistens with noted achievements of statesmen and diplomats. The best powers of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Government were in constant exercise and attrition, and with results which made political fortunes for some, political graves for others; destroyed factions, built up parties, and shaped the course of empire. There were giants in those days, men of tremendous passions, hungering and thirsting for glory; men whose stakes were for high places, and whose ambition pervaded the atmosphere like the burning rays of the midday sun.

"The records of this decade are imperishable as the pyramids. They form many of the high mountains, the deep canons and the mighty rivers on the surface of our political history. The able, impartial and dignified administration of John Quincy Adams, which from the first was full of patriotism, and eminent throughout for beneficent measures, had fulfilled its mission, and its closing day was attended by many setting stars, hitherto brilliant in American annals; but the shining names of Clay, Webster, Van Buren, Calhoun, Benton, Hayne, Woodbury, Cambreling and Everett were rising to the zenith of their fame and among them, like a central orb, the name of Andrew Jackson.

"In 1829 one of the most remarkable women America ever produced came prominently into view before the public. At the age of seventy-five she is still a hale, vigorous, well-preserved lady, and in her form and face there are now many of the lines and lineaments of that queenly beauty which once led captive many men.

"MRS. GENERAL JOHN H. EATON

is now in Washington on a brief visit from her home in New York. Yesterday it was the privilege of a representative of the National Republican to have an hour or two's conversation with her and to obtain her consent to make the conversation public. All the following statements of facts concerning her are by her authority, and they cover incidents in her wonderful history from earliest infancy to the present time, and constitute a chapter thrilling as the romantic imagination of the great masters of fiction. While it confirms some of the items familiar to the general reader touching her life, it explodes many a false idea and gives a clear and true insight into the foundation and history of the scandalous charges which made her name famous, which led to dissolutions



ANDREW JACKSON.

Painting hanging in the City Hall, New York. Executed in 1820 by John Vanderlyn, 1775-1852.

of Cabinets, which killed the higher aspirations of Calhoun for political preferment, which made Van Buren President of the United States, and which illustrated the devotion of Old Hickory to an injured woman.

“GENERAL JOHN H. EATON.

“Inasmuch as this paper or memoir is dealing with facts, and taking a step backward to the world that lies behind, it can hardly be an error to make younger readers, at least, entirely familiar with the prominent persons figuring in the drama. John H. Eaton, the second husband of our heroine, was a native of Tennessee, the chosen, and perhaps most intimate friend of Andrew Jackson. He was in Congress from that State from 1818 to 1829, Secretary of War from 1829 to 1831, Governor of the Territory of Florida from 1834 to 1836 and Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain from 1836 to 1840. He held in Washington some minor offices, and died here November 17, 1856, at the age of sixty-six.

“*Who is this wonderful woman?*

“HER OWN STORY.

“We were kindly received by Mrs. Eaton in her parlors at 338 Pennsylvania Avenue, where a frank statement was made her as to the purpose of the visit. She instantly and cheerfully complied with the request made of her saying that so much has been said about her that was entirely untrue she had become afraid and feared additional misrepresentation. Besides under the direction of her pastor in New York, Rev. Dr. Deems, her life was being written by a competent biographer, and when she should be dead it would be given to the world. However, when impressed with the fact that fair and truthful treatment was intended, Mrs. Eaton consented to the recall of some of the historical and deeply interesting memories of her active life.

“You were born in this city, Mrs. Eaton?”

“Yes sir; in 1799. I was just two weeks old when my mother sat up in bed to cue father’s hair for his attendance at Washington’s funeral. Washington was often a guest at father’s house.”

“Your maiden name was—?”

“Margaret O’Neal. My father, Wm. O’Neal, was a wealthy man, and during girlhood days I never had cause for trouble or sorrow of any kind.”

“And were you married young?”

“Yes, and very happily, too. My husband’s name was John Bowie Timberlake, and he was a purser in the Navy. My first child was born when I was seventeen, and in just thirteen months after my wedding day.”

“Was it a boy?”

“Yes; he died when six months old. The second was a girl. She was named Virginia. She resides in Paris, where she mar-

ried Monsieur Sampayo, a Frenchman of distinction, but now dead. Virginia had a daughter, Blanche Marie, who also married a Frenchman of position and wealth. My third one was Margaret Timberlake. She married John Randolph, a grandson of old Dr. Brockenbrough, of Richmond, a great friend of John Randolph, of Roanoke. Through her, I have four grandchildren, George Chapman, named after the celebrated Dr. Chapman, of Philadelphia, John H. Eaton, Mary and Emily Randolph. My domestic life was happy. It was as happy a marriage as ever was. Mr. Timberlake died abroad, at Port Mahon, in 1828."

"A natural death?"

"I'm so glad you asked me that question. Yes, he died a natural death. A year or more previous to his death, and during great physical suffering, he made a slight and most ineffectual attempt at suicide, and that is all the foundation there is for the story that he did not die a natural death. His disease was the asthma. Just previous to his death he wrote me a sixteen page letter, addressed to

"BONNIE MAGGIE LAUDER.

That was one of his pet names for me. He was greatly respected by his brother officers, and they erected a handsome monument over his grave. He died with my miniature clasped in his hands. That was returned to me by Commodore Lavalette. In his will he left me all his property. His watch and ring he left to General Eaton. They were warm personal friends. It was the General who brought me the news of his death, and for two weeks I never left my room to see any one. General Eaton had known us for a long time."

"And when were you married to him?"

"In December, 1828, he made the offer of marriage in the presence of both father and mother. At that time the marriage did not attract malicious remark. It was only after General Eaton's appointment the following March, as Secretary of War, that I began to feel the effects of the envy of women and to suffer from wholesale slander. I had been and was then flattered as a handsome woman. Was fond of society, gay as a lark, full of fun and nonsense; sometimes, maybe, a little original and lawless in my remarks, but, sir, before heaven and my God, as innocent of actual wrong to any one as an unborn babe."

"Now, Mrs. Eaton, we come to the vital part of this conversation, and that a clear understanding may be had, tell us of your personal relations to General Jackson."

"It is simple enough. General Jackson and my father were friends before I was born. You recollect he first came to the Senate soon after Tennessee was admitted as a State, and was there until 1798. He came again to the Senate in 1823, and was there two years. He was a boarder at my father's house. My mother and Mrs. Jackson were so greatly attracted to each other

and of course I was a favorite with them, and when I became the wife of General Eaton, Jackson's dearest friend, why, of course he took greater interest in me, and for reasons and motives of the highest character he became, in the hour of trial, such a staunch defender as only Jackson could be."

"Well, now, what constituted these reasons and motives?"

"You must recollect that General Jackson's wife was a Mrs. Robards, and that his enemies did not hesitate to villify her character, previous to and after her marriage to him. It is true she was not highly accomplished, nor fitted as an ornament to a drawing room, but she was a pure, virtuous, generous, high-souled woman, and none knew it so well as her brave husband. General Eaton was present at her marriage and we were both at the Hermitage when her funeral took place. It seemed as though the entire state was in mourning, and all her friends, including her servants, manifested the most poignant grief. General Jackson was wholly unnerved and inconsolable, for he loved his wife with all the strength and devotion of his soul. He believed that the stories—rather lies—told about her during the Presidential contest killed her, and from that moment he became the sworn and unyielding foe of all slanderers of women; and when they began to drag the name of Eaton through the mire—a name specially dear to him—he was naturally indignant. But this was by no means all. He saw in the attempt to ruin me an adverse influence against his administration, led and secretly worked by John C. Calhoun.

"What was the nature of the slander against you?"

"To be plain—that I was enciente after Timberlake had been gone a year at sea, and by General Eaton. A more monstrous lie was never told."

"Was there anything to base it on?"

"Nothing, absolutely nothing. My mother and myself were invited to go out riding by General Eaton. It was a night previous to one of his departures for home and before we were married. When near Kalorama, the horses took fright, ran away, upset the carriage and threw us all out. When I got home I found myself badly bruised; was put to bed, and Dr. Craven was sent for. When he came father and mother were present in my chamber. It was alleged that I said, 'Doctor, if you had come sooner you might have seen a little John H. Eaton;' but I never made any such remark."

"Who started that slander?"

"It came about in this way. For the present I omit references to the ladies of the Cabinet. I shall tell you of them by and by. There was one Rev. J. N. Campbell here who was pastor of a Presbyterian church, who intermeddled with the affair, joined the gossip against me, and did all he could to blast my reputation. He supposed that General Jackson would attend his church and that he could have influence over him. He told the Rev. E. S. Ely, of Philadelphia, a budget of lies about me, and induced him

to communicate the same to General Jackson in a letter. That is the same Rev. Ely whose daughter is now connected with the scandal of the robbery of the diamonds by the Grand Duke of Russia, and who once found A BABY IN A BASKET on his doorstep in the morning, with a note asking him, as its father, to take care of it. He is also the man who had the original Quaker vision."

"Quaker vision! what was that?"

"Why, you see, he was always stirring up strife and dissention, and he published a little pamphlet telling the story of a vision of his; how he dreamed that he died and went to hell—all over it, and at every turn he met a member of the society of friends, but in all its realm could not find a single Presbyterian. That was the substance of it. Some time after that a Quaker published his vision. He, too, dreamed that he died and went to hell, and though he wandered up and down, all around and everywhere, and met members of all denominations, he was greatly surprised at not meeting with any Presbyterians. At last he saw a man of tremendous proportions, having on his head a crown and in his hand a sceptre, and seated on a throne blazing with crimson. He ventured to tell this king of hell what the matter was, whereupon the king commanded him to follow where he led. He was taken in a round-about way through long, dark caverns, the air growing hotter at every step and filled with denser volume of sulphurous smell. At last they arrived at a plane, which had a trap-door, which the king opened, and immediately there burst out forked and furious flames and high up in the air flew great clouds of dust and cinders, mingled with horrible shrieks. 'This, said the king, is the home of the Presbyterians. On earth they are so full of fire and brimstone that they would make any respectable place in hell too hot for decent folks.' But we wander from the subject."

"Yes, Parton, in his life of Jackson, refers to that letter."

"Indeed! What does he say?"

"Why, he says that Ely wrote Jackson that you instructed your servants to call your children Eaton, not Timberlake."

"Great heavens! I never heard of that before. So help me God, I never did anything of the kind. It is a base, unmitigated lie. What else did the wretch say?"

"He said that you and General Eaton traveled together, and registered at hotels as man and wife before you were married to him."

"This is too much sir. Put that down as a lie. It is the first time I ever heard of having traveled anywhere previous to marriage with General Eaton more than once, and that was to New York and Mr. Timberlake and my father were with us."

"THE LETTER.

"It is proper to say here, as a matter of history, that this letter of Ely's was written to General Jackson, March 18, 1829, soon after the formation of the Cabinet. Jackson replied to it, stating

that from personal knowledge he knew most of the charges to be entirely false, and in his heart of hearts, he believed them all to be. He did not rest, however, without seeking in every way to disprove them, and according to Mr. Parton, he sent a confidential person to New York to inspect the hotel registers. This, though, needs strong confirmation, but Mr. Parton adds that his zeal in behalf of Mrs. Eaton was fired by the keen recollections of how his own wife suffered by similar aspersions. To resume:

"When you found out what Ely had done, what did you do?"

"I went with my father and mother to Philadelphia, and leaving them at a hotel, I sought a friend of mine by the name of Bradford and went with him to Mr. Ely's house, and calling him to the parlor, demanded of him the source of his information. He said he could not give it. Very well said I, I shall not leave your house till I get it. He turned to Mr. Bradford and said, come, let us walk in the garden. No sir; you do not leave my presence until I have your author. You pretend to be a Christian minister. You have basely wronged an innocent woman, and have got to tell me from whom you obtained your information. After further parleying and angry discussions he told me that he got it from the Rev. Campbell. I then told him it was all a wicked lie, and vowed that he should suffer for it. Returning to Washington, and without taking off my things, I went directly to Mr. Campbell's house, and found him in his parlor with my husband, who didn't know that I had been to Philadelphia on this business. I told him what I had learned in Philadelphia and asked him what object he had in filching from me my good name. Campbell proposed to have a witness to the conversation; said it was important, and I thought so too. Just then Col. Towson, an old gray-headed officer, came in, and we both agreed he should be the witness. In a moment I discovered that he was as deep in the mire as the other was in the mud, and that it would be necessary to have the dates; so we sent to the Navy Department for a record of the time of the sailing of the Shark,. Towson's and Campbell's dates did not agree, and then Towson made an attempt to alter the dates in the book to make their story fit. When I saw Towson doing that I exclaimed, Great God! I am undone. The man whom I supposed was a friend was proving an enemy. Then Major Eaton said: Sir, you must answer for this, and made an attempt to get at Campbell. I seized him by the arm and prevented a collision. I fainted and fell, striking my head against the sofa. It was then that Campbell made use of the remark, 'Would to God I never had anything to do with this,' and that he got the story from Dr. Craven. I found out from friends and neighbors that Campbell had been moving heaven and earth for proofs against me. He had even been to my laundress and to my mantau-maker, Mrs. Williams. Her husband was a sailmaker in the first ward. He was told by Mr. Williams that he had better get out of his house or he would kick him out. Now Dr. Craven was dead, and I could not

speak to him in his grave; so I went to his pastor, Rev. Obadiah Brown. Mr. and Mrs. Brown both averred that Dr. Craven had never said anything of the kind to them; on the contrary, that he had spoken very kindly of me just previous to his death, and referred to a pot of preserves and bottle of old port wine that I sent him when he was sick. But, sir, the poison had gone into the veins of my enemies, and it was hard to cure them of their madness; but little did I dream of the political significance of these things. I was only thinking of the wanton lies as they personally affected me."

"Now Madame, let us return to the Cabinet. What did the ladies do?"

"I was quite as independent as they and had more powerful friends. To tell the truth, Mrs. Donelson, Mrs. Calhoun, Mrs. Branch and Mrs. Ingham were a very indifferent set, and if half the stories about the latter were true she was quite as bad as they tried to make me out. None of them had beauty, accomplishments, or graces in society of any kind, and for these reasons—I say it without egotism—they were very jealous of me. Mrs. Donelson was a poor, silly thing, and was not much cured of her nonsense by a six months' trip to Tennessee. Mrs. Branch was particularly noticeable as a first-class dowdy, and it was a great relief not to be obliged to entertain any of the set a great deal. Mrs. Ingham, was a large, coarse, brawling creature, raised too suddenly into a position she little knew how to fill. She never called on me nor Mrs. Branch either. Mrs. Calhoun, with her husband, called once during my absence in Philadelphia. Mr. Eaton and myself returned the call. We were politely, not warmly received. After a few days Duff Green's paper, the *Telegraph*, said Mrs. Calhoun had not called on me. Martin Van Buren was a widower and a great friend of mine, and gave many handsome entertainments in my honor, and so were the Barrys and all General Jackson's real friends, and at State dinners I always received most deferential notice. The stories about my being cut in society are grossly exaggerated. Sir Charles Vaughn, the British Minister, was a warm friend, and at his ball and receptions I had many honors."

"We have read that at one of Baron Krudener's balls, the wife of the Minister from Holland, Mrs. Huygens deliberately cut you. Parton tells the story."

"I do not recollect the ball at all, and as for Madame Huygens, she never gave me an affront in public or anywhere else, to my knowledge; but the Inghams, Branches, Calhouns, Berriens and their friends could invent you anything. I was with my friends—the President, Van Buren, the Barrys, my husband, and the host with them. Minnie Bankhead, whose husband was Secretary of the British Legation, was a great friend of mine. Her mother, Lady Paul, sent me from London a beautiful set of cameos.

"I recollect another incident. Jackson had appointed Gen. Eaton Minister to France. The rumor was immediately started

that it was for the purpose of enabling me to go out of the country. At one of Sir Charles Vaughn's balls a Mrs. Pleasanton came up to me, and in most obsequious manner congratulated me, and asked to have her son taken abroad with us. I knew that Mrs. Pleasanton had been an active enemy. Soon as I could I said to General Eaton: 'Darling, are you going to France?' He replied: 'You say you will not go.' I told him I would never leave the soil of America until nine months were passed in the presence of my enemies, and open proof given of the lies they had told. General Jackson and my husband both complimented me for the decision, and Jackson said it suggested a thought which had not occurred to him before."

"You were accused of making most of his appointments."

"Yes, they said that. But I never made but two appointments during General Jackson's administration. One was for humanity and the other at solicitation of friends. The first was a son of the widow Coolidge, who kept a boarding house in the First Ward, and was hunted down by everybody for some indiscretion. The appointment was made by Major Barry. The other, Mr. Cooper, was appointed purser in the navy, and became one of my worst traducers."

"Were you agreeably situated in Spain?"

"Very much so. We resided in the beautiful home of the Duke St. Lorenzo. His duchess had just died when we reached Madrid. We received much attention from Queen Christina. Virginia was a great favorite of hers, and she gave her a blooded King Charles spaniel, which was brought home. There, thank God, I was beyond the reach of venom, and Middleton, the private secretary of the Embassy, remarked that my name was always referred to in the cafes and public places in terms of the greatest respect. I gave many balls, some of them very grand ones, and which all the nobility attended. We also went to most of the bull fights. At the first one we were chaperoned by Lady Carmine, who was a sister of the Duke of Lorenzo. She carried with her all sorts of perfumes, a thing afterwards never neglected by us. The Queen was present and gave her royal consent for the bulls to be killed. During this fight not only all the bulls were killed, but four men—matadores—were carried out of the arena dead. Our colored coachman was present, and he literally turned as white as a sheet. General Eaton himself was a good deal affected, and nearly fainted away. I showed symptoms of alarm, too. The Spaniards were perfectly delighted to see us so badly frightened, and went wild with waving of handkerchiefs and clapping of hands. But you ought to see those high born dames handle a fan. They can fairly make one talk outright."

"The Sunday Capital of recent date stated that you were at the Louise Home?"

"Quite as true as the balance of the statements in that article I was never at the Louise Home in my life, though, perhaps, I would not object to a residence there."

"ANTONIO BUCHIGNANI.

"Mrs. Eaton, with evident pain, rehearsed the story of her last marriage, and with an Italian adventurer by the name of Antonio Buchignani, who managed to deprive her of all her property and then to run away with her grand-daughter, Emily Randolph. She was a rich woman. Mr. Timberlake left her all his property. General Eaton left her a large fortune, and her mother left her all her property, but Buchignani stripped her of the last cent by one device and then another, and has left her in her age desolate and dependent for support upon her male grandchildren. Buchignani afterwards married Emily Randolph, but where they are now she does not know. She had heard that Buchignani is dead, and the last seen of Emily she was traveling West with two children. This part of her history has neither public interest nor importance."

JACKSON, VAN BUREN AND CALHOUN

"The reader now has a clear idea of the nature of the scandals affecting Mrs. Eaton, and is also made aware of the fact that the President, in espousing her cause, was necessarily involved in opposition to her enemies. Van Buren was her most active and influential friend in the Cabinet, and at that early day aspired to the Presidency. Calhoun was her most influential enemy, and had the same aspirations attributed to Van Buren. In further conversation with Mrs. Eaton the following facts were elicited, and the nature of them will be, perhaps, better understood by throwing them into the narrative form: Besides the persons named above, Mrs. Eaton had the special friendship of Amos Kendall, Isaac Hill, Dr. Randolph and others. Duff Green, the editor of the United States Telegraph, was the champion of Calhoun, and hence opposed to her. So interested was General Jackson in Van Buren for the succession that as early as the latter part of 1829 he wrote a letter to Judge Overton, carefully commending Van Buren, and speaking the lost confidence in Calhoun, and in 1830, Jackson openly told his friends that Calhoun was moulding influence against Van Buren. Of course the Cabinet was wanting in anything like harmony, and some times for months together General Eaton held nothing but strictly official intercourse with Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. The President, iron-nerved as he was, could not stand this sort of a thing, and he resolved on its harmony or dissolution. After a determined effort on his part matters became a little better, and for something more than a year there was some show of decent feeling, but after all Jackson saw very little of the three, Ingham, Branch and Berrien, and Cabinet meetings almost wholly ceased. But in the meantime Van Buren wonderfully increased his influence. Circumstances transpired which made the breach between Jackson and Calhoun a 'bloody chasm' which nothing could bridge.' It was then that Duff Green's open disaffection was proclaimed in the Telegraph. This led to

the establishment of the Globe, with Francis P. Blair, senior, as its editor. It took the place of the Telegraph as the organ of the administration. The President got rid of Ingham, Branch and Berrien, through the agreed upon resignations of Van Buren and Eaton. This was in December, 1830. The first change in the Cabinet was made, and the new one—Edward Livingston, Louis McLean, Levi Woodbury, Lewis Cass and Roger B. Taney, was confirmed at the following session of Congress. Van Buren was nominated as Minister to England, but rejected by the casting vote of Calhoun, for he believed Van Buren had conspired with and led the President in opposition to himself. That vote settled Calhoun and made Van Buren President. The influence of Mrs. Eaton was here most signally illustrated. The veto of the bank bill, the history of nullification, the removal of the deposits and the French imbroglio, and other great events of Jackson's administration, fill out the decade. In nullification Calhoun was the conspicuous and central object. Had he not been thwarted in his early and original schemes, he might have succeeded. It was fatal to all his plans that he incurred the anger of Jackson, which was first kindled against him by his close association with Mrs. Eaton's enemies."

"MRS. EATON AT SEVENTY-FIVE.

"This paper would hardly be complete without a personal description of this wonderfully gifted woman. In the full bloom of her early womanhood, Margaret O'Neal was a perfect beauty. Her crowning glory was a rich full suit of dark brown hair, shadowing a forehead low, broad and deep, and impressive with keen, intellectual, natural strength, and hiding eyes of intensest blue, beaming, sparkling with fun and life, and changing like a kaleidoscope, with every passing, varying passion and fancy. Her nose, thoroughly Grecian, in its style, and yet most expressive of its Irish blood, was harmonious, with a beautifully curved mouth and a firm, well-set chin. In form and figure she was a model of grace itself, and in her step 'she revealed the true goddess.' To-day even she is still a beautiful woman, an old-time lady, one of the ancient regime, who looks as if she had just stepped out of a revolutionary frame, heavy with gold and marginal scrolls, to remind the devotees of the intoxicating German of to-day of the old history of our republican court. Girls of seventeen, in a maze regarding the morality of statesmen, brass buttons, naval and marine shoulder knots, could hardly fail of a little sound advice if they had the privilege of taking a moment with Mrs. Eaton. To-day at the age of seventy-five, and when at all excited, her beautiful, bright fiery eyes gleam and sparkle with original fire. Her white, rosy though furrowed face, lights up with a warm, passionate glow, and her whole being is instinct with that magnetism which once the greatest dignitaries of the Government obeyed. Her character is best summed up in the words pluck,

game, hater, care for No. 1, quality, blood, and if we were unfortunate enough to be a woman, we would hesitate, even now, about a collision with her. And yet she is a white-haired old lady. Her gray curls twine about her noble forehead like 'silvery seething waters.' They lap and kiss furrows and channels, hollowed by a long and memorable life. She is a woman, in her later life, of 'gloomy yesterdays and dim tomorrows,' but here and there dying sunbeams, playing about her classical features, light up with beauty a splendid soul prepared to meet its God."

"It is no wonder that her name has occupied so much space and that she has been the subject of fiercest controversy."

But if the conduct of Berrien was weak and hypocritical, what shall be said of two preachers, Rev. E. S. Ely of Philadelphia and Rev. J. N. Campbell of Washington, who, without any other basis than the gossip of Washington, undertook to eliminate Mrs. Eaton from the favorable opinion of General Jackson, and to crush her in the opinion of her political friends, as they and others were trying to out-law her socially.

Campbell was afraid to make charges against Mrs. Eaton in his own proper person directly to Jackson. He preferred to beard the Jackson lion in his den from a long ways off. So he got another preacher, Rev. E. S. Ely, to write to Jackson and open the war. Ely and Campbell make a precious pair of clerical hyenas—two of a kind. Ely wrote to Jackson and made the following charges against Mrs. Eaton without a scintilla of evidence to base it on except current social and political gossip: 1, Mrs. Eaton bore a bad reputation in Washington from girlhood; 2, the ladies of Washington would not speak to her; 3, a gentleman at the table at Gadsby's said that he personally knew her to be a dissolute woman; 4, Mrs. Eaton had told her servants to call her children Eaton and not Timberlake as Eaton was their rightful name; 5, a clergyman of Washington had told Mr. Ely that a deceased doctor had told him that Mrs. Timberlake had a miscarriage when her husband had been absent a year; 6, that friends of Major Eaton had persuaded him to board elsewhere to get him away from Mrs. Timberlake; 7, that Mrs. Jackson entertained the worst opinion of Mrs. Timberlake; 8, that Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake registered as man and wife in hotels in New York City and elsewhere.

This letter of Ely's was dated March 18, 1829, and Jackson sent a reply on March 23, 1829, that riddled it. Further letters passed and Jackson demanded of Ely the name of the person who had in-

formed him of the charges. Ely then wrote to Mr. Campbell and asked him to call on General Jackson and tell him all he knew. Now if such a thing were possible, Campbell was a dirtier and more despicable slanderer than Ely. He called on Jackson who wrote out an account of the interview and shows that the sum total of all he could tell against Mrs. Eaton was what he had heard others say. On September 10, 1829, Jackson called his Cabinet together and invited Ely and Campbell to be present. Both came and, curiously enough, Ely admitted that there was no evidence to convict Major Eaton of wrong doing, and this admission not withstanding the fact that Eaton was the only man Mrs. Eaton's name had been connected with in an improper way. Ely also reported that he had investigated the hotel charge in New York City and found there was nothing in it.

Campbell and Jackson had some spirited clashes but nothing could induce Campbell to give the name of any witness as to wrongdoing by Mrs. Eaton or to produce any testimony of any kind. He had none to produce and could get none. Jackson had nothing further to do with Mr. Campbell's church, for which all just men honor him.

Martin Van Buren in his autobiography, page 364, makes this sage comment:

"Was it possible that gentlemen who sincerely thought Mrs. Eaton unfit for the society of Washington could deem it proper to place her at the head of that one of our territories—certainly not the least polished or moral of our communities! Two years afterwards Eaton's name is again sent to the Senate to represent the country abroad as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Spain and in the circles of Madrid and again confirmed by the Senate, without a division—a Senate of which Messrs. Clay, Calhoun and Webster were members. Are not these striking commentaries upon the hue and cry that was raised against this couple when they were supposed favorites of General Jackson, and suspected of favoring my elevation to the Presidency, whose fate it was after all to bear the brunt of their hostility."

Mrs. Eaton lived till 1879 and died in Washington and was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery where Major Eaton was buried. He also died in Washington and in the year 1856.

While the war on Mrs. Eaton undoubtedly injured her socially, it did not crush or ostracise her. One of the unexpected results of this war was the total annihilation of any chance John

C. Calhoun had to become President of the United States. In the results of this war of slander, the woman got the best of the politician.

Jackson's devotion to her cause of course made Mrs. Eaton a worshipper at his shrine. In her latter years the question was put to her "What do you think of Andrew Jackson as a man?" "A man?" she replied. "He was not a man, he was a god."

No part of Andrew Jackson's career makes a stronger appeal to the manhood of America than his grand devotion to Peggy O'Neal. Nowhere else does the chivalry that was innate in him appear with finer lustre. Intellectually he did not owe a great deal to books or schools, but nature made up for the lack of these in a mind that was keen, alert and bright and which could promptly detect the real from the bogus, the counterfeit from the genuine. He saw that the real bone of contention was not Mrs. Eaton's purity or the lack of it, but just a game of politics by politicians who were willing to do some dirty work to gain their ends. He saw and exposed the two preachers, Ely and Campbell, and they will stay on the pages of history as objects of contempt as long as mankind despises human carrion birds as they were.

As time went on the trend of events lead Major Eaton to challenge Mr. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, but Ingham declined the challenge. It was in reference to his declining to meet Eaton that Mrs. Eaton made her famous remark that "all Mr. Ingham needed was petticoats."

Major Eaton resigned as Secretary of War on April 7, 1831, and the following was the correspondence with General Jackson:

EATON TO JACKSON.

"Washington City, 7th of April, 1831.

"Dear Sir:

"Four days ago I communicated to you my desire to relinquish the duties of the War Department, and I now take occasion to repeat the request which was then made. I am not disposed by any sudden withdrawal, to interrupt or retard the business of the office. A short time will be sufficient, I hope, to enable you to direct your attention towards some person, in whose capacity, industry, and friendly disposition, you may have confidence, to assist in the complicated and laborious duties of your administration. Two or three weeks, perhaps less, may be sufficient for the purpose.

"In coming to this conclusion, candor demands of me to say that it arises from no dissatisfaction entertained towards you—

from no misunderstanding between us, on any subject; nor from any diminution, on my part, of that friendship and confidence, which has ever been reposed in you.

"I entered your Cabinet, as is well known to you, contrary to my own wishes; and having nothing to desire, either as it regards myself or friends, have ever since cherished a determination to avail myself of the first favorable moment, after your administration should be in successful operation, to retire. It occurs to me, that the time is now at hand, when I may do so with propriety, and in proper respect to you. Looking to the present state of things—to the course of your administration, which, being fairly developed, is before the people, for approval or condemnation—I cannot consider the step I am taking, objectionable, or, that it is one, the tendency of which can be to affect or injure a course of policy by you already advantageously commenced, and which I hope will be carried out to the benefit and advancement of the people.

"Tendering my sincere wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and for your successful efforts in the cause of your country,

"I am, very truly, your friend,

"J. H. Eaton.

"To Andrew Jackson,

"President of the United States.

JACKSON TO EATON.

"Washington City, April 8, 1831.

"Dear Sir:

"Your letter of yesterday was received, and I have carefully considered it. When you conversed with me the other day, on the subject of your withdrawing from the Cabinet, I expressed to you a sincere desire that you would well consider of it; for, however reluctant I am to be deprived of your services, I cannot consent to retain you contrary to your wishes, and inclination to remain, particularly as I well know that in 1829, when I invited you to become a member of my Cabinet, you objected, and expressed a desire to be excused, and only gave up your objections at my pressing solicitation.

"An acquaintance with you, of twenty years standing, assured me, that, in your honesty, prudence, capacity, discretion, and judgment, I could safely rely and confide. I have not been disappointed. With the performance of your duties, since you have been with me, I have been fully satisfied, and, go where you will, be your destiny what it may, my best wishes will always attend you.

"I will avail myself of the earliest opportunity to obtain some qualified friend to succeed you; and, until then, I must solicit that the acceptance of your resignation be deferred.

"I am, very sincerely and respectfully, your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Major J. H. Eaton,

"Secretary of War."

MR. EATON TO MR. INGHAM.

"Friday night, June 17th, 1831.

"Sir:

"I have studied to disregard the abusive slanders which have arisen through so debased a source as the columns of the U. S. Telegraph. I have been content to wait the full development of what he had to say; and until persons of responsible character should be brought forth to endorse his vile abuse of me and my family. In that paper of this evening is contained the following remark of my wife: 'It is proven that the Secretaries of the Treasury and of the Navy and of the Attorney-General refused to associate with her.' This publication appears in a paper which professes to be friendly to you and is brought forth under your immediate eye. I desire to know of you whether or not you sanction or will disavow it. The relation we have sustained towards each other authorizes me to demand an immediate answer.

"Very respectfully,

"J. H. Eaton.

"S. D. Ingham, Esq."

REPLY

"Washington, 18th June, 1831.

"Sir:

"I have not been able to ascertain whether it is the publication referred to by you, or the fact stated in the Telegraph, which you desire to know whether I have sanctioned or will disavow. If it be the first you demand, it is too absurd to merit an answer. If it be the last, you may find authority for the same fact in a Philadelphia paper, about the first of April last, which is deemed to be quite as friendly to you as the Telegraph may be to me. When you have settled such accounts with your particular friends it will be time enough to make demands of others. In the meantime, I take the occasion to say, that you must be not a little deranged, to imagine that any blustering of yours could induce me to disavow what all the inhabitants of this city know, and perhaps half of the people of the United States believe to be true.

"I am, sir, respectfully yours, &c.

"S. D. Ingham.

"John H. Eaton, Esq."

MR. EATON TO MR. INGHAM.

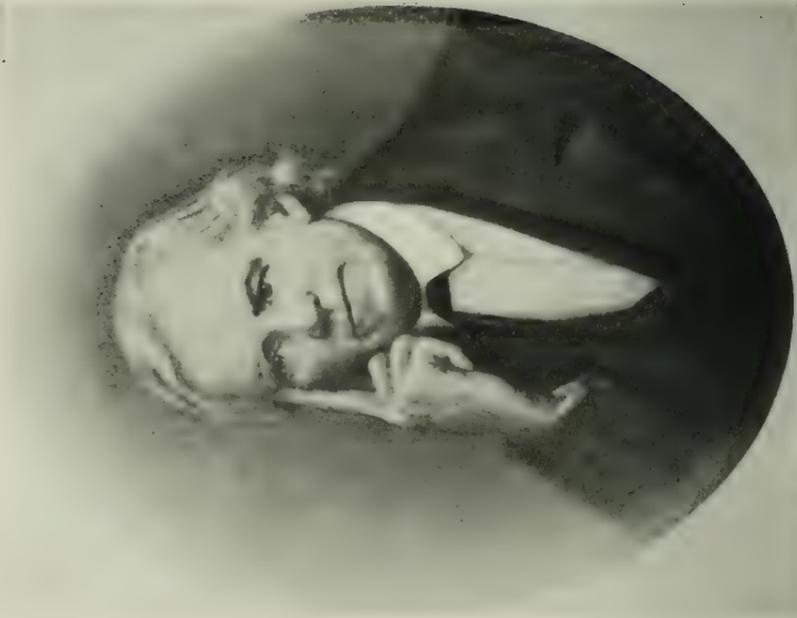
"June 18th, 1831.

"Sir:

"I have received your letter of to-day, and regret to find that to a frank and candid inquiry brought before you, an answer impudent and insolent is returned. To injury unprovoked, you are pleased to add insult. What is the remedy? It is to indulge the expectation that, though a man may be mean enough to slander, or base enough to encourage it, he yet may have bravery sufficient



SAMUEL D. INGHAM, 1773-1860.
Ninth Secretary of the Treasury, Jackson's Cabinet, from March 6, 1829
to June 21, 1831.



WILLIAM J. DUANE, 1780-1865.
Eleventh Secretary of the Treasury, June 1, 1833, in Jackson's Cabinet, but was dismissed
the same year for refusing to remove the deposits from the bank of the United States.

to repair the wrong. In that spirit I demand of you satisfaction for the wrong and injury you done me. Your answer must determine whether you are so far entitled to the name and character of a gentleman as to be able to act like one.

“Very respectfully,

“John H. Eaton.

“Sam'l D. Ingham, Esq.”

REPLY

“Washington, June 20th, 1831.

“Sir:

“Your note of Saturday, purporting to be a demand of satisfaction for injury done to you, was received on that day; company prevented me from sending you an immediate answer. Yesterday morning, your brother-in-law, Dr. Randolph, intruded himself into my room, with a threat of personal violence. I perfectly understand the part you are made to play in the farce now acting before the American people. I am not to be intimidated by threats, or provoked by abuse, to any act inconsistent with the pity and contempt which your condition and conduct inspire.

“Yours, Sir, respectfully,

“S. D. Ingham.

“John H. Eaton, Esq.

MR. EATON TO MR. INGHAM.

“June 20th, 1831

“Sir:

“Your note of this morning is received. It proves to me that you are quite brave enough to do a mean action, but too great a coward to repair it. Your contempt I heed not; your pity I despise. It is such contemptible fellows as yourself that have set forth rumors of their own creation, and taken them as a ground of imputation against me. If that be good cause, then should you have pity of yourself, for your wife has not escaped them and you must know it. But no more; here our correspondence closes. Nothing more will be received short of an acceptance of my demand of Saturday, and nothing more be said by me until face to face we meet. It is not in my nature to brook your insults, nor will they be submitted to.

“John H. Eaton.

“S. D. Ingham, Esq.”

MR. INGHAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“Washington, 21st June, 1831.

“The President of the United States:

“Sir:

“Before I leave the city, it seems to be due to the Government that I should perform a painful duty, imposed upon me by the events of the last forty-eight hours. It is not necessary for me now to detail the circumstances which have convinced me of the ex-

istence of vindictive personal hostility to me among some of the officers of the Government near your person, and supposed to be in your special confidence, which has been particularly developed within the last two weeks, and has finally displayed itself in an attempt to way-lay me on my way to the office yesterday, as I have reason to believe, for the purpose of assassination. If you have not already been apprised of these movements, you may perhaps be surprised to learn that the persons concerned in them are the late Secretary of War and the acting Secretary of War: and that the Second Auditor of the Treasury, Register of the Treasury, and the Treasurer of the United States, were in their company; and that the Treasurer's and Register's rooms, in the lower part of the building of the Treasury Department, and also a grocery store between my lodgings and the office, were alternately occupied as their rendezvous while lying in wait; the former affording the best opportunity for observing my approach. Apprised of these movements on my return from taking leave of some of my friends, I found myself obliged to arm, and, accompanied by my son and some other friends, I repaired to the office, to finish the business of the day, after which I returned to my lodgings in the same company. It is proper to state, that the principal persons who had been thus employed for several hours retired from the Department soon after I entered my room, and that I received no molestation from them either at my ingress or egress. But, having recruited an additional force in the evening, they paraded until a late hour on the streets near by lodgings, heavily armed, threatening an assault on the dwelling I reside in.

"I do not present these facts to your notice for the purpose of invoking your protection. So far as an individual may rely on his own personal efforts I am willing to meet this peril; and against an assault by numbers I have found an ample assurance of protection in the generous tender of personal service from the citizens of Washington. But they are communicated to you as the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and most especially of the District of Columbia, whose duties in maintaining good order among its inhabitants, and protecting the officers of the Government in the discharge of their duties, cannot be unknown to you.

"I have only to add that, so far as I am informed, all the persons engaged in giving countenance to this business are officers of the Government, except the late Secretary of War.

"I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,
"S. D. Ingham."

THE PRESIDENT TO

"Messrs. Col. Campbell, Treasurer; Major Smith, Register; Doctor Randolph, Acting Secretary of War, and Major Lewis, Auditor.

"Gentlemen:

"I have this moment received the enclosed letter from Mr. Ingham, dated the 21st instant and having immediately, on its

receipt, sent to ask an interview with him, I find that he left the city before it reached me. I wish you to state to me, if you, or either of you, have had any agency or participation, and if any, to what extent in the alleged misconduct imputed in his letter herewith enclosed.

"I surely have been deceived in your characters if you are capable of so far forfeiting the responsibilities of your stations as to participate in the reprehensible conduct charged. To the serious charges contained in Mr. Ingham's letter, which gave me the first information that I have had upon the subject of his difficulties, I wish you to give me a prompt and explicit answer.

"Respectfully,

"Andrew Jackson.

MR. CAMPBELL TO THE PRESIDENT.

"Washington, June 22, 1831.

"Sir:

"I have had the honor to receive your communication of this day, enclosing a copy of a letter to you from the late Secretary of the Treasury of the 21st instant, complaining of an attempt to way-lay him on the part of certain officers of the Government, for the purpose of assassination, and charging me with being in their company, and my room in the Treasury with being alternately occupied with other officers as a rendezvous for them while lying in wait. It might perhaps be sufficient for the purpose for which you have referred this communication to me, for me to *apply* to the charges against me, a simple and unqualified denial. They are entirely destitute of the least foundation in truth; but to show you more clearly how far I was from aiding or participating in anything connected with this matter complained of, I will beg your permission to add the following circumstances. The late Secretary of War, Major Eaton never consulted me upon the subject of his controversy with Mr. Ingham; nor did I ever see him on the day in question, except in an accidental meeting of a few minutes. I never saw the correspondence between them until it appeared in the Telegraph, and although I had heard that a correspondence was going on which might result in a personal conflict, I did not believe it was likely to take place on that day, or even that Washington was to be the scene of it.

"Trusting that these facts and explanations will be entirely satisfactory to you, I cannot withhold the expression of my astonishment, that charges so wholly uncalled for and groundless, should have been made against me by a gentleman with whom I never had the least cause of quarrel, and with whom my official intercourse, since my entrance into the Treasury, had uniformly been of the most friendly character. I certainly had no idea of arming against him, or of interfering in any way in his dispute with Major Eaton.

"I have the honor to remain your most obedient servant,

"John Campbell.

"The President of the United States."

MR. LEWIS TO THE PRESIDENT.

"Washington, 22nd June, 1831.

"Sir:

"Your letter of this morning has this moment been received, and in reply I have to say that the charge made against me by Mr. Ingham of having been engaged in a conspiracy against him, is devoid of truth. If there were any such conspiracy against him as alleged in his letter to you of yesterday, it was entirely unknown to me.

"I arrived at my office on Monday morning, 20th instant, about half past eight o'clock, and never left the building until about half after two, when I walked down to the U. S. Bank to attend to some Bank business. After seeing the Teller of the Bank, and informing him what I wanted done, I went to a barber's shop a little below Mr. Strothers's Hotel. On my return I called at the Register's Office, a few minutes before three o'clock, where I saw, unexpectedly, Mr. Eaton, it being the first time I had seen him since last Saturday evening. I remained in the Register's Office about five minutes, and then walked up to my own office in company with no other person than Mr. Eaton. Dr. Randolph was not there, nor did I see him anywhere on that day, out of the War Office, until late in the evening. I neither saw nor heard of Mr. Ingham while I was at the Treasury Department. I had no arms of any description about me.

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your most obedient servant,

"W. B. Lewis."

MR. SMITH TO THE PRESIDENT.

"Washington, June 22, 1831.

"In reply to your note of today, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Ingham to you, bearing date the 21st instant. I beg leave to state, that the charges contained in Mr. Ingham's letter, as far as they relate to me, are wholly untrue. I have had no participation or agency, whatever, in the controversy between Maj. Eaton and Mr. Ingham. I have given neither aid nor succor to Major Eaton, nor any one for him. I have not walked with him, near him. I have not sought Mr. Ingham, nor been in the neighborhood. I have been unarmed constantly, and in all respects I have been unconnected with anything that threatened his safety. As to the charge that my office was used for any such purposes as are named by Mr. Ingham, it is not less untrue than the rest of the statement. Major Eaton was in my office twice, once between ten and eleven o'clock, and once about fifteen minutes before three, each time he came alone, and did not remain more than ten minutes.

"I regret, Sir, that Mr. Ingham, in making charges of such grave import, had not thought proper to refer to the authority upon which he based his allegations, and awaited the issue before he left the city.

"With the highest respect, your obedient servant,

"T. L. Smith.

"To the President.

MR. RANDOLPH TO THE PRESIDENT.

"Washington, 22nd June, 1831.

"Sir:

"In answer to your letter of this date, asking the extent of my participation in the controversy lately passed between Mr. Ingham and Major Eaton, and how far I am amenable to the charges made by Mr. Ingham against me, in his letter of yesterday, I have to reply, that I had no further agency in the matter than is shown in the correspondence between those gentlemen, as published in the Telegraph on Tuesday last. I was not with Major Eaton more than ten minutes at any one time between 9 and 3 o'clock on Monday, on which day, the charge of a combination for the purpose of assassinating Mr. Ingham is made by him against me and others. I did not participate in, nor did I know of any design to attack Mr. Ingham's residence as is charged by him, nor was I armed at any time during the hours mentioned, having no apprehension of danger from Mr. Ingham or those 'friends,' whom he says surrounded him. Major Eaton was alone when he sought an interview with Mr. Ingham, as will be shown by the certificates of two respectable individuals.

"Respectfully yours,

"P. G. Randolph."

REPLY OF J. H. EATON OF THE GLOBE.

"June 23, 1831.

"Mr. Blair:

"I owe it to myself and to the cause of truth to solicit the favor of offering a few explanations through the Globe.

"A strange letter of Mr. Ingham is published in your paper this morning. It charges me with a design to assassinate him; and in having organized a conspiracy to accomplish it. Why did I not organize this band from the War, rather than the Treasury Department, for most of the gentlemen charged are of the latter? The public will not, I presume, give credit to such an accusation, coming from such a source. Wantonly insulted by Mr. Ingham, with a view, as I believed, to provoke an adjustment of our differences in an honorable way, I adopted the course which evidently seemed to be invited by my adversary; and which appeared to be the only alternative that was left to me.

"I plead not guilty to the charge of conspiracy and meditated assassination. From the moment I perceived that Mr. Ingham was incapable of acting as became a man, I resolved to pursue that course, which was suited to the character of one who had sought difficulties, and shunned all honorable accountability. I harbored no design upon the heart of one who had shown himself so heartless. Having ascertained that his sensibilities were to be found only upon the surface, I meant to make the proper application.

"On the 19th I notified him, that unless the call I had made upon him, was promptly and properly answered, he might expect such treatment as I thought his conduct deserved. My note of the 20th also advised him of my intention. Accordingly it appeared matter of duty for me to dissolve all connection with the administration of the Government. How then can Mr. Ingham suppose, that I would involve those gentlemen in a disgraceful conspiracy against him—one in which, as public officers, they could not engage even if inclination had sanctioned? Their own characters are a sufficient answer to the accusation, unaided by their positive denial of its truth. I did endeavor to meet Mr. Ingham, and to settle our differences. Unattended by any one, I sought after, and awaited his appearance, during the accustomed hours for business, openly and at places where he daily passed to his office. He was not to be found! I passed by but at no time stopped at, or attempted to enter his house, nor to besiege it by day or by night. I offer no statement here that is not susceptible of the clearest proof.

"My note of the 20th was written with indignant feelings, and under strong excitement, hence the reason why any reference was made to a female. I regret it; although the letter was a mere private notice to Mr. Ingham, and was so intended. By me, it never was designed to meet nor never would have met the public eye.

"Respectfully, &c.

"J. H. Eaton."

MR. P. G. RANDOLPH TO THE GLOBE.

"To the Editor of the Globe:

"It may be proper for me to state, that when I consented to bear the communication from the late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Ingham, it was distinctly understood by Major Eaton, that in the event of the correspondence leading to a meeting, my agency was to cease entirely, and that Major Eaton was to be attended by another friend who was not in the city when the note was sent.

"The assertion of Mr. Ingham, that I intruded into his room, and threatened personal violence is entirely erroneous. I called at his lodging, inquired if he were at home was answered in the affirmative, and invited to his room by the servant. After the usual salutations, I asked him if he intended to answer Major Eaton's note. He replied that he should take his own time, &c. I then told him that it was my business to communicate to him the intention

of Major Eaton to take a decisive and prompt course in relation to the matter, if he failed to respond to the note of which I had been the bearer the day before. I then took my leave without the slightest menace of personal violence on my part.

“P. G. Randolph.”

“Washington, June 25, 1831.

CHAPTER 14.

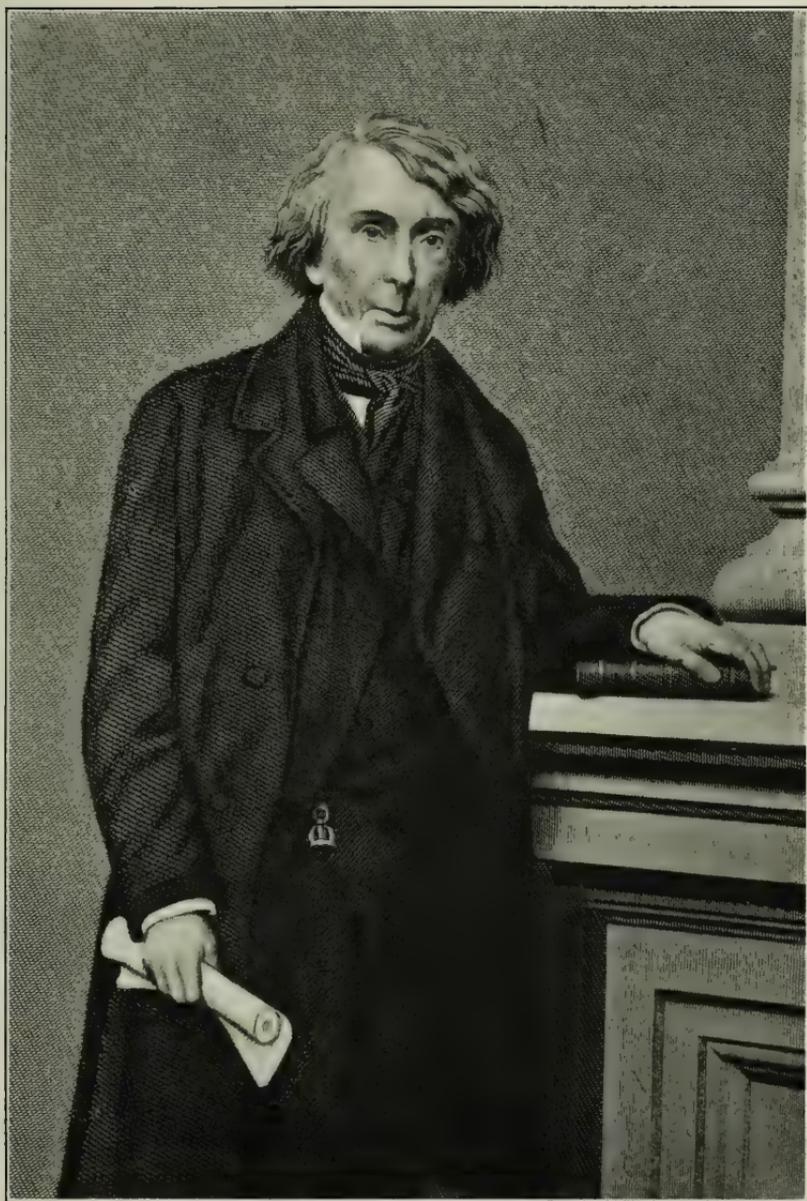
Sam Houston visited Washington in 1831; invited by citizens of Nashville to accept a public dinner, which he declined; full text of his speech before Congress in defense of himself for his assault on Congressman William Stanberry of Ohio; speech quoted from Knoxville Register.

Sam Houston was elected to Congress in 1823 and again in 1825, and it was during his second term that he fought the duel with General William White, of Nashville, which came off September 23, 1826, in Simpson County, Kentucky, near the Tennessee line. White was severely but not fatally wounded. It arose out of political matters. In June, 1827, the grand jury of Simpson County, Kentucky, indicted Houston for shooting General White, and the Governor of Kentucky issued a requisition on the Governor of Tennessee to deliver Houston to the Kentucky authorities, but the requisition was not complied with, and the prosecution dropped.

After going to Texas, Houston received a number of challenges to fight duels, but never engaged in another contest of that kind.

On August 2, 1827, the election for Governor of Tennessee was held and Sam Houston received twelve thousand majority over Newton Cannon and Willie Blount, both former Governors of Tennessee. Houston, at the time of this election, was thirty-four years old. Col. D. D. Claiborne, at one time of Goliad, Texas, saw him on the day of the election and gives this unique description of his appearance.

"He wore on that day (August 2, 1827) a tall bell crowned medium brim shining black beaver hat; shining black patent leather military stock or cravat, encased by a standing collar; ruffled shirt, black satin vest, shining black silk pants, gathered to the waist band, with legs full, same size from seat to ankle; and a gorgeous red ground many colored gown or Indian hunting shirt, fastened at the waist by a huge red sash, covered with fancy beadwork, with an immense silver buckle, embroidered silk stockings, and pumps with large silver buckles. Mounted on a superb dapple gray horse. He appeared at the election unannounced and was the observed of all observers."



ROGER BROOKE TANEY, 1777-1864.

Attorney General, July 30, 1831 to September 23, 1833, Secretary of the Treasury, September 23, 1833 to June 23, 1834, both in Jackson's Cabinet, Chief Justice of the United States 1836 till his death. Rendered the decision in the Dred Scott case March 1857. Case reported in 19th Howard United States Supreme Court Reports.

This preposterous attire would seem to conclusively indicate deranged mental faculties, which would unfit one for any serious effort or initiative, but such was not the case with Houston. It demonstrated only the man's monumental and ridiculous vanity, aside from which he displayed qualities and characteristics that have placed him in the class of great and memorable Americans.

Houston was a candidate for re-election as Governor against General William Carroll, who fought with Jackson at New Orleans and had served as Governor of Tennessee three successive terms, but was ineligible for a fourth term by reason of the limit contained in the State Constitution, prohibiting more than three successive terms.

On April 16, 1829, Houston sent in his resignation to the Secretary of the State of Tennessee, and suddenly left the State and took up his home with his old friend Chief Jolly, in Arkansas, where a number of Cherokees had gone after leaving Blount County, Tennessee. Just what part Houston took in the public affairs of the Cherokees or connected with any white community, it is difficult to say. History takes him on a visit to Washington, accompanying a delegation of Cherokees, to make complaint to the administration that the Indian agents of the Government were swindling and defrauding the Cherokees. This trip to Washington was in 1830, and he succeeded in having five rascally Indian agents removed, but made enemies of what was then called the "Indian Ring." He, at the same time, made a bid to the Government to furnish rations to the Indians at 18 cents a head, which bid was rejected.

In June, 1831, probably on his return from this trip to Washington, he was back again in Nashville, Tennessee, and was received cordially by his old friends and extended an invitation to a public dinner, given in his honor, in Nashville, which he declined. The Knoxville Register, Wednesday, August 17, 1831, gives the correspondence about this dinner:

"Nashville, 30th June, 1831.

"General Samuel Houston,

"Dear Sir:

"We have the happiness of learning that you are again in Tennessee. With heartfelt pleasure, Sir, would we greet your return again to the bosom of your old friends and constituents.

"And shall we not venture the expression of a hope, that the result may be permanent restoration to all those endearments and joys of civilized society, of which you have so long been deprived, and for which, by nature and habit you are so eminently calculated both to receive and reciprocate in the various circles of *social* life.

"At all events, whatever your own decision, or that of an overruling Providence may be, in reference to your future destiny, most heartily would we once more welcome upon the soil of Tennessee, the man whose character and achievements are so intimately identified with her own to the advancement of whose best interests and lasting glory, the greater portion of his eventful life has been faithfully devoted, and in defense of whose national rights and honor, his youthful blood has so freely flown.

"In common, Sir, with the great mass of your late constituents, we contemplated with deep but silent grief, the unhappy train of circumstances which, as it were by the hand of magic, severed the tie and at once dissolved our political *connection*—resulting in the voluntary exile, or rather immolation, of our distinguished and favorite Chief Magistrate. But, whatever the nature or true character of the circumstances which lead to this unhappy result, may have been, we ever regarded them in the light of private, personal misfortunes—consequently sacred. And while, on the other hand, we reluctantly yielded to what seemed to be your adverse destiny, on the other, we felt that it would be worse than sacrilege to attempt to rend the veil of individual misfortune or rudely to invade the sacred sanctuary of private sorrows; and deeply would we depreciate an unwarrantable interference in such matters. As a humble token, therefore, of our undiminished confidence and esteem for your character as a private citizen, our gratitude and veneration for your signal services, not only in the cause of our native State, but in that of our common country, as well in the counsels of the Nation as, in the field of carnage and of death, permit us for ourselves and in behalf of a large portion of your fellow citizens, to request the pleasure of your participation in a public dinner to be given in commemoration of our national Independence, at the country seat of Col. Phillip Campbell, on Saturday the 2nd. Proximo.

"With sentiments of the highest regard,

"Your fellow citizens,	} Managers.
Issac H. Howlet,	
Wm. M. Hinton.	
Austin Gresham.	
James D. Parrish.	
James Cooper.	
C. Lanier.	

"Nashville, Tenn., July 1st, 1831.

"Gentlemen:

"Your favour of yesterday has been received, and I thank you for the invitation so kindly given. The interest which you have

expressed and continue to feel towards me, cannot fail to awaken in my breast, the liveliest emotions blended with recollections sincerely grateful.

"The ties of feeling which so long subsisted between the citizens of Tennessee, and myself, have not been dissolved by absence, nor is it possible that circumstances can ever obliterate the remembrance of an identity which subsisted from boyhood to maturity.

"Early adoption made me a Tennessean; circumstances associated me with the destiny of her sons, and if I have been in a small degree instrumental in the promotion of her interests, the approbation of those for whom I have acted, and a consciousness of the rectitude of my motives, are the highest rewards that a patriot can enjoy.

"Should the relation which has once existed between the citizens of Tennessee and myself, never again be renewed, and destiny point to some other place of abode, I shall ever feel proud and happy in the assurance, that the brave, patriotic, and enlightened character of her citizens, will enable her to preserve those pure republican principles for which she has been so justly distinguished.

"However, much pleasure I should derive from uniting in any festivity connected with the celebration of our Independence, and in mingling again with my long tried friends, I regret to say, that it will not be in my power.

"I have therefore to request of you individually, gentlemen, to accept my most respectful salutations and communicate to those on whose behalf you have acted, assurances of my grateful friendship.

"I am, with sincere regard, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"Sam Houston.

"Messrs. J. H. Howlett, A. Gresham, William M. Hinton, James D. Parrish, Churchwell Lanier, Jas. Cooper, Managers."

HOUSTON'S SPEECH BEFORE CONGRESS.

On March 31, 1832, representative William Stanberry, of Ohio, made some adverse comment on Houston, and his bid to furnish the Indians rations, to which Houston took exceptions, and a personal difficulty ensued upon the streets of Washington, where the original assault was made by Houston. Stanberry reported to Congress that he had been assaulted for words used in debate, and the House hailed Houston before that body for trial. Houston was allowed counsel, and also to make a speech in his own defense. Great interest has always been manifested in Tennessee over his speech. It was delivered April 13, 1832.

The author has never seen the entire speech reproduced but once and that was in the Knoxville Register of Wednesday, June 30, 1832. Extracts from the speech have been published from time to time in one connection and another, but were unsatisfactory in furnishing Houston's entire defense of himself. As a part of

the history of Tennessee, the author feels that the entire speech ought to be reproduced, and so prints it in full, taken from the Knoxville Register as stated.:

“Mr. Speaker:

“Arraigned for the first time in my life, on a charge of violating the laws of my country, I feel all that embarrassment which my peculiar situation is calculated to inspire. Though I have been defended by able and enlightened counsel, possessing intellect of the highest order, embellished too, by all that science and literature can bestow, yet it seems proper that under such circumstances I should be heard in my own vindication.

“The charge which has been perferred against me is one of no ordinary character. If I shall be convicted of having acted from the motive alleged by my accuser, lasting infamy must be the consequence.

“To my apprehension, the darkest dungeons of this government, with all the pains and penalties of treason present a trifling consideration when compared with that load of infamy which under such circumstances, must attach itself forever to my name.

“What is the nature of the charge? I am accused of lying in wait, for the purpose of depriving a fellow man of the efficient use of his person, if not of existence itself? Sir, can there be a greater crime? Who, but a wretch unworthy of the name of man, could ever be guilty of it? I disclaim utterly every motive unworthy of an honorable man, if when deeply wronged, I have followed the generous impulse of my heart, and have thus violated the laws of my country, or trespassed on the prerogatives of this honorable body, I am willing to be held to my responsibility for so doing. No man has more respect for this body, and its rights and privileges. Never can I forget the associations connected with this Hall. Never can I lose the remembrance of that pride of heart which swelled my bosom when finding myself, for the first time, enjoying those privileges and exercising those rights as one of the representatives of the American people. Whatever may have been the political collision in which I was occasionally involved; whatever diversity of feelings may have for a moment separated me from some of my associates, they have never been able to take away that respect for the collective body which I have ever proudly cherished—The personal associations I have enjoyed, with many of those who I now see around me, I shall ever remember with the kindest feelings. None of these things, however, are to operate as the extenuation of my offense that shall be proved against me. All I demand is, that my actions may be pursued to the motives which gave them birth. Though it may have been alleged that I am a man of broken fortune and blasted reputation, however limited, is the high boon of heaven. Perhaps the circumstances of adversity, by which I have been crushed, have made me cling to the little remains of it which I still possess, and to cherish them with the greater fondness.

“Though the ploughshare of ruin has been driving over me and laid waste my brightest hopes, yet I am proud to think, that under all circumstances, I have endeavored to sustain the laws of my country, and to support her institutions. Whatever may be the opinions of gentlemen in relation to these matters, I am here to be tried for a substantive offense, disconnected entirely with my former life or circumstances. I have only to say to those who rebuke me, at the time when they see adversity sorely pressing upon me, for myself.:

‘I seek no sympathies, nor need;
The thorns which I have spread are of the tree
I planted; they have torn me—and I bleed.’

“In support of the charge on which I am here arraigned, I ask what facts have been adduced to prove either my motive or my course of action? I am well aware that this honorable body, in the incipient stages of this prosecution, acted under the allegation that I had been guilty of a very great outrage; that I had been lying in wait, and had been guilty of an attack upon an unarmed and helpless man.

“Sir, had I contemplated any such an attack, I should have been prepared for the purpose. Had I thought it possible, that in walking on that Avenue, I was to meet an individual who had ought against me, and was disposed to redress, the wrong by a personal rencontre, should I have been found in the circumstances in which I was? Was I armed? Was I lying in wait? What says the testimony? My meeting with the member from Ohio was perfectly accidental. We came together wholly unexpectedly on my part, and under circumstances of provocation, such as I am well persuaded no member of this body would ever brook. Did I attack him without previous challenge? No. Did I not apprise him that I was the individual that he had injured? He had ample time to place his hands upon his arms, which he did! I was unarmed. Sir, has this the semblance of assassination? However culpable my conduct may, by some be considered, the crime of lying in wait had its existence only in the imagination of my accuser. The honorable Senator from Missouri (Mr. Buckner) has testified to the House, that I was not apprised beforehand of any such meeting—that it was purely accidental, and wholly unexpected—that the action took place under a heated state of feeling, and was prompted by his arrainging me, before this honorable body, and his subsequent outrages upon my feelings and character!

“It has been said by my accuser, that the attack made upon him was for words he had uttered in his place. It is true that he had laid before the House a charge of corruption, in which my name was implicated, but it was not for the words he uttered here that I assailed him. It was for publishing in the *Intelligencer* libelous matter, to my injury—such as no member of this honorable

court, who is conscious of the rights of an American citizen, would ever tamely submit to. It was for a false and libelous letter, published 'in anticipation of its regular place' in the debates of this House. After having been 'blasted' by the stroke of adversity, and hunted from society, as an outlaw, to be now libelled for corruption, and charged with fraud upon the Government, is too much to endure! Could the human mind brook it? Could I submit to this, I should indeed think I was a man not only of 'broken fortune,' but of 'blasted reputation.' It is well known that a private citizen has no opportunity of a reply to an attack that may be made upon him on this floor! It was for the publication of such an attack—for the publication of a charge which has been here disproven, inasmuch as no testimony has been adduced to support it. It was for this that I assailed the member, and I now assert that his charge is groundless. The proof has failed. The proof was on him. I was not called on to prove a negative, though I was prepared to do it. After an attack like this had been made on my good name, with all that respect for the privileges of this House which I have ever felt, and which arises from the conviction that they have been entrusted to it, for the public good; although I considered the publication false and libelous, I was induced, by my respect for this body, not to look upon him as a private individual, who had wronged me, but as a member of this House. I therefore addressed to him a note. It was my privilege to do so. However humble I may be, and however blasted in the estimation of some gentleman, it was still my privilege, in common with the humblest citizen that treads American soil, to address an inquiry to the honorable member. I asked of him, respectfully, and in language to which none can object, whether that publication was his, and under what circumstances it had been made? Sir, he did not deign to reply; but, proceeding on his own assumption, that I was a man of 'blasted reputation,' he would not condescend, nor even stoop, from the lofty height of his official dignity, to notice me, a mere private individual. The terms in which he couched his refusal were of the most insulting character! He declared that I had no right, after all that he had said to make even a request for an explanation. That was assuming higher grounds than that of his privilege. It is the right of all—of the lowest and humblest, to request an explanation where they are personally concerned. But this was denied me. That universal right of petition, which is guaranteed by the constitution, to all the people of the United States, on which right my application was based. This common—this sacred—this wise, indefeasible privilege was refused to an American citizen. What indignation would such a refusal excite in every manly bosom? It was in substance saying to me, although I have injured you without provocation, and in the most public manner, you have no right to inquire anything about it, and I shall continue to do the same thing until your reputation is completely degraded and sunk.



LEWIS CASS, 1782-1866.
Secretary of War, Jackson's Cabinet, August 1, 1831 to October 5, 1836. From National Portrait Gallery. Minister to France 1836-1842; United States Senator 1845-1848; defeated for President 1852; re-elected United States Senator 1849-1857; Secretary of State under Buchanan 1857-1860.



WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE
Governor of Louisiana when Jackson fought the Battle of New Orleans. From National Portrait Gallery. Member of First Constitutional Convention of Tennessee; Territorial Governor of Mississippi 1801 and of Louisiana 1804; Died 1817.

"Of the nature of the accusation, and the manner in which he sustained it, I need not remind this honorable court. My accuser declared in reply to the first interrogatory put to him, that it had not been his object to impute a fraud. On after thought, however, he changed his position, and avowed his belief that I was a guilty man. Still relentless—still resolved to sacrifice his victim—he bore down upon him with all the weight of his official station. Although the individual had withdrawn himself from civilized society, still he must be pursued, and hunted and blasted. With what? With truth? With fact? No. With surmises. With suspicions. With hearsays, and affidavits. But did these proofs, such as they were, exist at the time his accusation was made? Not at all. He made the charge on a mere vague rumor; but as means of inflicting a more deadly stab, he gave in the names of men who had disclaimed the truth of their own declaration. Names of which I need not say much.

"I am not curious to speculate much on the affidavit which has been produced to the House; a matter, which in its origin, for the honor of all concerned, had better been left to sleep in oblivion—a matter conceived in malice—matured in corruption and perjury, and introduced here in a manner most mysterious. He, who made the affidavit, instantly fled. I trust he may be the scapegoat who will bear the sins of his association in this transaction to the wilderness. It would be unnecessary for me to dwell longer on the subject of this affidavit. The time at which it was obtained—the circumstances which preceded, attended, and those which followed it. When the individual sought to insinuate himself into my favor, after having previously injured me—when he sought my forgiveness for past offenses, I forgave him generously; and this is the requital.

"Mr. Speaker, I can not be insensible to the situation I occupy before this honorable Court—a situation well calculated to inspire alarm and solicitude on my part! In the nature of the accusation, there is a matter cognizable in the courts of the country. I am arraigned here for the offense of having redressed a personal wrong. I am charged with not having respected the rights of this House, yet I am not allowed the judgment of my peers. I can claim no equality with the honorable members of this House, who I see around me. Their station has raised them far above me. I am only a private citizen. Thus, situated who are to be my judges? Those who form a party to this accusation. How unequal the contest!—and how hopeless must innocence itself be, if such a court were pleased to demand a victim? I know there is no such purpose here. The honor, as well as the integrity of gentlemen would withhold them from it. But behold the influence which may be exerted against me. I see no judge upon the Bench, with power to instruct the jury as to the law of the case—I see no accuser, and no accused standing side by side before that judge! I am arraigned before a court which is standing on its own priv-

ileges—which arraigns me in its own case. And thus situated, I am tried for the commission of a great, flagrant crime—for insulting the whole American people, in the person of one of the members of this body. Yet, I have violated no law; I have transgressed no precept known to the people of this land. If I have violated any privilege, that privilege must be somewhere declared. If it exist at all, it lies as a little spark deeply covered—not even the smoke of it has appeared. It is a privilege which the American people do not know, and I demand on their behalf to know what it is? I shall bow to that privilege when it shall have been defined, and when it shall have become constitutional, by the people's acquiescence. But where there is not law, there is not transgression. I admit that the members of this House have privilege, and that their persons ought to be protected, because they represent citizens of this republic. On those privileges, I should be the last to encroach. But when a member of this House places himself out of the protection of this privilege by trespassing on my rights, I shall view him in his individual capacity, and deal with him as with any other private man. But I will never trespass on the privileges of the House—I will never assail a member of this House while he represents the American people, nor will I encroach on any privilege which belongs to gentlemen as such! I need not say that there exist in this Government, three distinct co-ordinate branches. Every gentleman knows what they are. And in respect to one of them, Congress have declared what shall, and what shall not be considered as a contempt. They have declared that a judge shall be protected in the duties of his office; but when he steps from the high function of administering the laws enacted by this body, and its co-ordinate branches—when he leaves the judicial seat, and lays aside the judicial robes, then his privileges cease. If, then, we may reason from analogy, in deducing the rights of this body, it seems reasonable to suppose that they do not transcend those of a co-ordinate branch of government; and if not, then it is idle to say that when this body has adjourned, its members remain under the protection of their privilege, and that it goes with a member, and remains with him, while outraging the rights of citizens.

“Where is the privilege? Shew it to me, that I may obey the law. I am told that it is undefined and undefinable, and that it is to be regulated by your discretion alone. If such discretion is in your hands, the power of punishment must extend to life itself, and that over a man who has not in any way interrupted your deliberations. If you can arrest him, you may not only fine him, and imprison him, but you may inflict upon him torture and death. Sir, tyrants have made laws, and in enacting them, have had no regard to graduating them in proportion to the offenses punishable. By one of these tyrants all offenses were made capital. Draco determined that for a small offense a citizen deserved death, and as nothing more than death could be inflicted for the great-

est, the punishment of all crimes became equal. If this body will publish its privileges, and graduate its punishments, then we shall know what to fear, and how to avoid transgression. Callagula enacted laws—they were not for the purpose of regulating his subjects, but of entrapping them. He might as well not have exerted his legislative power, but left his action solely to the government of his wanton caprice. But he was adjudged a tyrant and a monster for punishing men for the transgression of a law that they could not know. For it is the conscience and motive of men alone which give turpitude to their actions.

“The ground has been assumed by some gentlemen that if the House neglected to punish in such a case as the present, its legislation might be exposed to danger: that companies might be organized—conspiracies formed—and mobs collected, and thus the measures of the House be effectually controlled. Sir, I must enter my protest against the application of any such argument to myself. My disposition has never been factious—my conduct obstrperous, nor my feeling malignant. It is said that honorable gentlemen must be protected. I grant it. I would fall in the first ditch when their persons were assailed. I would be the last to entrench myself behind it. I feel that, as a patriot, it would be my greatest glory to defend their privileges as sacred; but let it not be forgotten that the citizen, however obscure, and however ruined his fortune, has privileges too. It is his privilege to earn and to wear an honest name—to deserve and enjoy a spotless reputation; this is the proudest ornament that any man can wear, and it is one that every American citizen ought to press tenderly to his heart; nor should his arm ever hang nerveless by his side when this sacred, brightest jewel is assailed. When a member of this House, entrenched in his privileges, brands a private citizen in the face of a whole nation, as a fraudulent villian, he forgets the dignity of his station, and renders himself answerable to the party aggrieved! Are honorable gentlemen to send abroad their calumnies unquestioned? Are they to use the privilege which they have received from the citizens of this country, as a means to injure the citizens? If gentlemen disregard the ordinary rules of decorum, and use, in their place, language injurious to individuals, can they be expected to be protected by privileges which they have forfeited? But, if honorable gentlemen will respect themselves, and will not travel out of the limits of legitimate debate, for the purpose of gratifying private pique and personal hostility, they will find a wall of fire around them for their protection. The breast of every true-hearted American will glow with zeal in their defense, and will bow to their privileges with reverential gratitude. They will be surrounded with an impenetrable bulwark, such as no armed hosts nor the massive walls of this capitol could ever supply. It is a normal rampart—a defense that will last while time endures. As long as members respect the rights of individuals, individuals will respect their rights, nor will they ever loose this safeguard until they shall

abandon that mutual respect which the citizens of a republic owe to each other. Can gentlemen expect to enjoy particular immunities when they cease to act according to the high station they occupy, and degrade themselves by the use of language such as it does not become the proud spirit of freeman to suffer? Let them be assured the American people will never dishonor themselves by approving the voluntary degradation of their representatives.

"This honorable body claims to exercise a privilege which is undefined and incomprehensible, but gentlemen have not been able to lay their hands on any part of the constitution which authorizes their claim to such an extraordinary prerogative. The attempt to support it rests upon analogy only—and analogy connected with the powers of the star-chamber, that worst excrescence of a despotic monarchy. For centuries, the citizens of England, to their lasting disgrace, cowered and were crushed beneath the political Juggernaut, the almighty and unquestionable prerogative of the king, a prerogative which claimed that the king's court existed wherever the king's person was found; and its prerogative to punish for attempts was to be exercised at his pleasure; and was an engine of cruelty and oppression. They submitted to a privilege which was everything when it was to be exercised, and nothing when it was to be defined and investigated—a privilege which floated as a vague fancy, in the imagination of a British monarch, and was carried into effect by his despotic arm; in the exercise of which, the subjects of the British realm were, without law, distrained of their liberty, imprisoned, fined, pillored, whipped and pillored again.

"Gentlemen have admitted that the power they claimed is not found in the constitution; then where is it? There is no king here, to fancy his own high prerogative—we know no royal majesty in this country, to be preserved at the expense of the rights and liberties of the citizens. On what ground then was the privilege placed? On necessity?—the plea of all tyrants—the hackneyed engine of despotism. Who ever heard of a right higher than the Constitution?

All the powers of this court are derivative. They exist only as they have been defined and regulated by the people. Whatever is not so granted is the assumption of an extraordinary prerogative. If the power is not in the constitution, then it is reserved to the people, and the assumption of it is an encroachment upon the rights of the citizens. If, however, the court shall assume this power, and the American people witnessing it shall acquiesce in the assumption, I shall bow to their will with the most reverential respect.

"I trust I shall exhibit the same submission, as has distinguished my conduct throughout this trial. Although the officer sent to arrest me, could never have effected his purpose without raising a posse, I bowed, and ever shall bow to the very shadow of authority of the House, so long as my resistance shall be construed into contempts of the Representatives of the people of the Union!

"I conceive that the House had no right to deprive me of liberty and arraign me at its bar, I shall treat its will with profound respect, and should its will inflict on me a heavier penalty than even the law itself would pronounce, I shall submit willingly to whatever it may adjudge.

"I have lived to sustain the institutions of my country, and I will never treat either them or the funcionarios of its government with contumely. Yet it is my opinion that the right has been assumed without legitimate authority, and that the American people when they come to look at the proceeding, and see how directly it strikes at the liberty of the citizen will never approve of the usurpation. To tell that people, that their servants, when acting in a private capacity, are protected by an undefined power resting in the breasts of men, who at once exercise the functions of accusers, witnesses, prosecutors, judges, and juries, will excite their astonishment, and unless I am mistaken, they will deem it an awl revelation of usurped and dangerous power.

"It is certainly a matter of some magnitude that the privileges of the House, so strenuously asserted, should be defined. The power assumed by this court is a higher power than that claimed by a British parliament. I dislike precedents where the rights of citizens are at stake. They cannot bind as when drawn from British history, because our constitution and laws are dissimilar to those in England. The privileges of parliament, however, are in some degree refined, by the laws and precedents of that country, and if they were binding, I should yet be acquitted even on their own ground; for the most distinguished jurists of England, men who have devoted their whole lives to the study of their constitutional laws, have expressly decided that when a libel uttered by a member of parliament is published by him, the act of publication places him out of the protection of his privilege. In the establishment of this position, I am, entrenched in authorities, as distinguished and unquestionable, as any that can be relied on by gentlemen, on the other side. And surely it cannot possibly be supposed that this court has a right to exercise powers which the parliament of England does not claim for its members, though they are Lords and Dukes. The nations of the old world are looking for your decision. A great principle is involved. The liberties of more than twelve millions of souls are at stake, and my chief regret is that on so weighty a subject, I am so incompetent to the task which has fallen to my lot, and that I do not possess those abilities which would enable me fully to *shew*, what blessings on the one hand, or what curses on the other, must flow from the decision to which this House must arrive. While the people of other nations are contemplating all that is sublime and beautiful of government, as exhibited in the American Constitution—while they look to their fair plains and their fruitful valleys, as a land of refuge for the oppressed, a sacred sanctuary which stands ready to receive and to protect those who fly from shores polluted with the influence of despotism, while the hope of the philanthropist is full blown, and

all eyes are directed to this land, as the land of human promise, shall it be told that there exists in the midst of us a privilege regulated by no law, and of so mysterious a nature, that the citizen of this republic knows not when he violated it? Publish this fact, among other nations, and none will think of flying to a country where even their personal liberty must depend upon caprice, and must lie at the mercy of a principle purely tyrannical; for whether exercised by one or many; the principle I repeat is tyrannical. It is capricious, and in its practical effects, may become cruel in the extreme. So long, as the security of the citizen rests upon defined laws although the punishment attached to their transgression may be very severe; still, if both law and punishment are clearly laid down, and publicly known, the law may be obeyed and the punishment avoided. But it will ever be found that men have an inherent love of liberty, and an inborn sense of the value of reputation which never can be made to yield to an authority.

‘There is a bright, undying thought in man,
That bids his soul still upward look
To fame’s proud cliff;
And longing look,
In hopes to grave his name,
For after ages to admire,
And wonder how he reached
The dizzy, dangerous height,
Of where he stood, or how.’

“This is the spirit which animates and cheers men in pursuit of honorable achievements!

“Apprehensions seem to be entertained, by members of this House, lest violence should some day be employed, to abridge this honorable body in the enjoyment of its rights; and precedents have been referred to, to show that the deliberations of a legislature may be controlled by armed mobs! One gentleman seemed all alive to the prospect of these dangers; and gentlemen, in the progress of my case, have talked about the Government being overthrown! They have spoken of the designs of tyrants. They have conjured up the spectre of a Chief Magistrate who may have his bullies and his myrmidons, and may employ them to carry measures in this House, by practices the most nefarious. Sir, I trust I shall never see that day arrive; and I hope that those who are much younger than I, may never witness its fearful reality. But while gentlemen seem so greatly to dread the tyranny of a single individual, and appear to consider it as a matter of course that it must be some Caesar, some Cromwell, or some Bonaparte, who is to overthrow our liberties; I must beg leave to dissent from that opinion. All history will show that no tyrant ever grasped the reins of power until they were put into his hands by corrupt and obsequious legislative bodies. If I apprehended the subversion of our liberties, I should look not to the Executive, but to the legislative department.

“The whole history of Greece furnished ample lessons of instruction on this subject. And when Caesar trampled on the liberties of his country, it was because a corrupt and factious Senate had placed the sceptre in his hands, and tendered him the crown. The same thing had been done both in Rome and elsewhere; not because one man was strong enough to conquer the nation, but because the nation made their liberties a footstool—encouraged and invited him to place his feet upon their necks. Men never can be conquered, so long as the spirit of liberty breathes in their bosoms, but let their legislature once become corrupt and servile, then the freedom of the people becomes an easy prey. It is to be hoped that the frequent elections secured by our form of Government, may save us from this fruitful source of ruin, but if the term of our representative’s office, were for life, we should be in fearful danger of sharing the fate that has happened to all Republics before us. The process is easy and natural! Laws are first enacted, which trench but a little on the people’s liberties—these are suffered to pass. Then other laws are enacted—which go a little further—men begin to find that power is rallying to the strong point—from which favors are liberally dispensed. They seek those favours, and thus become gradually corrupted. The corruption, which has begun at the *centre*, flows, by degrees, to the extremities of the state, from whence, by a natural re-action, it reflows again to the centre and there settling, it generates a tyrant. Sir, it is thus that tyranny arises—a senate grows corrupt like that of Rome—men become its members who look with a deep intense burning interest to the possession of power—their constant cry is for power—give us more power—we want rank, and ribbons, and titles and exclusive privileges! It is such men who bowed their knees to Pompey, hailed triumphant Caesar, and tendered him the sceptre. It is true, that Caesar grasped at it, but he never could have clutched it, had there been an upright, honest Legislature; faithful to virtue and to Rome. England has had her Cromwell. But why? Because a despot had previously reigned, whom conspiracy had stricken down—and because a parliament, although the idol of the British people, had become radically corrupt—and, instead of supporting and purifying the throne, had hurled it to the ground. Cromwell’s hopes were then young—he commenced with that lowliness which is ever the policy of young ambition, but soon he walked, he marched, and in the end seized upon a throne, not lower than that of the autocrat of all the Russias. Never would he have been crowned protector had not the Parliament of England been first corrupted—re-reared the protectoral throne on the necks of a base and servile parliament, who tamely brooked the indignity which dastards deserved. An honorable gentlemen had alluded to the Constituent and National Assembly of France! What Legislative bodies could have been more corrupt than they? If the galleries dictated the law to those bodies, why was it? But because they them-

selves had usurped the power they exercised—and terror struck the hearts of men who had no home, no country, for where there is no security to the citizen, there is neither home nor country. Bonaparte was used to say that it was not he who seized the thrones of Europe, but it was the people of Europe, who had thrown themselves under his feet. But the fears of gentlemen are groundless. Those who crowd the lobbies of an American Legislature are too enlightened, too patriotic, ever to insult the members of their own House of Representatives. Let the House do its duty, within the constitution, and they will find, throughout every portion of this people, a spirit of the deepest reverence to sustain their rights. I submit, then, to this Court, whether gentlemen who have presented so many hypothetical cases, and indulged so many vague fears, have not disquieted themselves in vain. Some of the gentlemen have thrown out the idea that probably they themselves might be the next victim for immolation—that some rude, ferocious bully might assault them for the remarks they had offered on the floor. If these remarks were intended to refer to me—although the gentlemen no doubt, thought they were doing me nothing more than sheer justice, yet I can assure them, that I have not merited such a reproach at their hands, and I think that the hearing of this case and the summing up of the evidence by my counsel, may be sufficient to prove that such fears are groundless. I have never thirsted for the blood of my fellow man. I have never been engaged in riots, or guilty of bullying any man. I have never interrupted any officer of the Government in the discharge of his duties. I have never been the advocate of bullies or the representative of blackguards. I never sought to inspire the fears of anyone by superior physical force—nor have I ever assailed any one unless when deeply wronged. I would willingly give my life as a guaranty for the protection of the members of this House. I would be the first to protect them, the last to insult their feelings or to violate the sanctuary of their persons. It was deemed necessary to issue a summary process for my apprehension, and it was openly maintained that my conduct most richly deserved punishment. I submitted. I made no resistance to that process—I submitted, and shall ever submit to the decisions of this House. Yet it has been deemed not sufficient to rely on the constitution, and on privileges never granted by the Constitution, but even the personal feelings of members have been appealed to—the very bond of sociability has been called in aid of this attempt against the liberty of the American citizen. If it had been determined to try me for an alleged offense, why appeal to personal feeling, but to induce the House to act under the influence of partiality, and sacrifice its duty, the law, and the constitution, to merely personal consideration.

“And what effect was all this to produce in our land? To distract the American citizen of his liberty—to prostrate him by power and influence, unknown to the laws of this country.



WILLIAM T. BARRY, 1764-1835.

Postmaster General in Jackson's Cabinet March 9, 1829 to April 11, 1835; member of Congress from Kentucky 1810-1811; United States Senator 1814-1816; appointed Minister to Spain and died en route to Madrid in 1835.



EDWARD LIVINGSTON, 1764-1836.

Secretary of State, Jackson's Cabinet, May 24, 1831 to May 29, 1833. Member of Congress from New York 1795-1801, Mayor of New York 1801-1803; served at Battle of New Orleans on Jackson's Staff; member of Congress from Louisiana 1823-1829; United States Senator from Louisiana 1829-1831; Minister to France 1833-1835.

“Thus public liberty is assailed, in the person of an individual, and in prostrating him, a principle will be destroyed, which is the great safeguard of American liberty. Sir, the time was, when the name of Roman Citizen was known throughout the world, as the protection of him who bore it. Italy was then the seat of liberty; there she shone like the sun in his brightness, and her rays darted themselves to the remotest ends of the earth. It was a noble example, and we should do well to profit by it. In consequence of the decision of gentlemen, the rectitude of whose motives I am far from arraigning, I am brought before you as an accused man, and placed to respond in my own behalf, before this high tribunal. However novel such an attitude may be to me, it may the better be endured since it is a great principle that I contend for. It is not my rights alone, but the rights of millions that are involved. Need I state this here? Who can be so wise to know, or who can have the same incentives to preserve the just and unalienable rights of an American citizen, as the high court I now address. American Citizen! It is a sacred name! Its sanctity attaches itself alike to his person, whether he journeys over the scorching sands of Florida, or wanders in the deepest forests of our northern frontier; throughout the Republic, or in his native State; in the bosom of civilization, or in the wilderness of savage life; still he is an American citizen. I do not suspect the motives of gentlemen; I should not deserve justice at their hands, if I could; I am very sure they will feel themselves elevated, far above the influence of every sinister consideration. So believing, it will give me pleasure to endure their will, and I should be proud to be even their victim, rather than admit the belief that they can be actuated by any base or unworth motive. I might refer to other matters which are on my mind, and which press for utterance. But I shall indulge in no feelings on such an occasion as the present. And should any unguarded expression have fallen from me, I can assure gentlemen that it has fallen without design. The members of this court must be aware that many individuals have calculated on the opportunity of humililating me, could their measures be sanctioned by the public. But I feel proudly confident that nothing which trenches on the right, that every man born in this land possesses, to a fair and open trial, can ever be sanctioned by the people. I have had the misfortune to see a witness brought here in behalf of the accused, insulted upon the stand—insulted, where he was entitled to expect protection from this House. I have further seen the counsel who conducted my defense treated with personal disrespect. A gentleman whose bland and amiable manners should have at least have shielded him from every thing like rudeness or indignity. A gentleman whose intelligence raises him to a distinguished eminence in society, and the fruits of whose genius will be a proud legacy to posterity. He was entitled, as it seemed to me, especially when engaged in behalf of an accused man, to respectful consideration and gentlemanly treatment. How far the course

pursued towards him was of this description, I leave it for the court to decide. But this was not the only remarkable thing in the course of the present trial. In a court of justice, I had ever been taught to believe that the person of an individual accused, whatever might have been his alleged offense was held to be under protection; that he was shielded by the dignity and authority of the tribunal from obloquy and abuse, and protected from all violence, whether by speech or action. It is admitted that counsel may animadvert with severity upon his conduct, and enlarge upon his guilt. But there is a decorum which usually governs the style of a prosecutor; however-so-much heated he may be by his subject. The power of public opinion if nothing else is sufficient to restrain him, and to correct all impropriety of language. He has reason to fear the correction of an indignant people, whenever he is tempted to heap insult upon those in bonds. But while standing at this bar, have I not been branded with the epithet of assassin? And have I not brooked it? Will the annals of judicial proceeding exhibit another instance where such language has been permitted to be applied to an individual in custody. Yet before the eyes of this assembly, and in the eyes of this whole nation, have I been traduced by the epithet assassin. Sir, I trust that I need not disclaim the crime imputed in that word. I bore no dagger when I met my accuser! When that term was applied to me, in this place, and on this occasion, I do confess that I felt my spirit chafed, and my feelings indignant. But so far as the muscles of my countenance were capable of suppressing every indication of such a feeling, I did suppress it. Yet I could not but think of the eloquent and impressive rebuke administered to the high Priest of the Jews by the Apostle Paul, when he stood in bonds before them, and the high Priest ordered him to be smote upon the mouth. 'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall, for settest thou to judge me, according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?' When I was on my trial, at this bar, I was under the protection of this august tribunal. I had by my deportment here provoked no indignity. As an American citizen I had a claim to that immunity from insult which accorded to the veriest victim of malice. Yet I was stigmatised as an assassin, and I brooked it, uttering no reproach in reply. I hoped it might be a propitiation of the offense, if I had committed any against the privileges of the American people.

"As for the feeling which promoted my accuser, who made use of the term, however warranted he may have supposed himself in applying it to me, I can refer him to the time, and I do it with pride, though not in the spirit of vaunting, when it was my destiny, and I felt it, I confess, a high and honorable destiny, to be the representative on this floor of American freeman.

"Did the gentleman at this time see anything in my deportment which would warrant his treating me as he has done? And I think it must be accorded to me, that when, since that time, I

have been accidentally present here, my deportment has been ever respectful. It has never been my habit to retain and gratify malignant feelings, nor should I have given occasion for the present proceedings, had I not been accused, denounced, and insulted upon this floor. I do not justify my course. I had been held accountable, and I have accounted for it. But I trust this is not to be made a precedent for others. If in what I did, I sinned against this honorable House, I was uncounscious of the fact. The sin existed not in my intention; it had no place in my heart. If others now enjoying the high station I once possessed, think it becoming to assail me with contempt, ridicule and vituperation, I trust I have the fortitude to endure it. I can not forget that while I have my privileges others have their privileges also, and must account for their improper exercise.

"I may have erred when proceeding on the principle of other analagous cases. I objected to the judgment of a prejudiced and committed judge. If I had made an assassin-like attack upon the reputation of an accused man, I would have at least held myself aloof from the task of pronouncing judgment upon him. Sir, I feel that I never could have done it. Could I have been guilty of such an act? Could I so far have lost sight of every high object, of every noble purpose, of every sacred trust—I should have incurred a doom so degraded, that imagination itself would fail in the pursuit of my destiny, and fancy would become weary, in the pursuit of a profitless journey. I should have sunken myself so low, that Archimides himself, with all the fancied powers of his levers, though employed at the task for a thousand years, could never have exalted such a spirit to the rank and circumstance of honorable men—whatever epithets it may have pleased gentlemen to use, I acquit them of reproach. I have no epithets to return. I will not cherish for a moment, an unkind feeling—not for 'the unkindest cut of all.'

"Sir, even if injury has been done to the privileges of this house, which I deny, does it not become the House to consider whether, on correcting one wrong, another may not spring up of a far greater and overshadowing magnitude. In the discussion which preceded my arrest, my character was gratuitously and watonly assailed. It was suggested, as an argument for the arrest, that I had probably fled like a ruffian, a renegade and a black-guard; and that minutes might be a vast importance.

"To these gentlemen, who could advance such an opinion, I say that they knew little about me. I never avoided responsibility. I have periled some little in the protection of American citizens, and if I, myself an American citizen, have periled life and blood to protect the hearths of my fellow citizens, they little know me, who would imagine that I would flee from the charge of crime that was imputed to me. At all events, they will learn, that for once, I have not proved recreant. I have not eschewed responsibility—I have not sought refuge in flight. Never! never!—

shall that brand attach itself to my name. Would it not have been strange, that I should seek to dishonor my country, through her representatives, when I have ever been found ready, at her call, to do and suffer in her service? And I trust that while living upon this earth, I shall ever be found ready, at her call, to vindicate the wrongs inflicted upon her in collective capacity, or upon her citizens in their personal rights; and to resent my own personal wrongs. Whatever gentlemen may have imagined, so long as that proud emblem of my country's liberties, with its stripes and its stars (pointing to the American flag over the portrait of LaFayette) shall wave in this Hall of American Legislators, so long shall it cast its sacred protection over the personal rights of every American citizen. Sir, when you shall have destroyed the pride of American character, you will have destroyed the brightest jewel that Heaven ever made. You will have drained the purest and holiest drop which visits the heart of your sages in counsel, and your heroes in the field. You will have annihilated the principle that must sustain that emblem of the nation's glory, and elevates that emblem above your own exalted seat. These massive columns, with yonder lofty dome, shall sink into one crumbling ruin. Yes, Sir, though corruption may have done something, and luxury may have added her seductive powers in endangering the perpetuity of our nation's fair fame, it is these privileges which still induce every American citizen to cling to the institutions of his country, and to look to the assembled representatives of this native land as their best and only safeguard.

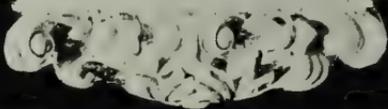
"But, Sir, as long as that flag shall bear aloft its glittering stars—bearing them amidst the din of battle, and waving them triumphantly above the storms of the ocean, so long, I trust, shall the rights of American citizens be preserved safe and unimpaired, and transmitted as a sacred legacy from one generation to another, till discord shall wreck its spheres, the grand march of time shall cease—and not one fragment of all creation be left to chafe on the bosom of eternity's waves."



ROBERT Y. HAYNE,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, U.S. SENATOR,
GOVERNOR OF SO. CA., FIRST MAYOR OF CHARLESTON.
HIS LAST PUBLIC SERVICE
WAS HIS EFFORT TO OPEN DIRECT RAILROAD COMMUNICATION
WITH THE VAST INTERIOR OF OUR CONTINENT.

"NEXT TO THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION I KNOW OF NOTHING
TO BE COMPARED WITH THE INFLUENCE OF A FREE,
SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE, IN SOFTENING
ASPERITIES, REMOVING PREJUDICES, EXTENDING
KNOWLEDGE AND PROMOTING HUMAN HAPPINESS." HAYNE



CHAPTER 15.

Nullification: Ordinance of South Carolina nullifying Acts of Congress; Address of Convention in South Carolina to the people of the United States; Jackson's proclamation on the nullification question December 11, 1832; Inaugural address of Gov. Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina; Gov. Hayne's Proclamation Dec. 20, 1832.

When Henry Clay's Compromise Bill looking to an accommodation of Nullification troubles in South Carolina passed Congress and was signed by Jackson, that leader instantly became the most popular man that ever lived in America down to that time. The Bill passed the Senate by a vote of 29 to 16 and the House by a vote of 119 to 85 and Jackson did not hesitate about signing it; and so the dangerous issue between South Carolina and the United States passed harmlessly away. The bill was not the bill introduced by Mr. Verplanck which was the administration bill, but Mr. Clay's bill.

Jackson's popularity soared skyward when his great Nullification Proclamation was issued, but when that danger had passed by and the compromise tariff act had become a law, the public saw in Jackson the savior of the country a second time as his victory at New Orleans had been the first. He will be known in years to come by his Nullification Proclamation more than by all his other acts, military or civil, combined. It alone will forever fix his place among the great men of the Country.

In order that the reader may have a clear and connected view of the chain of events which inaugurated Nullification and led on to its settlement without bloodshed or war, we will start the narrative with South Carolina's Ordinance to nullify certain Acts of Congress, passed by a State Convention on Nov. 24, 1832. This Convention met Nov. 19, 1832, and in six days had made history of far-reaching and very dangerous importance. Governor James Hamilton was President of the Convention. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, May 8, 1786; completed academic studies, studied law and was admitted to the bar and

began practice in Charleston; served in the War of 1812 as Major; was mayor of Charleston; served several terms in the State House of Representatives; elected to the Seventeenth Congress, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William Lowndes, as a State Rights Free Trader; re-elected to the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Congresses (March 4, 1821–March 3, 1829); was governor of South Carolina 1830–1832; moved to Texas and drowned while on his way from New Orleans to Galveston, November 15, 1857.

This ordinance in full except the names of the Delegates of the Convention which were signed to it, is as follows:

“ORDINANCE

“An ordinance to Nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws laying duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities.

“Whereas the Congress of the United States, by various acts, purporting to be acts laying duties and imposts on foreign imports, but in reality intended for the protection of domestic manufactures, and the giving of bounties to classes and individuals engaged in particular employments, at the expense and to the injury and oppression of other classes and individuals, and by wholly exempting from taxation certain foreign commodities, such as are not produced or manufactured in the United States, to afford a pretext for imposing higher and excessive duties on articles similar to those intended to be protected, hath exceeded its just powers under the constitution, which confers on it no authority to afford such protection, and hath violated the true meaning and intent of the constitution, which provides for equality in imposing the burthens of taxation upon the several states and portions of the confederacy: And whereas the said congress, exceeding its just power to impose taxes and collect revenue for the purpose of effecting and accomplishing the specific objects and purposes which the Constitution of the United States authorizes it to effect and accomplish, hath raised and collected unnecessary revenue for objects unauthorized by the constitution:

“We, therefore, the people of the state of South Carolina in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and, more especially, an act entitled ‘An act in alteration of the several acts imposing duties on imports,’ approved on the nineteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, and also an act entitled ‘An act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports,’ approved

on the fourteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, are unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens; and all promises, contracts, and obligations, made or entered into, or to be made or entered into, with purpose to secure the duties imposed by the said acts, and all judicial proceedings which shall be hereafter had in affirmance thereof, are and shall be held utterly null and void.

“And it is further ordained, that it shall not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities, whether of this state or the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the said acts within the limits of this state; but it shall be the duty of the Legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States within the limits of this state, from and after the 1st day of February next, and the duty of all other constituted authorities, and of all persons residing or being within the limits of this state, and they are hereby required and enjoined, to obey and give effect to this ordinance, and such acts and measures of the Legislature as may be passed or adopted in obedience thereto.

“And it is further ordained, that in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of this state, wherein shall be drawn in question the authority of this ordinance, or the validity of such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed for the purpose of giving effect thereto, or the validity of the aforesaid acts of Congress, imposing duties, shall any appeal be taken or allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose; and if any such appeal shall be attempted to be taken, the courts of this state shall proceed to execute and enforce their judgments, according to the laws and usages of the state, without reference to such attempted appeal, and the person or persons attempting to take such appeal may be dealt with as for a contempt of the court.

“And it is further ordained, that all persons now holding any office of honor, profit, or trust, civil or military, under this state, (members of the Legislature excepted), shall, within such time, and in such manner as the Legislature shall prescribe, take an oath well and truly to obey, execute, and enforce, this ordinance, and such act or acts of the Legislature as may be passed in pursuance thereof, according to the true intent and meaning of the same; and on the neglect or omission of any such person or persons so to do, his or their office or offices shall be forthwith vacated, and shall be filled up as if such person or persons were dead or had resigned; and no person hereafter elected to any office of honor, profit, or trust, civil or military (members of the Legislature excepted), shall, until the Legislature shall otherwise provide and

direct, enter on the execution of his office, or be in any respect competent to discharge the duties thereof, until he shall, in like manner, have taken a similar oath; and no juror shall be empannelled in any of the courts of this state, in any cause in which shall be in question this ordinance, or any act of the Legislature passed in pursuance thereof, unless he shall first, in addition to the usual oath, have taken an oath that he will well and truly obey, execute, and enforce this ordinance, and such acts or acts of the Legislature as may be passed to carry the same into operation and effect, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

"And we, the people of South Carolina, to the end that it may be fully understood by the Government of the United States, and the people of the co-states, that we are determined to maintain this, our ordinance and declaration, at every hazard, do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the Federal Government, to reduce this state to obedience; but that we will consider the passage, by Congress, of any act authorizing the employment of a military or naval force against the State of South Carolina, her constituted authorities or citizens; or any act abolishing or closing the ports of this state, or any of them, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress and egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act on the part of the Federal Government, to coerce the state, shut up her ports, destroy or harrass her commerce, or to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union: and that the people of this state will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other states, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states may of right to do.

"Done in convention at Columbia, the twenty-fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and in the fifty-seventh year of the declaration of the Independence of the United States of America.

"James Hamilton, Jr.

'President of the convention, and Delegate from St. Peters.'

The convention in order to lay its views before all other states of the Union, and to justify South Carolina's cause as far as may be, issued an address to the people of the United States after its Ordinance had been duly passed and made public.

"ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"To the people of Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, New Jersey, Georgia, Delaware, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama and Missouri.

"We, the people of South Carolina, assembled in convention, have solemnly and deliberately declared, in our paramount sovereign capacity, that the act of Congress, approved the 19th day of May, 1828, and the act approved the 14th of July, 1832, altering and amending the several acts imposing duties and imports, are unconstitutional, and, therefore, absolutely void and of no binding force within the limits of this state; and for the purpose of carrying this declaration into full and complete effect, we have invested the Legislature with ample powers, and made it the duty of all the functionaries and all the citizens of the state, on their allegiance, to co-operate in enforcing the aforesaid declaration.

"In resorting to this important measure, to which we have been impelled by the most sacred of all the duties which a free people can owe either to the memory of their ancestors or to the claims of their posterity, we feel that it is due to the intricate political relation which exists between South Carolina and the other states of this confederacy, that we should present a clear and distinct exposition of the principles on which we have acted, and of the causes by which we have been reluctantly constrained to assume this attitude of sovereign resistance in relation to the usurpations of the Federal Government.

"For this purpose, it will be necessary to state, briefly, what we conceive to be the relation created by the Federal Constitution between the States and the General Government; and also what we conceive to be the true character and practical operation of the system of protecting duties, as it effects our rights, our interests, and our liberties.

"We hold, then, that on their separation from the Crown of Great Britain, the several colonies became free and independent states, each enjoying the separate and independent right of self-government; and that no authority can be exercised over them, or within their limits, but by their consent, respectively given as states. It is equally true, that the constitution of the United States is a compact formed between the several states acting as sovereign communities; that the Government created by it is a joint agency of the states, appointed to execute the powers enumerated and granted by that instrument; that all its acts, not intentionally authorized, are themselves essentially null and void, and that the states have the right, in the same sovereign capacity in which they adopted the Federal Constitution, to pronounce, in the last result authoritative judgment on the usurpations of the Federal Government, and to adopt such measures as they may deem necessary and expedient to arrest the operation of the unconstitutional acts of that Government within their respective limits. Such we deem to be the inherent rights of the states—rights, in the very nature things, absolutely inseparable from sovereignty. Nor is the duty of a state, to arrest an unconstitutional and oppressive act of the Federal Government less imperative, than the right is incontestible. Each state, by rati-

fyng the Federal Constitution, and becoming a member of the confederacy, contracted an obligation to 'protect and defend, th^a instrument, as well by resisting the usurpations of the Federal Government, as by sustaining that Government in the exercise of the powers actually conferred upon it. And the obligations of the oath which is imposed, under the constitution, on every functionary of the states, to 'preserve, protect, and defend' the Federal Constitution, as clearly comprehends the duty of protecting and defending it against the usurpations of the Federal Government, as that of protecting and defending it against violation in any other form, or from any other quarter.

"It is true, that, in ratifying the Federal Constitution, the states placed a large and important portion of the rights of their citizens under the joint protection of all the states, with a view to their more effectual security; but it is not less true that they reserved a portion still larger, and not less important, under their own immediate guardianship, and in relation to which, their original obligation to protect their citizens, from whatever quarter assailed, remains unchanged and undiminished.

"But clear and undoubted as we regard the right, and sacred as we regard the duty of the states, to interpose their sovereign power for the purpose of protecting their citizens from the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the Federal Government, yet, we are as clearly of the opinion, that nothing short of that high moral and political necessity, which results from acts of usurpation, subversive of the rights and liberties of the people, should induce a member of this confederacy to resort to this interposition. Such, however, is the melancholy and painful necessity under which we have declared the acts of Congress imposing protecting duties null and void within the limits of South Carolina. The spirit and the principles which animated your ancestors, and ours, in the councils and in the fields of their common glory, forbid us to submit any longer to a system of legislation, now become the established policy of the Federal Government, by which we are reduced to a condition of colonial vassalage, in all its aspects more oppressive and intolerable than that from which our common ancestors relieved themselves by the war of the revolution. There is no right which enters more essentially into a just conception of liberty, than that of the free and unrestricted use of the productions of our industry. This clearly involves the right of carrying the productions of that industry wherever they can be most advantageously exchanged, whether in foreign or domestic markets. South Carolina produces, almost exclusively, agricultural staples, which derive their principal value from the demand for them in foreign countries. Under these circumstances, her natural markets are abroad; and restrictive duties imposed upon her intercourse with those markets, diminish the exchangeable value of her productions very nearly to the full extent of those duties.

"Under a system of free trade, the aggregate crop of South Carolina could be exchanged for a larger quantity of manufactures, by at least one-third, than it can be now exchanged for under the protecting system. It is no less evident, that the value of that crop is diminished by the protecting system very nearly, if not precisely, to the extent that the aggregate quantity of manufactures which can be obtained for it is diminished. It is, indeed, strictly and philosophically true, that the quantity of consumable commodities which can be obtained for the cotton and rice annually produced by the industry of the state, is the precise measure of their aggregate value. But, for the prevalent and habitual error of confounding the money price with the exchangeable value of our agricultural staples, these propositions would be regarded as self-evident. If the protecting duties were repealed, one hundred bales of cotton or one hundred barrels of rice would purchase as large a quantity of manufactures as one hundred and fifty will now purchase. The annual income of the state, its means of purchasing and consuming the necessaries and comforts and luxuries of life, would be increased in a corresponding degree.

"Almost the entire cotton crop of South Carolina, amounting, annually, to more than six millions of dollars, is ultimately exchanged either for foreign manufactures, subject to protecting duties, or for similar domestic manufactures. The *natural* value of that crop would be all the manufactures which we could obtain for it under a system of unrestricted commerce. The *artificial* value, produced by the unjust and unconstitutional legislation of Congress, is only such part of those manufactures as will remain after paying a duty of fifty per cent to the Government; or, to speak with more precision, to the northern manufacturers. To make this obvious to the humblest comprehension, let it be supposed that the whole of the present crop should be exchanged, by the planters themselves, for those foreign manufactures for which it is destined, by the inevitable course of trade, to be ultimately exchanged, either by themselves or their agents. Let it be also assumed, in conformity with the facts of the case, that New Jersey, for example, produces, of the very same description of manufactures, a quantity equal to that which is purchased by the cotton crop of South Carolina. We have, then, two states of the same confederacy, bound to bear an equal share of the burthens, and entitled to enjoy an equal share of the benefits of the common Government, with precisely the same quantity of productions, of the same quality and kind, produced by their lawful industry. We appeal to your candor, and to your sense of justice, to say whether South Carolina has not a title as sacred and indefeasible to the full and undiminished enjoyment of these productions of her industry acquired by the combined operations of agriculture and commerce, as New Jersey can have to the like enjoyment of similar productions of her industry, acquired by the process of manufac-

ture? Upon no principle of constitutional right—upon no principle of human reason or justice, can any discrimination be drawn between the titles of South Carolina and New Jersey to these productions of their capital and labor. Yet, what is the discrimination actually made by the unjust, unconstitutional, and partial legislation of Congress? A duty, on an average, of fifty percent is imposed upon the productions of South Carolina, while no duty at all is imposed upon the similar productions of New Jersey! The inevitable result is, that the manufactures thus lawfully acquired by the honest industry of South Carolina are worth, annually, three millions of dollars less to her citizens than the very same quantity of the very same description of manufactures are worth to the citizens of New Jersey: a difference of value produced exclusively by the operation of the protecting system.

“No ingenuity can either evade or refuse this proposition. The very axioms of geometry are not more self-evident. For even if the planters of South Carolina, in the case supposed, were to sell and not consume these productions of their industry, it is plain that they could obtain no higher price for them, after paying duties to the amount of \$3,000,000 than the manufacturers of New Jersey would obtain for the same quantity of the same kind of manufactures, without paying any duty at all.

“This single view of the subject, exhibits the enormous inequality and injustice of the protecting system in such a light, that we feel the most consoling confidence that we shall be fully justified by the impartial judgment of posterity, whatever may be the issue of this unhappy controversy. We confidently appeal to our confederate states, and to the whole world, to decide whether the annals of human legislation furnish a parallel instance of injustice and oppression perpetrated under the forms of a free government. However it may be disguised by the complexity of the process by which it is effected, it is nothing less than the monstrous outrage of taking three millions of dollars annually from the value of the productions of South Carolina, and transferring it to the people of other distant communities. No human government can rightfully exercise such a power. It violates the eternal principles of natural justice, and converts the Government into a mere instrument of legislative plunder. Of all the governments on the face of the earth, the Federal Government has the least shadow of a constitutional right to exercise such a power. It was created principally, and almost exclusively, for the purpose of protecting, improving, and extending that very commerce, which, for the last ten years, all its powers have been most unnaturally and unrighteously perverted to cripple and destroy. The power to ‘regulate with foreign nations,’ was granted obviously for the preservation of that commerce. The most important of all the duties which the Federal Government owes to South Carolina under the compact of Union, is the protection and defense of her foreign commerce against all enemies



JAMES HAMILTON, Jr., 1786-1857.

Governo. of South Carolina, 1830-1832, when the issue of nullification was before the country. Member of Congress: 1821-1829; moved to Texas and drowned while on the way from New Orleans to Galveston.

by whom it may be assailed. And in what manner has this duty been discharged? All the powers of the earth, by their commercial restrictions, and all the pirates of the ocean, by their lawless violence, could not have done so much to destroy our commerce as has been done by that very Government to which its guardianship has been committed by the Federal Constitution. The commerce of South Carolina consists in exchanging the staple productions of her soil for the manufactures of Europe. It is a lawful commerce. It violates the rights of no class of people in any portion of the confederacy. It is this very commerce, therefore, which the constitution has enjoined it upon Congress to encourage, protect, and defend, by such regulations as may be necessary to accomplish that object. But instead of that protection, which is the only tie of our allegiance, as individual citizens, to the Federal Government, we have seen a gigantic system of restrictions gradually reared up, and at length brought to a fatal maturity, of which it is the avowed object, and must be the inevitable result, to sweep our commerce from the great highway of nations, and cover our land with poverty and ruin.

“Even the states most deeply interested in the maintenance of the protecting system will admit that it is the interest of South Carolina to carry on a commerce of exchanges with foreign countries, free from restrictions, prohibitory burthens, or incumbrances of any kind. We feel, and we know, that the vital interests of the state are involved in such a commerce. It would be a downright insult to our understandings to tell us that our interests are not injured, deeply injured, by those prohibitory duties, intended and calculated to prevent us from obtaining the cheap manufactures of foreign countries of our domestic establishments, or pay the penalty of the protecting duties for daring to exercise one of the most sacred of our natural rights. What right, then, human or divine, have the manufacturing states—for we regard the Federal Government as a mere instrument in their hands—to prohibit South Carolina, directly or indirectly, from going to her natural markets, and exchanging the rich productions of her soil, without restriction or incumbrance, for such foreign articles as will most conduce to the wealth and prosperity of her citizens? It will not, surely, be pretended—for truth and decency equally forbid the allegation—that, in exchanging our productions for the cheaper manufactures of Europe, we violate any right of the domestic manufacturers, however gratifying it might be to them, if we could purchase their inferior productions at higher prices.

“Upon what principle, then, can the state of South Carolina be called to submit to a system which excludes her from her natural markets, and the manifold benefits of that enriching commerce which a kind and beneficent providence has provided to connect her with the family of nations, by the bonds of mutual interest? But one answer can be given to this question. It is in vain that we attempt to disguise the fact, mortifying as it must be,

that the principle by which South Carolina is thus excluded, is, in strict propriety of language, and to all rational intents and purposes, a principle of colonial dependance and vassalage, in all respects identical with that which restrained our forefathers from trading with any manufacturing nation of Europe other than Great Britain. South Carolina now bears the same relation to the manufacturing states of this confederacy, that the Anglo-American colonies bore to the mother country, with the single exception, that our burthens are incomparably more oppressive than those of our ancestors. Our time, our pride, and the occasion, equally forbid us to trace out the degrading analogy. We leave that to the historian who shall record the judgment which an impartial posterity will pronounce upon the eventful transactions of this day.

"It is in vain that we attempt to console ourselves by the empty and unreal mockery of our representation in Congress. As to all those great and vital interests of the state which are affected by the protecting system, it would be better that she had no representation in that body. It serves no other purpose but to conceal the chains which fetter our liberties, under the vain and empty forms of a representative Government. In the enactment of the protecting system, the majority of Congress is, in strict propriety of speech, an irresponsible despotism. A very brief analysis will render this clear to every understanding. What then, we ask, is involved in the idea of political responsibility in the imposition of public burthens? It clearly implies, that those who impose the burthens should be responsible to those who bear them. Every representative in Congress should be responsible, not only to his own immediate constituents, but through them and their common participation in the burthens imposed, to the constituents of every other representative. If, in the enactment of a protecting tariff, the majority in Congress imposed upon their own constituents the same burthens which they impose upon the people of South Carolina, that majority would act under all the restraints of political responsibility, and we should have the best security which human wisdom has yet devised against oppressive legislation.

"But the fact is precisely the reverse of this. The majority in Congress, in imposing protecting duties, which are utterly destructive to the interests of South Carolina, not only impose no burthens, but actually confer enriching bounties upon their constituents, proportioned to the burthens they impose upon us. Under these circumstances, the principle of representative responsibility is perverted into a principle of absolute despotism. It is this very tie, binding the majority of Congress to execute the will of their constituents, which makes them our inexorable oppressors. They dare not open their hearts to the sentiments of human justice, or to the feelings of human sympathy. They are tyrants by the very necessity of their position, however elevated may be their principles in their individual capacities:

“The grave question, then, which we have to determine, as the sovereign power of the state, upon the awful responsibility under which we have acted, is, whether we will voluntarily surrender the glorious inheritance purchased and consecrated by the toils, the sufferings, and the blood, of an illustrious ancestry, or transmit that inheritance to our posterity untarnished and undiminished? We could not hesitate in deciding this question. We have, therefore, deliberately and unalterably resolved, that we will no longer submit to a system of oppression which reduces us to the degrading condition of tributary vassals, and which would reduce our posterity, in a few generations, to a state of poverty and wretchedness that would stand in melancholly contrast with the beautiful and delightful region in which the providence of God has cast our destinies. Having formed this resolution with a full view of all its bearings, and of all its probable and possible issues, it is due to the gravity of the subject, and the solemnity of the occasion, that we should speak to our confederate brethren in the plain language of frankness and truth. Though we plant ourselves upon the Constitution, and the immutable principles of justice, and intend to operate exclusively through the civil tribunals and civil functionaries of the state, yet we *will* throw off this oppression *at every hazard*. We believe our remedy to be essentially peaceful. We believe the Federal Government has no shadow or right of authority to act against a sovereign state of the confederacy in any form, much less to coerce it by military power. But we are aware of the diversities of human opinion, and have seen too many proofs of the infatuation of human power, not to have looked with the most anxious concern to the possibility of a resort to military or naval force on the part of the Federal Government; and, in order to obviate the possibility of having the history of this contest stained by a single drop of fraternal blood, we have solemnly and irrevocably resolved that we will regard such a resort as a dissolution of the political ties which connect us with our confederate states; and will, forthwith, provide for the organization of a new and separate government.

“We implore you, and particularly the manufacturing states, not to believe that we have been actuated, in adopting this resolution, by any feeling of resentment or hostility towards them, or by a desire to dissolve the political bonds which have so long united our common destinies. We still cherish that rational devotion to the Union by which this state has been pre-eminently distinguished in all times past. But that blind and idolatrous devotion which would bow down and worship oppression and tyranny, veiled under that consecrated title, if it ever existed among us, has not vanished forever. CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY is the only idol of our political devotion; and, to preserve that, we will not hesitate a single moment to surrender the Union itself, if the sacrifice be necessary. If it had pleased God to cover our eyes with ignorance, if he had not bestowed upon us the understanding

to comprehend the enormity of the oppression under which we labor, we might submit to it without absolute degradation and infamy. But the gifts of providence cannot be neglected or abused with impunity. A people who deliberately submit to oppression, with a full knowledge that they are oppressed, are fit only to be slaves; and all history proves that such a people will soon find a master. It is the pre-existing spirit of slavery in the people that has made tyrants in all ages of the world. No tyrant ever made a slave; no community, however small, having the spirit of freemen, ever yet had a master. The most illustrious of those states which have given to the world examples of human freedom have occupied territories not larger than some of the districts of South Carolina; while the largest masses of population that ever were united under a common government have been the abject, spiritless, and degraded, slaves of despotic rulers. We sincerely hope, therefore, that no portion of the states of this confederacy will permit themselves to be deluded into any measures of rashness by the vain imagination that South Carolina will vindicate her rights and liberties with a less inflexible and unfaltering resolution, with a population of some half a million, than she would do with a population of twenty millions.

"It does not belong to freemen to count the costs, calculate the hazards of vindicating their rights and defending their liberties; and even if we should stand alone in the worst possible emergency of this great controversy, without the co-operation or encouragement of a single state of the confederacy, we will march forward with an unfaltering step, until we have accomplished the object of this great enterprise.

"Having now presented, for the consideration of the Federal Government, and our confederate states, the fixed and final determination of this state in relation to the protecting system, it remains for us to submit a plan of taxation in which we would be willing to acquiesce, in the spirit of liberal concession, provided we are met in due time, and in a becoming spirit, by the States interested in the protection of manufacturers.

"We believe that, upon every just and equitable principle of taxation, the whole list of protected articles should be imported free of all duty, and that the revenue derived from import duties should be raised exclusively from the unprotected articles, or that whenever a duty is imposed upon protected articles imported, an excise duty of the same rate should be imposed upon all similar articles manufactured in the United States. This would be as near an approach to perfect equality as could possibly be made in a system of indirect taxation. No substantial reason can be given for subjecting manufactures obtained from abroad in exchange for the productions of South Carolina to the smallest duty, even for revenue, which would not show that similar manufactures made in the United States, should be subject to the very same rate of duty. The former, not less than the latter, are, to ever rational

intent, the productions of domestic industry, and the mode of acquiring the one is as lawful, and more conducive to the public prosperity, than that of acquiring the other.

"But we are willing to make a large offering to preserve the Union; and, with a distinct declaration that it is a concession on our part, we will consent that the same rate of duty may be imposed upon the protected articles that shall be imposed upon the unprotected, provided that no more revenue be raised than is necessary to meet the demands of the Government for constitutional purposes, and provided, also, that a duty, substantially uniform, be imposed upon all foreign imports.

"It is obvious, that even under this arrangement, the manufacturing states would have a decided advantage over the planting states. For it is demonstrably evident that, as communities, the manufacturing states would bear no part of the burthens of federal taxation, so far as the revenue should be derived from protected articles. The earnestness with which their representatives seek to increase the duties on these articles, is conclusive proof that those duties are bounties, and not burthens, to their constituents. As at least two-thirds of the federal revenue would be raised from protected articles, under the proposed modification of the tariff, the manufacturing states would be entirely exempted from all participation in that proportion of the public burthens.

"Under these circumstances, we cannot permit ourselves to believe for a moment, that, in a crisis marked by such portentous and fearful omens, those states can hesitate in acceding to this arrangement, when they perceive that it will be the means, and possibly the only means, of restoring the broken harmony of this great confederacy. They must assuredly have the strongest of human inducements, aside from all considerations of justice, to adjust this controversy, without pushing it to extremities. This can be accomplished only by the proposed modification of the tariff, or by the call of a General Convention of all the states. If South Carolina should be driven out of the Union, all the other planting states, and some of the western states, would follow by an almost absolute necessity. Can it be believed that Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and even Kentucky, would continue to pay a tribute of fifty per cent upon their consumption to the northern states, for the privilege of being united to them, when they could receive all their supplies through the ports of South Carolina without paying a single cent of tribute?

"The separation of South Carolina would inevitably produce a general dissolution of the Union; and, as a necessary consequence, the protecting system, with all its pecuniary bounties to the northern states, and its pecuniary burthens upon the southern states, would be utterly overthrown and demolished, involving the ruin of thousands and hundreds of thousands in the manufacturing states.

"By these powerful considerations connected with their own pecuniary interests, we beseech them to pause and contemplate the disastrous consequences which will certainly result from an obstinate perseverance, on their part, in maintaining the protecting system. With them it is a question of merely pecuniary interest, connected with no shadow of right, and involving no principle of liberty. With us, it is a question involving our most sacred rights—those very rights which our common ancestors left to us as a common inheritance, purchased by their common toils, and consecrated by their blood. It is a question of liberty on the one hand, and slavery on the other. If we submit to this system of unconstitutional oppression, we shall voluntarily sink into slavery, and transmit that ignominious inheritance to our children. We will not, we cannot, we dare not, submit to this degradation; and our resolve is fixed, and unalterable, that a protecting tariff shall be no longer enforced within the limits of South Carolina. We stand upon the principles of everlasting justice, and no human power shall drive us from our position.

"We have not the slightest apprehension that the General Government will attempt to force this system upon us by military power. We have warned our brethern of the consequences of such an attempt. But if, notwithstanding, such a course of madness should be pursued, we here solemnly declare that this system of oppression shall never prevail in South Carolina until none but slaves are left to submit to it. We would infinitely prefer that the territory of the state should be the cemetery of freemen than the habitation of slaves. Actuated by these principles, and animated by these sentiments, we will cling to the pillars of the temple of our liberties, and if it must fall, we will perish amidst the ruins.

"J. Hamilton, Jr.

"President of the Convention.

"Attest:

"Isaac W. Hayne, Clerk."

South Carolina's challenge to the supremacy of Acts of Congress in her territory had to be met by the sixty-five year old man in the White House, and the way he met it is conceded to be the finest achievement of his whole life. The opinion is wide-spread that Jackson's Proclamation is America's most admirable state paper. It is a lengthy document but many times worthy of the most careful and attentive study. It shows Jackson at his greatest and American presidential statesmanship in it loftiest and most far reaching effort.

"PROCLAMATION ON THE NULLIFICATION QUESTION.

DECEMBER 11, 1832.

"WHEREAS, a Convention assembled in the State of South Carolina, having passed an ordinance by which they declared, 'That

the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of the foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially,' two acts for the same purpose, passed on the 29th of May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, 'are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law,' nor binding on the citizens of that state or its officers: and by the said ordinance, it is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the state or of the United States, to enforce the payment of the duties imposed by the said acts within the same state, and that it is the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance:

"And whereas, by the said ordinance, it is further ordained, that in no case, of law or equity, decided in the courts of said state, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance, or of the acts of the legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court:

"And, finally, the said ordinance declared, that the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they will consider the passage of any act by Congress, abolishing or closing the ports of the said state, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal government to coerce the state, and shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of the said state will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of other states, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states may of right do:

"And whereas, the said ordinance prescribed to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct, in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its Constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the Union—that Union, which, coeval with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious independence—that sacred Union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy Constitution, has brought us, by the favor of Heaven, to a state of

prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations: To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honor and prosperity, and to justify the confidence my fellow citizens have reposed in me, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, have thought proper to issue this my *Proclamation*, stating my views of the Constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the Convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and, appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences that must inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the Convention.

Strict duty would require of me nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now, or may hereafter be invested, for preserving the peace of the Union, and for the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case, by clothing itself with state authority, and the deep interest which the people of the United States must all feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that any thing will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps demand, and will certainly justify, a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation, of the views I entertain of this important question, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue.

"This ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one state may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a state to retain its place in the Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than it may choose to consider constitutional. It is true, they add, that to justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palpably contrary to the Constitution; but it is evident, that to give the right of resisting laws of that description, coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide what laws deserve that character, is to give the power of resisting all laws. For, as by the theory, there is no appeal, the reasons alleged by the state, good or bad, must prevail. If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by Congress. There is, however, a restraint in this last case, which makes the assumed power of a state more indefensible, and which does not exist in the others. There are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by Congress—one to the judiciary, the other to the people and the states. There is no appeal from the state decision in theory, and the practical illustration shows that the courts are closed against an application



JOHN FORSYTH, 1780-1841.
Secretary of State in Jackson's and in Van Buren's Cabinet July 1, 1834 to March 4, 1841; Member of Congress from Georgia 1813-1818; United States Senator 1818-1819; Minister to Spain 1819-1823; Senator again 1829-1834.



JOHN BRANCH, 1782-1863.
Secretary of the Navy in Jackson's Cabinet March 9, 1829 to May 12, 1831; Governor of North Carolina 1817-1820; United States Senator 1823-1829; Member of Congress 1831-1833; Governor of Florida 1841-1845.

to review it, both judge and jurors being sworn to decide in its favor. But reasoning on this subject is superfluous, when our social compact in express terms declares, that the laws of the United States, its Constitution and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land—and for greater caution adds, 'that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' And it may be asserted without fear of refutation, that no federative government could exist without a similar provision. Look for a moment to the consequences. If South Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port, and no revenue could be collected anywhere; for all imposts must be equal. It is no answer to repeat, that an unconstitutional law is no law, so long as the question of its legality is to be decided by the state itself; for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest, will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

"If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the Union would have been dissolved in its infancy. The excise law in Pennsylvania, the embargo and non-intercourse law in the Eastern States, the carriage tax in Virginia, were all deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately none of those states discovered that they had the right now claimed by South Carolina. The war into which we were forced, to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens, might have ended in defeat and disgrace, instead of victory and honor, if the states who supposed it a ruinous and unconstitutional measure, had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hardly and unequally as those measures bore upon several members of the Union, to the legislature of none did this efficient and peaceable remedy, as it is called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our Constitution was reserved for the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina belongs the invocation, and upon the citizens of that state will unfortunately fall the evil of reducing it to practice.

"If a doctrine of a state veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity, our constitutional history will afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation, had it been proposed to form a feature in our government.

"In our colonial state, although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defense, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as the UNITED COLONIES OF AMER-

ICA. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation, by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of the confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several states by which they agreed, that they would collectively form one nation for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that union is found an article which declares that, every state shall abide by the determination of Congress on all questions which by that confederation should be submitted to them.'

"Under the Confederation, then, no state could legally annul a decision of the Congress, or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

"But the defects of the Confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither prosperity at home, nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and our present happy Constitution was formed, but formed in vain if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed for important objects that are announced in the preamble, made in the name and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed and whose Convention approved it. The most important among those objects, that which is placed first in rank, on which all others rest, is 'TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION.' Now, it is possible that even if there were no express provisions giving supremacy to the Constitution and Laws of the United States over those of the states—can it be conceived that an instrument made for the purpose of 'FORMING A MORE PERFECT UNION' than that of the Confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country as to substitute for that Confederation a form of government dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a state, or of a prevailing faction in a state? Every man of plain, unsophisticated understanding, who hears the question, will give such an answer as will preserve the Union. Metaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have devised one that is calculated to destroy it.

"I consider then the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNION, CONTRADICTED EXPRESSLY BY THE LETTER OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNAUTHORIZED BY ITS SPIRIT, INCONSISTENT WITH EVERY PRINCIPLE ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED, AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE GREAT OBJECT FOR WHICH IT WAS FORMED.

"After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance.

"The preamble rests its justification on these grounds: It assumes as a fact, that the obnoxious laws, although they purport to be laws for raising revenue, were in reality intended for the protection of manufacturers, which purpose it asserts to be unconstitutional; that the operation of these laws is unequal; that the amount raised by them is greater than required by the wants of the government; and finally, that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the Constitution. These are the only causes alleged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the country, and a threat of seceding from the Union, if any attempt should be made to enforce them. The first virtually acknowledged, that the law in question was passed under a power expressly given by the Constitution, to lay and collect imports; but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. However apparent this purpose may be in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position that an unconstitutional purpose, entertained by the members who assent to a law enacted under a constitutional power, shall make that law void; for how is that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to make the scrutiny? How often may bad purposes be falsely imputed—in how many cases are they concealed by false professions—in how many is no declaration of motives made? Admit this doctrine, and you give to the states an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may be annulled under this pretext. If, therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted, that a state may annul an unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, it will not apply to the present case.

"The next objection is, that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection made be made with truth, to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality. If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional, and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any state for that cause, then indeed is the Federal Constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation. We have trusted to it as the sheet anchor of our safety in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties, and with all the solemnities of religion have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes and happiness hereafter, in its defense and support. Were we mistaken, my countrymen, in attaching this importance to the Constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy contrivance which this new doctrine would make it? Did we pledge

ourselves to the support of an airy nothing, a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection? Was this self-destroying, visionary theory, the work of the profound statesmen, the exalted patriots, to whom the task of constitutional reform was intrusted? Did the name of Washington sanction, did the states ratify, such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We were not mistaken. The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault; its language directly contradicts the imputation; its spirit—its evident intent, contradicts it. No; we do not err! Our Constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws, and another power to resist them. The sages whose memory will always be revered, have given us a practical, and, as they hoped, a permanent constitutional compact. The father of his country did not affix his revered name to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the states, when they severally ratified it, do so under the impression that a veto on the laws of the United States was reserved to them, or that they could exercise it by implication. Search the debates in all their conventions—examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority—look at the amendments that were proposed—they are all silent—not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made, to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the Union over those of the states—or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No; we have not erred! The Constitution is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our union, our defense in danger, the source of our prosperity in peace. It shall descend, as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction, to our posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of state prejudice, of personal animosities, that were made to bring it into existence, will again be patriotically offered for its support.

“The two remaining objections made by the ordinance to these laws are, that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than required, and that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed.

“The Constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue, and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require. The states have no control over the exercise of this right, other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who abuse it; and thus procure redress. Congress may undoubtedly abuse this discretionary power, but the same may be said of others with which they are vested. Yet this discretion must exist somewhere. The Constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people, checked by the representatives of the states by the executive power. The South Carolina construction gives it to the legislature, or the convention of a single state, where neither the people of the different states, nor the states in their separate capacity, nor the chief magistrate elected by the people, have any representation. Which is the most

discreet disposition of the power? I do not ask you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional disposition—that instrument speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general convention, which would you think the safest depository of this discretionary power in the last resort? Would you add a clause giving it to each of the states, or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your Constitution? If this should be the result of your deliberations when providing for the future, are you, can you be ready, to risk all that we hold dear, to establish, for temporary and a local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive, and even absurd, as a general provision? Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the different states, and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur whenever any law of the United States displeased any of the states, and that we should soon cease to be a nation.

“This ordinance, with the same knowledge of the future that characterizes a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied. If this could be ascertained with certainty, the objection would, with more propriety, be reserved for the laws so applying the proceeds surely cannot be urged against the law levying the duty.

“These are the allegations contained in the ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens. Judge for yourselves. I appeal to you to determine whether they are so clear, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their correctness; and even if you should come to this conclusion, how far they justify the reckless, destructive course which you are directed to pursue. Review these objections, and the conclusions drawn from them, once more. What are they? Every law, then, for raising revenue, according to the South Carolina ordinance, may be rightfully annulled, unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each state has a right to oppose their execution—two rights directly opposed to each other—and yet in this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument drawn for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the states and the general government, by an assembly of the most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose.

“In vain have these sages declared that Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises—in vain have they provided that they shall have the power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution; that those laws and that Constitution shall be the ‘supreme law of the land, and that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary, notwithstanding.’ In vain have the people of the several states solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law, and individually sworn to support

them whenever they were called on to execute any office. Vain provisions! ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if a bare majority of the voters in any one state may, on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent in which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operations—say here it gives too little, there too much, and operates unequally—here it suffers articles to be free that ought to be taxed—there it taxes those that out to be free—in this case the proceeds are intended to be applied to purposes which we do not approve—in that, the amount raised is more than is wanted. Congress, is it true, are invested by the Constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to their sound discretion; Congress is composed of the representatives of all the states and of all the people of all the states; but, WE, part of the people of one state, to whom the Constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it is expressly taken away—who have solemnly agreed that this Constitution shall be our law—WE, most of whom have sworn to support it—WE, now abrogate this law and swear, and force others to swear, that it shall not be obeyed! And we do this, not because congress have no right to pass such laws; this we do not allege; but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives of those who passed them, which we never can with certainty know—from their unequal operation, although it is impossible from the nature of things that they should be equal and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, although that disposition has not been declared. This is one plain meaning of the ordinance in relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. It repeals, in express terms, an important part of the Constitution itself, and of laws passed to give it effect, which have never been alleged to be unconstitutional. The Constitution declares that the judicial powers of the United States extend to cases arising under the laws of the United States, and that such laws, the Constitution and treaties, shall be paramount to the state constitutions and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the United States, by appeal, when a state tribunal shall decide against this provision of the Constitution. The ordinance declares there shall be no appeal—makes the state law paramount to the Constitution and laws of the United States—forces judges and jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal. It further declares that it shall not be lawful for the authorities of the United States—or that of the state, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

“Here is the law of the United States not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single state. Here is a provision of the Con-

stitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority.

"On such expositions the reasonings of the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annual the laws which it complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the Union if any attempt is made to execute them.

"This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the Constitution, which they say is a compact between sovereign states, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and, therefore, are subject to no superior; that because they made the compact, they can break it, when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by other states. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

"The people of the United States formed the Constitution, acting through the state legislature in making compact, to meet and discuss its provisions, and acting in separate conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in its construction show it to be a government in which the people of all the states collectively are represented. We are one people in the choice of a President and Vice-President. Here the states have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of the states may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people, then, and not the states, are represented in the executive branch.

"In the House of Representatives there is this difference, that the people of the state do not, as in the case of the President and Vice-President, all vote for the same officers. The people of all the states do not vote for all the members, each state electing only its own representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they all are representatives of the United States, not representatives of the particular state from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the state; nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions; and however they may, in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interest, yet it is their first and highest duty, as Representatives of the United States, to promote the general good.

"The Constitution of the United States then forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the states, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the state, they retained all the power they did not grant. But each state having expressly parted with so many powers, as to constitute jointly with the other states, a single nation, cannot from that

period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offense. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

“Because the Union was formed by compact, it is said that the parties to that compact, may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it, but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or binding obligation. It may by its terms have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt; if it have a sanction, then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally, has no sanction other than a moral one; or if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction express or implied, and in our case, it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt by force of arms to destroy a government, is an offense, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defense, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or presumed by the constitutional act. In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant, provision has been made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws.

“It would seem superfluous to add anything to show the nature of that union which connects us; but as erroneous opinions on this subject are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give further developments to my views on this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, had a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the states than the magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices, or official exertions, to defend them from violation, but equal care must be taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with, or resumption of the rights they have vested in the nation. The line has not been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in some cases of the exercise of power. Men of the best intentions and sound-

est views may differ in the construction of some parts of the Constitution; but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed right to secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, and on their having formed in this sovereign capacity which is called the Constitution, from which, because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

“The states severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties, declare war, levy taxes, exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers, were all of them functions of sovereign power. The states, then, for all these important purposes, were no longer sovereign. The allegiance with their citizens was transferred in the first instance to the government of the United States; they became American citizens, and owed obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and to laws made in conformity with powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not been, and cannot be denied. How then can that state be said to be sovereign and independent whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are shorn to disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another? What shows conclusively that the states cannot be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty, is that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason, not treason against their separate power, but treason against the United States. Treason is an offense against SOVEREIGNTY, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But the reserved rights of the states are not less sacred because they have for the common interest made the general government the depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the royal government, we had no separate character; our opposition to its oppressions began as UNITED COLONIES. We were the UNITED STATES under the Confederation, and the name was perpetuated and the Union rendered more perfect by the Federal Constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint defense. How, then, with all these proofs, that under all changes of our position we had, for designated purposes, and with defined powers, created national governments; how is it that the most perfect of those several modes of union should now be considered as a mere league that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from the abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do

to say that our Constitution was only a league, but it is labored to prove it a compact (which in one sense it is), and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must of course be a league, and that from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to secede. But it has been shown, that in this sense the states are not sovereign, and that even if they were, and the National Constitution had been formed by compact, there would be no right in any one state to exonerate itself from its obligations. So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The Union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinion. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the states, who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland states agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the gulf, for their own benefit? Shall there be a free port in one state and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single state to involve all the others in these countless other evils, contrary to engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other states, in self-defense, must oppose it at all hazards.

"These are the alternatives that are presented by the Convention; a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our Union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force—that Congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet if this is done on a given day, or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the state is, by the ordinance, declared to be out of the Union.

"The majority of a Convention assembled for the purpose, have dictated these terms, or rather its rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the Governor of the state speaks of submission of their grievances to a Convention of all the states; which he says they 'sincerely and anxiously seek and desire.' Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other states on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the state on to this destructive measure. The state might have proposed the call for a general Convention to the other states; and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it.

"But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, 'on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy,' such a Convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress nor any functionary of the general government

has authority to call such a Convention, unless it be demanded by two-thirds of the states. This suggestion, then, is another instance of a reckless inattention to the provisions of the Constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on; or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the legislature of South Carolina 'anxiously desire' a general Convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the Constitution points out? The assertion that they 'earnestly seek it' is completely negatived by the omission.

"This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one state in the Union have elected delegates to a State Convention; that Convention has ordained that all revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the Union. The Governor of that state has recommended to the legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the state. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to PROCLAIM not only the duty imposed on me by the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' shall be performed to the extent of the powers already vested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise and intrust to me for that purpose; but to warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the Convention—to exhort those who have refused to support it, to persevere in their determination to uphold the Constitution and laws of their country—and to point out to all, the perilous situation into which the good people of that state have been led—and that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose rights they affect to support.

"Fellow citizens of my native state,—let me not only admonish you, as the first Magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalty of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children, whom he saw rushing to certain ruin. In that paternal language, with that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason, on which you stand! First, a diminution of the value of your staple commodity lowered by overproduction in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws. The effect of those laws was confessedly injurious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe, that its burdens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported

articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union and bear none of its burdens. Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your state pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hedious features of DISUNION should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which not long since you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts which have brought you to this state; look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course. The great political truth was repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive—it was added that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy! This character which was given to it, made you receive with too much confidence the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of the law and its oppressive effects.

“Mark, my fellow citizens, that by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be palpable, or it will not justify either resistance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word *palpable* in the sense which it is here used?—that which is apparent to every one, that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? Let those among your leaders who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties answer the question; and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable, then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence and endeavoring to mislead you now. In either case they are unsafe guides in the perilous paths they urge you to tread. Ponder well on these circumstances, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they addressed to you. They are not the champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our Revolutionary Fathers, nor are you the oppressed people, contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage. You are free members of a flourishing and happy Union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have indeed felt the unequal operations of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed.

“At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced. The nearly approaching payment of the public

debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that too on some articles of general consumption in your state. The importance of this change was understood, and you were authoritatively told that no further alleviation of your burdens was to be expected at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demanded such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discounts, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

"I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part! Consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different states, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of *American citizens*, protecting their commerce—securing their literature and arts—facilitating their intercommunication—defending their frontiers—and making their names respected in the remotest parts of the earth! Consider the extent of its territory, it increasing and happy population, its advance in arts which render life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind: see education spreading the lights of religion, humanity, and general information into every cottage in this wide extent of our territories and states! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say, WE, TOO, ARE CITIZENS OF AMERICA! Carolina is one of these proud states; her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented this happy Union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy Union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we will renounce—the very name of Americans we discard. And for what, mistaken men! For what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantage and honor of the Union? For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighboring republics, every day suffering some new revolution or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed.

"The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you

might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you—they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion; but be not deceived by names; disunion, by armed force, is TREASON. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims—its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity with a vexation they could not conceal—it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with the triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in your power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your Revolutionary history, will not abandon that Union, to support which, so many of them fought, and bled, and died. I adjure you, as you honor their memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives—as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch from the archives of your state the disorganizing edict of its convention—bid its members to re-assemble and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honor—tell them that, compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all—declare that you will never take the field unless the star-spangled banner of your country shall float over you—that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonored and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the Constitution of your country! Its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquility will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

“Fellow citizens of the United States! the threat of unhallowed disunion—the names of those once respected, by whom it was uttered—the army of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs, on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free government, may depend. The conjuncture demanded a free, a full and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but

of my principles of action; and as the claim was asserted of a right to annul the laws of the Union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties, which have been expressed, I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws—to preserve the Union by all constitutional means—to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and if it be the will of heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it not be called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

"Fellow citizens! The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred Union will be preserved, and the blessing it secured to us as one people shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defense, will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

"May the Great Ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favored ours, may not, by the madness of party or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost; and may his wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis, to see the folly, before they feel the misery of civil strife; and inspire a returning veneration for that Union, which, if we may dare to penetrate his designs, he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire.

"Andrew Jackson."

ROBERT Y. HAYNE AS GOVERNOR.

Honorable Robert Y. Hayne was inaugurated Governor after the Proclamation had come out, and, of course, the burning question of South Carolina's right to nullify an Act of Congress, was necessarily the chief topic of his Inaugural Address made Dec. 13, 1832.

ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE, a Senator from South Carolina, was born in St. Pauls parish, Colleton district, S. C., November 10, 1791; completed a preparatory course; studied law and was admitted to the bar, and began practice in Charleston, South Carolina; served in the third South Carolina regiment during the war of 1812; was a member of the State legislature 1814-1818, and served one year as speaker; attorney general 1818-1822; elected

a United States Senator as a States Rights Democrat, and served from March 4, 1823, to December, 1832, when he resigned to become Governor; participated in 1832 in a notable debate with Daniel Webster upon the principles of the constitution, the authority of the general government, and the rights of the States; served as Governor 1832-1834; mayor of Charleston 1835-1837; president of the Cincinnati and Charleston railroad 1836-1839; died in Asheville, N. C., September 24, 1839.

GOVERNOR HAYNE'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate

"and House of Representatives:

"I appear before you, in obedience to your commands, to enter upon the duties you have assigned me. The chief magistracy of South Carolina, at all times an office of high dignity and trust, has now assumed an importance which might well induce the most highly gifted amongst us to hesitate in taking upon himself the fearful responsibility which belongs to it. Putting out of view the considerations which would have induced me, at any time, to desire to be excused from this service—a sincere distrust of my abilities to discharge, in a satisfactory manner, the various and trying duties, which must, at this momentous crisis, devolve on the executive, would have deterred me from making the attempt, but for the conviction that every man now owes a duty to his country which he is bound, at every sacrifice, to perform. Deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me in being selected to preside over the destinies of the state at this interesting period, and feeling myself bound to defer to your judgment, I am constrained to yield an implicit obedience to the public will, officially made known to me through you.

"In taking this step, I am fully aware of the difficulties which are before me. In a period of intense excitement, threatened with dangers from without, and embarrassed by unhappy divisions at home, it belongs not to any wisdom or virtue, merely human, to reconcile conflicting opinions, harmonize discordant views, and meet the expectations of the public. Emergencies will probably arise, concerning which opinions will be so divided, that, act as he may, your chief magistrate will have to encounter the severest censure and reproach. Nevertheless, I will not shrink from the task you have assigned me, but relying with confidence on your cordial support and on the wisdom and virtue, courage and patriotism, of the people, I will walk steadily forward in the path of duty, indulging the hope that our united effort for the promotion of the welfare, honor, and safety of the state, may be crowned with success.

"In the great struggle in which we are engaged for the preservation of our rights and liberties, it is my fixed determination to assert and uphold the SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY OF THE



ANDREW JACKSON.



ROBERT Y. HAYNE, 1791-1839.

From National Portrait Gallery of 1856. Governor of South Carolina when Jackson issued his Proclamation to the Nullifiers of that State. Served in war of 1812; United States Senator 1823-1832; Governor of South Carolina 1832-1834; Mayor of Charleston 1835-1837.

STATE, and to enforce, by all the means that may be entrusted to my hands, her SOVEREIGN WILL. I will recognize no allegiance as paramount to that which the citizens of South Carolina owe to the State of their birth or their adoption. I here publicly declare, and wish it to be distinctly understood, that I shall hold myself bound, by the highest of all obligations, to carry into full effect, not only the ordinance of the Convention, but every act of the legislature, and every judgment of our own courts, the enforcement of which may devolve on the executive. I claim no right to revise their acts. It will be my duty to execute them; and that duty I mean, to the utmost of my power, faithfully to perform.

“In the administration of the ordinary duties of my office, it shall be my constant aim, and earnest endeavor, to reconcile discordant opinions—to allay party animosities—and, as far as may be practicable, to bring all the citizens of Carolina to regard each other as brethren of one family. In the administration of our criminal code, I am firmly resolved to ‘execute justice;’ but I shall endeavor to do so in the spirit of the Constitution, which instructs me that this shall be done ‘in mercy’. I should despise myself, and feel that I was utterly unworthy of public confidence, if I were not unalterably determined to perform this most painful part of my public duty without ‘fear, favor, or affection.’ The pure stream of public justice shall not be contaminated by personal feelings or party animosities.

“And now, fellow citizens, having thus frankly laid down the principles by which I intend to be governed in the administration of the affairs of the state, let us look forward to the prospect before us, in order that we may be prepared to meet the crisis as becomes men, firmly resolved to do our duty in every emergency. South Carolina, after ten years of unavailing petitions and remonstrances against a system of measures on the part of the Federal Government, which, in common with the other southern states, she has repeatedly declared to be founded in USURPATION, utterly subversive of the rights, and fatal to the prosperity of her people, has, in the face of the world, PUT HERSELF UPON HER SOVEREIGNTY, and made the solemn declaration that this system shall no longer be enforced within her limits. All hope of a redress of this grievance from a returning sense of justice on the part of our oppressors, or from any probable change in the policy of the Government, having fled, nothing was left for South Carolina but to throw herself upon her reserved rights, or to remain forever in a condition of ‘colonial vassalage.’ She has therefore resolved to stand upon her rights; and it is for her sister states now to determine what is to be done in this emergency. She has announced to them her anxious desire that this controversy shall be amicably adjusted, either by a satisfactory modification of the tariff, or by a reference of the whole subject to a Convention of all the states. Should neither of these reasonable propositions be acceded to

then she will feel herself justified before God and man, in firmly maintaining the position she has assumed, until some other mode can be devised for the removal of the difficulty. South Carolina is anxiously desirous of living at peace with her brethren; she has not the remotest wish to dissolve the political bands which have connected her with the great American family of confederated states. With Thomas Jefferson, 'she would regard the dissolution of our UNION with them as *one* of the greatest of evils—but not *the greatest*: there is one greater: 'SUBMISSION TO A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LIMITATION OF POWERS;' and such a government she conscientiously believes will be our portion, should the system against which she is now struggling, be finally established as the settled policy of the country.

"South Carolina is solicitous to preserve the CONSTITUTION as our fathers framed it—according to its true spirit, intent, and meaning; but she is inflexibly determined never to surrender her reserved rights, nor to suffer the constitutional compact to be converted into an instrument for the oppression of her citizens.

"She cannot bring herself to believe that, standing as she does on the basis of the Constitution, and the immutable principles of truth and justice, any attempt will be made by her confederate states, and, least of all, by the government which they have created for special purposes, to reduce her to subjection by military force. A confederacy of sovereign states, formed by the free consent of all, cannot possibly be held together by any other tie than mutual sympathies and common interest. The unhallowed attempt to cement the Union with the blood of our citizens (which, if successful, would reduce the free and sovereign states of this confederacy to mere dependant provinces), South Carolina has solemnly declared would be regarded by her as absolving her 'from all further obligation to maintain or preserve her political connection with the people of the other states.' The spirit of our free institutions, the very temper of the age, would seem to forbid the thought of an appeal to force for the settlement of a constitutional controversy. If, however, we should be deceived in this reasonable expectation, South Carolina, so far as her means extend, stands prepared to meet danger, and repel invasion, come from what quarter it may. She has warned her brethren of the inevitable consequences of an appeal to arms; and if she should be driven, in defense of her dearest rights, to resist aggression, let it be remembered that the innocent blood which may be shed in such a contest, will, in the great day of account, be required of those who shall persevere in the unhallowed attempt to exercise an 'unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.'

"If such, fellow citizens, should be our lot; if the sacred soil of Carolina should be polluted by the foot-steps of an invader, or be stained with the blood of her citizens, shed in her defense; I trust in almighty God that no son of hers, native or adopted, who has been nourished at her bosom, or been cherished by her bounty,

will be found raising a parracidal arm against our common mother And even should she stand ALONE in this great struggle for constitutional liberty, encompassed by her enemies, that there will not be found, in the wide limits of the state, one recreant son who will not fly to the rescue, and be ready to lay down his life in her defense.

"South Carolina cannot be drawn down from the proud eminence on which she has now placed herself, except by the hands of her own children. Give her but a fair field, and she asks no more. Should she succeed, hers will be glory enough to have led the way in the noble work of REFORM. And if, after making these efforts due to her own honor, and the greatness of the cause, she is destined utterly to fail, the bitter fruits of that failure, not to herself alone, but to the entire South, nay to the whole Union, will attest her virtue. The speedy establishment on the ruins of the rights of the states, and the liberties of the people, of a GREAT CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENT, 'riding and ruling over the plundered plowmen and beggared yeomanry' of our once happy land—our glorious confederacy broken into scattered and dishonored fragments—the light of liberty extinguished, never, perhaps, to be relomed—*these—these* will be the melancholy memorials of that wisdom which saw the danger while yet at a distance, and of patriotism which struggled gloriously to avert it; memorials over which repentant though unavailing tears will assuredly be shed by those who will discover, when too late, that they have suffered the last occasion to pass away when the liberties of the country might have been redeemed and the Union established upon a foundation as enduring as the everlasting rocks.

"We may not live to witness these things. To some of us it may not be allotted to survive the republic. But, if we are only true to our duty, our example will, in that dark hour, be a rich legacy to our children—and which of us would desire a higher reward than to have it inscribed upon his tomb—' Here lies the man who sacrificed himself in a noble effort to rescue the Constitution from violation, and to restore the liberties of his country!'

"Fellowcitizens, this is our 'OUR OWN, OUR NATIVE LAND;' it is the soil of CAROLINA, which has been enriched by the precious blood of our ancestors, shed in defense of those rights and liberties, which we are bound by every tie, divine and human, to transmit unimpaired to our posterity. It is *here* that we have been cherished in youth and sustained in manhood by the generous confidence of our fellow citizens; *here* repose the honored bones of our fathers; *here* the eyes of our children first beheld the light; and *here*, when our earthly pilgrimage is over, we hope to sink to rest on the bosom of our common mother. Bound to our country by such sacred and endearing ties, let others desert her if they can; let them revile her if they will; let them give aid and countenance to her enemies if they may; but for us, we will STAND OR FALL WITH CAROLINA.

"God grant that the wisdom of your counsels, sustained by the courage and patriotism of our people, may crown our efforts for the preservation of our liberties with triumphant success. But if, in the inscrutable purposes of an allwise Providence, it should be otherwise decreed, let us be prepared to DO OUR DUTY in every emergency.

"If assailed by violence from abroad, and deserted by those to whom she has a right to look for support, our beloved state is to be 'humbled in dust and ashes' before the footstool of the oppressor, we shall not rejoice in her humiliation, nor join in the exultation of her enemies, but, in adversity as in prosperity, in weal and in woe, 'through good report and evil report,' we will GO FOR CAROLINA.

"And now, fellow citizens, offering up most fervent prayers to Him in whose hands are the destinies of nations, that he will prosper all your measures, and have our WHOLE COUNTRY 'in his holy keeping,' I am ready, in the solemn form prescribed by the Constitution, to dedicate myself to the service of the state.

"Robert Y. Hayne, Governor.

December 13, 1832.

But this brief address was the personal view of the Governor and the full weight and strength of South Carolina as a sovereign state must be given to the world in a document as dignified and representative as Jackson's Proclamation; so the Governor issued his Proclamation which may be accepted as strong and convincing a presentation of the Nullifiers' side of the great and fundamental question involved in Nullification, as was ever presented.

GOVERNOR HAYNE'S PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the President of the United States hath issued his proclamation concerning an 'ordinance of the people of South Carolina to nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States,' laying 'duties and imposts for the protection of domestic manufacturers:'

"And whereas the Legislature of South Carolina, now in session, taking into consideration the matters contained in the said proclamation of the President, have adopted a preamble and resolution to the following effect, viz:

"Whereas, the President of the United States has issued his proclamation, denouncing the proceedings of this state, calling upon the citizens thereof to renounce their primary allegiance, and threatening them with military coercion, unwarranted by the Constitution, and utterly inconsistent with the existence of a free state: Be it, therefore,



WATER SCENE AT FOOT OF COLD SPRING MOUNTAIN, UPPER EAST TENNESSEE. Taken by Wm. Heskell Brown, Amateur photographer of Greenville, Tenn.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested, forthwith, to issue his proclamation, warning the good people of this state against the attempt of the President of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance, exorting them to disregard his vain menaces, and to be prepared to sustain the dignity, and protect the liberty of the state against the arbitrary measures proposed by the President.'

"Now, I, Robert Y. Hayne, Governor of South Carolina, in obedience to the said resolution, do hereby issue this my proclamation, solemnly warning the good people of this state against the dangerous and pernicious doctrine promulgated in the said proclamation of the President, as calculated to mislead their judgments as to the true character of the Government under which they live, and the paramount obligation which they owe to the state, and manifestly intended to seduce them from their allegiance, and, by drawing them to the support of the violent and unlawful measures contemplated by the President, to involve them in the guilt of REBELLION. I would earnestly admonish them to beware of the specious, but false doctrines, by which it is now attempted to be shown that the several states have not retained their entire sovereignty; that 'the allegiance of their citizens was transferred, *in the first instance*, to the Government of the United States;'; that 'a state cannot be said to be sovereign and independent, whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it;' that, 'even under the royal Government, we had no separate character;'; that the Constitution has created 'a National Government,' which is not 'a compact between sovereign states;'; 'that a state has NO RIGHT TO SECEDE:;' in a word, that ours is a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, in which the people of all the states are represented, and by which we are constituted 'ONE PEOPLE;'; and 'that our representatives in Congress are all representatives of the United States, and none of the particular states from which they come'—doctrines which uproot the very foundation of our political system; annihilate the rights of the states, and utterly destroy the liberties of the citizen.

"It requires no reasoning to show what the bare statement of these propositions demonstrate, that such a Government as is here described has not a single feature of a confederated republic. It is, in truth, an accurate delineation, drawn with a bold hand, of a great consolidated empire 'one and undivisible;'; and, under whatever specious form its powers may be masked, it is, in fact, the worst of all despotisms, in which the spirit of an arbitrary government is suffered to pervade institutions professing to be free. Such was not the Government for which our fathers fought and bled, and offered up their lives and fortunes as a willing sacrifice. Such was not the Government which the great and patriotic men who called the Union into being, in the plenitude of their wisdoms, framed. Such was not the Government which the fathers of republican fate, led on by the apostle of American lib-

erty, promulgated, and successfully maintained in 1798, and by which they produced the great political revolution effected at that auspicious era. To a Government based on such principles, South Carolina has not been a voluntary party, and to such a Government she never will give her assent.

"The records of our history do, indeed, afford the prototype of these sentiments, which is to be found in the recorded opinion of those, who, when the Constitution was framed, were in favor of a 'firm National Government,' in which the states should stand in the same relation to the Union that the colonies did towards the mother country. The journals of the Convention, and the secret history of the debates, will show that this party did propose to secure to the Federal Government an absolute supremacy over the states, by giving them a negative upon their laws; but the same history also teaches us that all these propositions were rejected, and a Federal Government was fully established, recognizing the sovereignty of the States, and leaving the constitutional compact on the footing of all other compacts, between 'parties having no common superior.'

"It is the natural and necessary consequence of the principles thus authoritatively announced by the President, as constituting the very basis of our political system, that the Federal Government is unlimited and supreme—being the exclusive judge of the extent of its own powers, the laws of Congress, sanctioned by the Executive and the judiciary, whether passed in direct violation of the Constitution and rights of the states, or not, are 'the supreme law of the land.' Hence it is, that the President obviously considers the words 'made in pursuance of the Constitution,' as mere surplussage; and, therefore, when he professes to recite the provision of the Constitution on this subject, he states our 'SOCIAL COMPACT', in express terms, declares that the *laws of the United States*, its Constitution, and the treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land,' and speaks, throughout, of 'the explicit supremacy, given to the laws of the Union over those of the state' as if a law of Congress was, of itself, supreme, while it was necessary to the validity of a treaty that it should be made in pursuance of the Constitution. Such, however, is not the provision of the Constitution. That instrument expressly provides that 'the Constitution and laws of the United States, *which shall be made in pursuance thereof*, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"Here it will be seen that a law of Congress, as such, can have no validity unless made 'in pursuance of the Constitution.' An unconstitutional act is, therefore, null and void; and the only point that can arise in this case is, whether, to the Federal Government, or any department thereof, has been exclusively reserved the right to decide authoritatively *for the states* this question of constitutionality. If this be so, to which of the departments, it

may be asked, is this right of final judgment given? If it be to Congress, then is Congress not only elevated above the other departments of the Federal Government, but it is put above the Constitution itself. This, however, the President himself has publicly and solemnly denied, claiming and exercising—as is known to all the world—the right to refuse to execute acts of Congress and solemn treaties, even after they had received the sanction of every department of the Federal Government.

“That the Executive possesses this right of deciding finally and exclusively as to the validity of acts of Congress, will hardly be pretended; and that it belongs to the judiciary, except so far as may be necessary to the decision of questions which may incidentally come before them in ‘cases of law and equity,’ has been denied by none more strongly than the President himself, who, on a memorable occasion, refused to acknowledge the binding authority of the Federal Court, and claimed for himself, and has exercised the right of enforcing the laws, not according to their judgment, but ‘his own understanding of them.’ And yet, when it serves the purpose of bringing odium upon South Carolina, ‘his native state,’ the President has no hesitation in regarding the attempt of a state to release herself from the control of the Federal judiciary, in a matter affecting her sovereign rights, as a violation of the Constitution.

“It is unnecessary to enter into an elaborate examination of the subject. It surely cannot admit of a doubt, that, by the Declaration of Independence, the several colonies became ‘free, sovereign, and independent states;’ and our political history will abundantly show that, at every subsequent change in their condition, up to the formation of our present Constitution, the states preserved their sovereignty. The discovery of this new feature of our system, that the states exist only as members of the Union; that before the declaration of independence, we were known only as ‘United Colonies;’ and that, even under the articles of confederation, the states were considered as forming ‘collectively ONE NATION—without any right of refusing to submit to ‘any decision of Congress’—was reserved to the President and his *immediate predecessors*. To the latter ‘belongs the *invention*, and, upon the former will unfortunately fall the evil of reducing it to practice.’

“South Carolina holds the principles now promulgated by the President—as they must always be held by all who claim to be supporters of the rights of the states—‘as contradicted by the letter of the Constitution; unauthorized by its spirit; inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded; destructive of all the objects for which it was framed;’ utterly incompatible with the very existence of the states, and absolutely fatal to the rights and liberties of the people. South Carolina has so solemnly, and repeatedly expressed to Congress, and the world, the principles which she believes to constitute the very pillars of the Constitution, that it is deemed unnecessary to do more, at this time, than barely to

present a summary of those great fundamental truths, which she believes can never be subverted without the inevitable destruction of the liberties of the people, and of the Union itself. South Carolina has never claimed—as is asserted by the President—the right of ‘repealing, at pleasure, all the *revenue laws* of the Union,’ much less the right of ‘repealing the Constitution itself, and laws passed to give it effect, which have *never been alleged to be unconstitutional.*’ She claims only the right to judge of infractions of the constitutional compact, in violation of the reserved rights of the state, and of arresting the progress of usurpation within her own limits, and when, as in the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, revenue and protection, constitutional and unconstitutional objects, have been so mixed up together that it is found impossible to draw the line of discrimination—she has no alternative but to consider the whole as a system unconstitutional in its character, and to leave it to those who have ‘woven the web, to unravel the threads.’ South Carolina insists, and she appeals to the whole political history of our country, in support of her position, ‘that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign states; that it creates a confederated republic, not having a single feature of nationality in its foundation; that the people of the several states, as distinct, political communities, ratified the Constitution, each state acting for itself, and binding its own citizens, and not those of any other state, the act of ratification declaring it to be binding on the states so ratifying: the states are its authors, their power created it; their voice clothed it with authority; the Government, which it formed, is composed of their agents; and the Union, of which it is the bond, is a Union of States, and not of individuals; that, as regards the foundation and extent of its power, the Government of the United States is strictly what its name implies, a Federal Government; that the states are as sovereign now as they were prior to the entering into the compact; that the Federal Constitution is a confederation in the nature of a treaty, or an alliance, by which so many sovereign states agreed to exercise their sovereign powers *conjointly* upon certain objects of external concern, in which they are equally interested, such as WAR, PEACE, COMMERCE, foreign negotiation, and Indian trade; and, upon all other subjects of civil government, they were to exercise their sovereignty *separately*.

“For the convenient conjoint exercise of the sovereignty of the states, there must, of necessity, be some common agency or functionary. This *agency* is the Federal Government. It represents the confederated states, and executes their joint will, as expressed in the compact. The powers of this Government are wholly *derivative*. It possesses no more inherent sovereignty than an incorporated town, or any other great corporate body. It is a political corporation, and, like all corporations, it looks for its powers to an exterior source—that source is the states.

"South Carolina claims that, by the declaration of independence, she became, and has ever since continued, a free, sovereign, and independent state.

"That, as a sovereign state, she has the *inherent* power to do all those acts which, by the law of nations, any prince or potentate may of right do. That, like all independent states, she neither has, nor ought she to suffer any other restraint upon her sovereign will and pleasure, than those high moral obligations, under which all princes and states are bound, before God and man, to perform their solemn pledges. The inevitable conclusion, from what has been said, therefore, is, that, as in all cases of compact between independent sovereigns, where, from the very nature of things, there can be no common judge or umpire, each sovereign has a right 'to judge, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress,' so, in the present controversy between South Carolina and the Federal Government, it belongs solely to her, by her delegates in solemn Convention assembled, to decide whether the Federal compact be violated, and what remedy the state ought to pursue. South Carolina, therefore, cannot, and will not, yield to any department of the Federal Government a right which enters into the essence of all sovereignty, and without which it would become a bauble and a name.'

"Such are the doctrines which South Carolina has, through her convention, solemnly promulgated to the world, and, by them, she will stand or fall. Such were the principles promulgated by Virginia in '98, and which then received the sanction of those great men, whose recorded sentiments have come down to us as a light to our feet and a lamp to our path. It is Virginia, and not South Carolina, who speaks, when it is said that she 'views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from *the compact to which the states are parties*, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto have the right, and are, in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the 'authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them.'

"It is Kentucky, who declared in '99, speaking in the explicit language of Thomas Jefferson, that the 'principles and construction contended for by members of the state legislatures (the very same now maintained by the President), that the General Government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despotism; since the discretion of those who administer the Government, and not the Constitution, would be the measure of their powers: That the several states who formed the instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction, and THAT A

NULLIFICATION, BY THOSE SOVEREIGNTIES, OF ALL UNAUTHORIZED ACTS DONE UNDER COLOR OF THAT INSTRUMENT, IS THE RIGHTFUL REMEDY.'

"It is the great apostle of American liberty himself who has consecrated these principles and left them as a legacy to the American people, recorded by his own hand. It is by him that we are instructed*—that to the Constitutional compact 'each state acceded as a state, and is an integral party—its co-states forming as to itself the other party;' that 'they alone, being parties to the compact, are solely authorized to judge, in the last resort, of the powers exercised under it—Congress being not a party, but merely the creature of the compact;' that it becomes a sovereign state to submit to undelegated, and, consequently, unlimited power, in no man or body of men upon earth; that where powers are assumed, which have not been delegated (the very case now before us) a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy; that every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact (*casus non foederis*) to nullify, of their own authority, all assumption of power by others within their limits; and that, without this right, they would be under the dominion, absolute and unlimited, of whomsoever might exercise the right of judgment for them;' and that, in case of acts being passed by Congress 'so palpably against the Constitution, as to amount to an undisguised declaration that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the General Government, but that it will proceed to exercise over the states all powers whatsoever, it would be the duty of the states to declare the acts *void*, and of no force, and that each should take measures of its own for providing that neither such acts, nor any other of the General Government, not plainly and intentionally authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories.'

"It is on these great and essential truths that South Carolina has now acted. Judging for herself as a sovereign state, she has pronounced the protecting system, in all its branches, to be a 'gross, deliberate, and palpable violation of the constitutional compact;' and, having exhausted every other means of redress, she has, in the exercise of her sovereign rights, as one of the parties to that compact, and in the performance of a high and sacred duty, interposed for arresting the evil of usurpation, within her own limits, by declaring these acts to be 'null, void, and no law, and taking measures of her own, that they shall not be enforced within her limits.'

"South Carolina has not 'assumed' what could be considered as at all doubtful, when she asserts 'that the acts in question were in reality intended for the protection of manufactures;' that their 'operation is unequal;' that 'the amount received by them is

*See original draught of the Kentucky Resolutions, in the handwriting of Mr. Jackson, lately published by his grandson.

greater than is required by the wants of the Government;' and, finally, 'that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the Constitution.' These facts are notorious—these objects openly avowed. The President, without instituting any inquisition into motives, has himself discovered and publicly denounced them; and his officer of finance is, even now, devising measures intended, as we are told, to correct these acknowledged abuses.

"It is a vain and idle dispute about words, to ask whether this right of state interposition may be most properly styled a constitutional, a sovereign, or a reserved right. In calling this right constitutional, it could never have been intended to claim it as a right granted by, or derived from, the Constitution, but it is claimed as consistent with its genius, its letter, and its spirit; it being not only distinctly understood, at the time of ratifying the Constitution, but expressly provided for in the instrument itself, that all sovereign rights, not agreed to be exercised conjointly, should be exerted separately by the states. Virginia declared, in reference to right asserted in the resolutions of '98, above quoted, even after having fully and accurately re-examined and re-considered these resolutions, 'that she found it to be her indispensable duty to adhere to the same, as founded in truth, as *consonant with* the Constitution, and as conducive to its welfare,' and Mr. Madison himself asserted them to be perfectly 'constitutional and conclusive.'

"It is wholly immaterial, however, by what name this right may be called, for if the Constitution be 'a compact to which the states are parties, if acts of the Federal Government are no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact;' then we have the authority of Mr. Madison himself for the inevitable conclusion that it is a plain principle, illustrated by common practice, and essential to the nature of compacts, that when resort can be had to no tribunal superior to the authority of the parties, the parties themselves must be the rightful judge in the last resort, whether the bargain made has been pursued or violated.' The Constitution, continues Mr. Madison, 'was formed by the sanction of the states, given by each in its sovereign capacity: the states then being parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows, of necessity, that there can be no tribunal above their authority, to decide, in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated; and, consequently, that, as the parties to it, they must themselves decide in the last resort such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interposition.'

"If this right does not exist in the several States, then it is clear that the discretion of Congress, and not the Constitution, would be the measure of their powers, and this, says Mr. Jefferson, would amount to the 'seizing the rights of the states, and consolidating them in the hands of the General Government, with a power

assumed to bind the states, not only in cases made Federal, but in all cases whatsoever; which would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, to live under one deriving its power from its own will.'

"We hold it to be impossible to resist the argument, that the several states, as sovereign parties to the compact, must possess the power, in cases of 'gross, deliberate, and palpable violation of the Constitution, to judge, *each for itself*, as well of the infraction, as of the mode and measure of redress,' or ours is a CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENT, 'without limitation of powers;' a submission to which Mr. Jefferson has solemnly pronounced to be a greater evil than disunion itself. If, to borrow the language of Madison's report, 'the deliberate exercise of dangerous powers, palpably withheld by the Constitution, could not justify the parties to it *in interposing*, even so far as to *arrest the progress of the evil*, and thereby to PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF, as well as to provide the safety of the parties to it, there would be an end to all relief from usurped power, and a direct subversion of the rights specified or recognized under all the state Constitutions, as well as a plain denial of the fundamental principle on which our independence itself was declared.'

"The only plausible objection that can be urged against this right, so indispensable to the safety of the states, is, that it may be abused. But this danger is believed to be altogether imaginary. So long as our Union is felt as a blessing—and this will be just so long as the Federal Government shall confine its operation within the acknowledged limits of the charter—there will be no temptation for any state to interfere with the harmonious operation of the system. There will exist the strongest motives to induce forbearance, and none to prompt to aggression on either side, so soon as it shall come to be universally felt and acknowledged that the states do not stand to the Union in the relation of degraded and dependant colonies, but that our bond of union is formed by mutual sympathies and common interests. The true answer to this objection has been given by Mr. Madison, when he says:

"It does not follow, however, that because the states, as sovereign parties to the constitutional compact, must ultimately decide whether it has been violated, that such a decision ought to be interposed either in the hasty manner; or on doubtful and inferior occasions. Even in the case of ordinary conventions between different nations, it is always laid down, that the breach must be both wilful and material to justify an application of the rule. But in the case of an intimate and constitutional union, like that of the United States, it is evident that the interposition of the parties, in their sovereign capacity, can be called for by occasions only, deeply and essentially affecting the vital principles of their political system.

"Experience demonstrates that the danger is not that a state

will resort to her sovereign rights too frequently, or on light and trivial occasions, but that she may shrink from asserting them as often as may be necessary.

"It is maintained by South Carolina, that, according to the true spirit of the Constitution, it becomes Congress, in all emergencies like the present either to remove the evil by legislation, or to solicit of the States the call of a Convention; and that on a failure to obtain, by the consent of three-fourths of all the states, an amendment giving the disputed power, it must be regarded as never having been intended to be given. These principles have been distinctly recognized by the President himself in his message to Congress at the commencement of the present session, and they seem only to be impracticable absurdities when asserted by South Carolina, or made applicable to her existing controversy with the Federal Government.

"But it seems that South Carolina receives from the President no credit for her sincerity, when it is declared, through her Chief Magistrate, that 'she sincerely and anxiously seeks and desires' the submission of her grievances to a Convention of all the States. 'The only alternative (says the President) which she presents, is the *repeal of all the acts for raising revenue*; leaving the Government without the means of support, or an acquiescence in the *dissolution of our Union*.' South Carolina has presented no such alternatives. If the President had read the documents which the Convention caused to be forwarded to him for the express purpose of making known her wishes and her views, he would have found that South Carolina asks no more than that the tariff should be reduced to the *revenue standard*; and has distinctly expressed her willingness, that 'an amount of duties substantially uniform, should be levied upon protected, as well as unprotected articles, sufficient to raise *the revenue* necessary to meet the demands of the Government for constitutional purposes.' He would have found in the exposition put forth by the Convention itself, a distinct appeal to our sister states for the call of a Convention, and the expression of an entire willingness, on the part of South Carolina, to submit the controversy to that tribunal. Even at the very moment when he was indulging in these unjust and injurious imputations upon the people of South Carolina, and their late highly respected Chief Magistrate, a resolution had actually been passed through both branches of our legislature, demanding a call of that very Convention to which he declares that she had no desire that an appeal should be made.

"It does not become the dignity of a sovereign state to notice, in the spirit which might be considered as belonging to the occasion, the unwarrantable imputations in which the President has thought proper to indulge in relation to South Carolina, the proceedings of her citizens and constituted authorities. He has noticed, only to give it countenance, that miserable slander which imputes the noble stand that our people have taken in defense of

their rights and liberties, to a faction instigated by the efforts of a few ambitious leaders who have got up an excitement for their own personal aggrandizement. The motives and character of those who have been subjected to these unfounded imputations, are beyond the reach of the President of the United States. The sacrifices they have made, and difficulties and trials through which they may have yet to pass, will leave no doubt as to the disinterested motives and noble impulses of patriotism and honor by which they are actuated. Could they have been induced to separate their own personal interests from those of the people of South Carolina, and have consented to abandon their duty to the state, no one knows better than the President himself that they might have been honored with the highest manifestations of public regard; and perhaps, instead of being the objects of vituperation, might even now have been basking in the sunshine of Executive favor. This topic is alluded to, merely for the purpose of guarding the people of our sister states against the fatal delusion that South Carolina has assumed her present position under the influence of a temporary excitement; and to warn them that it has been the result of the slow but steady progress of public opinion for the last ten years: that it is the act of the people themselves, taken in conformity with the spirit of resolutions repeatedly adopted in their primary assemblies, and the solemn determination of the legislature, publicly announced more than two years ago. Let them not so far deceive themselves on this subject, as to persevere in a course which must in the end inevitably produce a dissolution of the Union, under the vain expectation that the great body of the people of South Carolina, listening to the councils of the President, will acknowledge their error or retrace their steps, and still less than they will be driven from the vindication of their rights by the intimation of the danger of domestic discord, and threats of lawless violence. The brave men who have thrown themselves into the breach, in defense of the rights and liberties of their country are not to be driven from their holy purpose by such means. Even unmerited obloquy, and death itself, have no terrors for him who feels and knows that he is engaged in the performance of a sacred duty. The people of South Carolina are well aware that, however passion and prejudice may obtain, for a season, the mastery of the public mind, reason and justice must sooner or later re-assert their empire: and that whatever may be the event of this contest, posterity will do justice to their motives, and to the spotless purity and devoted patriotism with which they have entered into an arduous and most unequal conflict, and the unfaltering courage with which, by the blessing of Heaven, they will maintain it.

"The whole argument, so far as it is designed at this time to enter into it, is now disposed of; and it is necessary to advert to some passages in the proclamation which cannot be passed over in silence. The President distinctly intimates that it is his determination to exert the right of putting down the opposition of South



MAHLON DICKERSON, 1770-1853.

Secretary of the Navy under both Jackson and Van Buren, June 30, 1834 to June 25, 1838. From National Portrait Gallery. Painted by John Vanderlyn, 1775-1852. Governor of New Jersey 1815-1817; United States Senator 1817-1829; United States District Judge of New Jersey



JOHN M. BERRIEN, 1781-1858.

Attorney General in Jackson's Cabinet March 9, 1829 to June 22, 1831; United States Senator 1825-1829, 1841-1845, 1846-1852.

Carolina to the tariff, *by force of arms*. He believes himself invested with power to do this under that provision of the Constitution which directs him 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' Now, if by this it was only meant to be asserted that, under the laws of Congress now of force, the President would feel himself bound to aid the civil tribunals in the manner therein prescribed, supposing such laws to be constitutional, no just exception could be taken to this assertion of Executive duty. But if, as is manifestly intended, the President sets up the claim to judge for himself in what manner the laws are to be enforced, and feels himself at liberty to call forth the militia, and even the military and naval forces of the Union against the State of South Carolina, her constituted authorities and citizens, then it is clear that he assumes a power not only not conferred on the Executive by the Constitution, but which belongs to no despot upon earth exercising a less unlimited authority than the Autocrat of all the Russias: an authority which, if submitted to, would at once reduce the free people of these United States to a state of the most abject and degraded slavery. But the President has no power whatsoever to execute the laws except in the mode and manner prescribed by the laws themselves. On looking into these laws, it will be seen that he has no shadow or semblance of authority to execute any of the threats which he has thrown out against the good people of South Carolina. The act of 28th February, 1795, gives the President authority to call forth the militia in case of invasion 'by a foreign nation or Indian tribe.' By the 2d section of that act, it is provided that 'whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any state, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such state, or of any other state or states, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.'

"The words here used, though they might be supposed to be very comprehensive in their import, are restrained by those which follow. By the next section it is declared that 'whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time.' On reading these two sections together, it is manifest that they relate entirely to combinations of individuals acting of themselves without any lawful authority. They constituted authorities acting under the laws of the state, and its citizens yielding obedience to its commands, cannot possibly be considered as a mere mob forming combinations against the authority and laws of the Union, to be dispersed by an Executive proclamation; and any attempt so to treat them would be a gross and palpable violation

of the sovereign authority of the state, and an offense punishable criminally in her own courts. Whether the late proclamation of the President was intended as a compliance with the provisions of this act, does not very clearly appear. But if so, it can only be considered as directed against the state, since the laws of the United states have certainly not been forcibly obstructed by combinations of any sort, and it is certainly worthy of observation that the command extended to the people is not that they shall *disperse*, but that they should *re-assemble* in Convention, and repeal the obnoxious ordinance.

"The power of the President, so far as this subject is embraced, in relation to the army and navy, is exactly coextensive with that over the militia. By the 1st section of act of 3d March, 1807, it is expressly provided that, in all cases of 'obstruction to the laws of the United States, or of any individual state, where it is lawful for the President to call forth the militia for the purpose of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ, for the same purpose, such part of the land or naval force of the United States as may be necessary, having first observed all the pre-requisites of the law in that respect.' Here, then, it is seen, that unless the President is resolved to disregard all constitutional obligations, and to trample the laws of his country under his feet, he has no authority whatever to use force against the State of South Carolina; and, should he attempt to do so, the patriotic citizens of this state know too well their own rights, and have too sacred a regard to their duties, to hesitate one moment in repelling invasion, come from what quarter it may. Could they be deterred by the threats of lawless violence, or any apprehension of consequences, from the faithful performance of their duty, they would feel that they were the unworthy descendants of the 'Pinckneys, Sumpters, and Rutledges, and a thousand other names which adorn the pages of our revolutionary history,' some of whom have just gone from among us, and been gathered to their fathers, leaving as a legacy their solemn injunction that we should never abandon this contest until we shall have obtained '*a fresh understanding of the bargain,*' and restored the liberties for which they fought and bled. Others still linger among us, animating us by their example, and exhorting us to maintain that 'solemn ordinance and declaration' which they have subscribed with their own names, and in support of which they have 'pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.'

"The annals which record the struggles of freedom, show us that rulers in every age and every country, jealous of their power, have resorted to the very same means to extinguish in the bosom of man that noble instinct of liberty which prompts him to resist oppression. The system by which tyrants in every age have attempted to obliterate this sentiment, and to crush the spirit of the people, consists in the skilful employment of promises and threats, in alternate efforts to encourage their hopes and excite their fears,

to show that existing evils are exaggerated, the danger of resistance great—and the difficulties in the way of success insuperable; and, finally, to show dissensions among the people by creating jealousies, and exciting a distrust of those whose counsels and example may be supposed to have an important bearing on the success of their cause.

“These, with animated appeals to the loyalty of the people, and an imposing array of military force, constitute the means by which the people have in every age been reduced to slavery. When we turn to the pages of our own history, we find that such were the measures resorted to at the commencement of our own glorious revolution, to keep our fathers in subjection to Great Britain; and such are the means now used to induce the people of Carolina to ‘*retrace their steps*,’ and to remain forever degraded colonists, governed not in reference to their own interests, but the interests of others. Our fathers were told, as we now are, that their grievances were in a great measure imaginary. They were promised, as we have been, that those grievances should be redressed. They were told, as we now are, that the people were misled by a few designing men, whose object was a dissolution of the Union, and their own self aggrandizement. They were told, as we now are, of the *danger* that would be incurred by disobedience to the laws. The power and resources of the mother country were then, as now, ostentatiously displayed in insulting contrast with the scattered population and feeble resources on which we could alone rely. And the punishment due to treason and rebellion were held out as the certain fate of all who should disregard the paternal efforts of their Royal Master to bring back his erring children to the arms of their indulgent mother. They were commanded, as we have been, to ‘*retrace their steps*.’ But though divided among themselves, to a greater extent than we are now, without an organized Government, and destitute of arms and resources of every description, they bid defiance to the tyrant’s power, and refused obedience to his commands. They incurred the legal guilt of rebellion, and braved the dangers, both of the scabbord and the field, in opposition to the colossal power of their acknowledged sovereign, rather than submit to the imposition of taxes, light and inconsiderable in themselves, but *imposed, without their consent, for the benefit of others*. And what is our present condition? We have an organized Government, and a population three times as great as that which existed in ‘76. We are maintaining not only the rights and liberties of the people, but the sovereignty of our own state, against whose authority rebellion may be committed, but in obedience to whose commands no man can commit treason. We are struggling against unconstitutional and oppressive taxation imposed upon us, not only without our consent, but in defiance of our repeated remonstrances and solemn protests. In such a quarrel our duty to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, is too plain to be mistaken. We will stand upon the soil of Carolina, and maintain

the sovereign authority of the state, or be buried beneath its ruins, an unhappy Poland fell before the power of the Autocrat, so may Carolina be crushed by the power of her enemies—but Poland was not surrounded by free and independent states, interested, like herself, in preventing the establishment of the very tyranny which they are called upon to impose upon a sister state. If, in spite of our common kindred, and common interests, the glorious recollections of the past, and the proud hopes of the future, South Carolina should be coldly abandoned to her fate, and reduced to subjection by an unholy combination among her sister states—which is believed to be utterly impossible and the doctrines promulgated by the President are to become the foundations of a new system cemented by the blood of our citizens, it matters not what may be our lot. Under such a Government, as there could be no liberty, so there could be no security either for our persons or our property.

“But there is one consolation, of which, in the providence of God, no people can be deprived without their own consent—the proud consciousness of having done their duty. If our country must be enslaved, let her not be dishonored by her own sons! Let them not ‘*forge the chains themselves by which their liberties are to be menaced.*’

“The President has intimated in his proclamation that a ‘standing army is about to be raised to carry secession into effect. South Carolina desires that her true position shall be clearly understood both at home and abroad. Her object is not ‘disunion.’ She has raised no ‘standing army,’ and if driven to repel invasion or resist aggression, she will do so by the strong arms and stout hearts of her citizens. South Carolina has solemnly proclaimed her purpose; that purpose is *the vindication of her rights.* She has professed a sincere attachment to the Union: and that, to the utmost of her power, she will endeavor to preserve it, ‘but believes that, for this end, it is her duty to watch over and oppose any infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence; that she venerates the Constitution, and will protect and defend it ‘against every aggression, either foreign or domestic;’ but, above all, that she estimates, as beyond all price, her liberty, which she is unalterably determined never to surrender while she has the power to maintain it.’

“The President denies, in the most positive terms the right of state under any circumstances, to secede from the Union, and puts this denial on the ground ‘that, from the time the states parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other states a single nation, they cannot, from that period, possess any right to secede.’ What then remains of those ‘rights of the state’ for which the President professes so ‘high a reverence?’ In what do they consist? and by what tenure are they held? The uncontrolled will of the Federal Government. Like any other petty corporation, the states may exert such powers, and such only, as may be permitted by their superiors. When they step beyond

these limits, even a federal officer will set at nought their decrees, repeal their solemn ordinances, proclaim their citizens to be traitors, and reduce them to subjection by military force; and if driven to desperation, they should seek a refuge in secession, they are to be told that they have bound themselves to those who have perpetrated or permitted these enormities, in the iron bonds of a 'perpetual Union.'

"If these principles could be established, then indeed would the days of our liberty be numbered, and the republic will have found a master. If South Carolina had not already taken her stand against the usurpation of the Federal Government, here would have been an occasion, when she must have felt herself impelled, by every impulse of patriotism and every sentiment of duty, to stand forth in open defiance of the arbitrary decrees of the Executive, when a sovereign state is denounced, her authority derided, the allegiance of her citizens denied, and she is threatened with military power to reduce her to obedience to the will of one of the functionaries of the Federal Government, by whom she is *commanded* to 'tear from her archives' her most solemn decrees. Surely the time has come when it must be seen whether the people of the several states have indeed lost the spirit of the revolution, and whether they are to become the willing instruments of an unhallowed despotism. In such a sacred cause, South Carolina will feel that she is striking not for her own, but the liberties of the Union and the rights of man; and she confidently trusts that the issue of this contest will be an example to freemen and a lesson to rulers throughout the world.

"Fellow-citizens: In the name and behalf of the State of South Carolina, I do once more solemnly warn you against all attempts to seduce you from your primary allegiance to the state. I charge you to be faithful to your duty as citizens of South Carolina, and earnestly exhort you to disregard those 'vain menaces' of military force, which, if the President, in violation of all his constitutional obligations, and of your most sacred rights, should be tempted to employ, it would become your solemn duty, at all hazards, to resist. I require you to be fully prepared to sustain the dignity and protect the liberties of the state, if need be, with 'your lives and fortunes.' And may that great and good Being, who, as a 'father careth for his children,' inspire us with that holy zeal in a good cause, which is the best safeguard of our rights and liberties.

(L. S.) "In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the state to be hereunto affixed, and have signed the same with my hand. Done at Columbia, this 20th day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1832, and in the independence of the United States, the Fifty-seventh.

"Robert Y. Hayne.

"By the Governor:

"Samuel Hammond, Secretary of State."

CHAPTER 16.

Jackson's paper read to his Cabinet September 18, 1833, on "Removal of the Deposits."

The two events in the history of Andrew Jackson, which conclusively stamp him as a man superlatively fearless in the discharge of what he considered his duty, are the removal of the Government deposits from the United States bank, and the issuing of the Proclamation to the Nullifiers of South Carolina.

His personal friends and advisors and his Cabinet were divided on removing the deposits. Jackson, without hesitation, promptly assumed all responsibility for the removal, and he let it be known all over the country that no one but himself had any responsibility connected with it. His bitter hatred for the bank as a public institution, and his professed and freely expressed opinion that the bank was a corrupting agency, not only in Congress, but wherever its activities reached, called from him always and everywhere the declaration that it must be destroyed for the peace and happiness of the Country.

"Removing the Deposits" was an inaccurate statement of what General Jackson did. He did, in fact, remove no deposits at all; but the Revenue Collectors were instructed to put no more money in the bank, and the money already there was to be drawn out as the necessities of the Government called for.

Jackson never dodged responsibilities, great or small, and removing the deposits was one of the greatest and most far reaching any public official ever assumed in civil life. His logic was simple, and, to him, conclusive. He reasoned that the Government's money put in the bank belonged to the people of the United States, and that Congress was supposed to be the representative of the people, acting always for their good, and that the people's money should not be allowed to be used to corrupt their representatives and cause them to betray their constituencies, and that the bank should be deprived of all means of bringing this about. In other words, removing the deposits was a part of the program laid out by Old Hickory to destroy the bank. He held that destroying the bank had been one of the issues submitted to the



LEWIS CASS, 1782-1866.
Secretary of War, August 1, 1831 to October 5, 1836 in Jackson's Cabinet.
National Portrait Gallery.



LOUIS McLANE, 1786-1857.
Tenth Secretary of the Treasury, Jackson's Cabinet, August 8, 1831 to May 29, 1833; Secretary of State May 29, 1833 to June 2, 1834, from National Portrait Gallery; Member of Congress from Delaware 1817-1827, United States Senator 1827-1828; Minister to England 1828-1831 and 1846-1846; President of Baltimore and Ohio R. R. 1837-1847.

people in his election the second time, and that the overwhelming majority he received—Clay got only forty-eight electoral votes—conclusively proved that the people wanted the bank destroyed, and that removing the deposits as a means to its destruction, was in accordance with the wishes of the voters who re-elected him.

As stated, his advisors and supporters were divided on the question, and looking at it in the calm light of history, it appears now that there was ample room for a division of opinion.

Thomas H. Benton in his "Thirty Years View" makes this striking comment on Jackson's act.

"I was in the State of Virginia when the *Globe* newspaper arrived, towards the end of September, bringing this Paper which the President had read to his Cabinet, and the further information that he had carried his announced design into effect. I felt an emotion of the moral sublime to behold such an instant of civic heroism. Here was a President, not bred up in the political profession, taking a great step upon his own responsibility, from which many of his advisors shrunk; and magnanimously, in the act itself, releasing all from the peril that he encountered, boldly taking the whole upon himself. I say peril, for if the bank should conquer, there was an end to the political prospects of every public man concurring in the removal. He believed the act to be necessary, and, believing that, he did the act, leaving the consequences to God and the Country.

"I feel that a great blow had been struck and that a great contest must come off, which could only be crowned with success by acting up to the spirit with which it had commenced, and I repaired to Washington, on the approach of the session, with a full determination to stand by the President, which I believe to be standing by the Country; and do my part in justifying his conduct, and in the exposing and resisting the powerful combination which it was certain would be formed against him."

The President said: "Having carefully and anxiously considered all the facts and arguments which have been submitted to him relative to a removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, the President deems it his duty to communicate in this manner to his Cabinet the final conclusions of his own mind and the reasons on which they are founded, in order to put them in durable form and to prevent misconceptions.

"The President's convictions of the dangerous tendencies of the Bank of the United States, since signally illustrated by its own acts, were so overpowering when he entered on the duties of Chief Magistrate that he felt it his duty, notwithstanding the objections of the friends by whom he was surrounded, to avail himself of the first occasion to call the attention of Congress and the people to the question of its re-charter. The opinions expressed in his annual message of December, 1829, were reiterated in those

of December, 1830 and 1831, and in that of 1830 he threw out for consideration some suggestions in relation to a substitute. At the session of 1831-32 an act was passed by a majority of both Houses of Congress re-chartering the present bank upon which the President felt it his duty to put his constitutional veto. In his message returning that act he repeated and enlarged upon the principles and views briefly asserted in his annual message, declaring the bank to be, in his opinion, both inexpedient and unconstitutional, and announcing to his countrymen very unequivocally his firm determination never to sanction by his approval the continuance of that institution or the establishment of any other upon similar principles.

"There are strong reasons for believing that the motive of the bank in asking for a re-charter at that session of Congress was to make it a leading question in the election of a President of the United States the ensuing November, and all steps deemed necessary were taken to procure from the people a reversal of the President's decision.

"Although the charter was approaching its termination, and the bank was aware that it was the intention of the Government to use the public deposit as fast as it has accrued in the payment of the public debt, yet did it extend its loans from January, 1831, to may, 1832, from \$42,402,304.24 to \$70,428,070.72 being an increase of \$28,025,766.48 in sixteen months. It is confidently believed that the leading object of this immense extension of its loans was to bring as large a portion of the people as possible under its power and influence, and it has been disclosed that some of the largest sums were granted on very unusual terms to the conductors of the public press. In some of these cases the motive was made manifest by the nominal or insufficient security taken for the loans, by the large amounts discounted, by the extraordinary time allowed for payment, and especially by the subsequent conduct of those receiving the accommodations.

"Having taken these preliminary steps to obtain control over public opinion, the bank came into Congress and asked a new charter. The object avowed by many of the advocates of the bank was to *put the President to the test*, that the country might know his final determination relative to the bank prior to the ensuing election. Many documents and articles were printed and circulated at the expense of the bank to bring the people to a favorable decision upon its pretensions. Those whom the bank appears to have made its debtors for the special occasion were warned of the ruin which awaited them should the President be sustained, and attempts were made to alarm the whole people by painting the depression in the price of property and produce and the general loss, inconvenience, and distress which it was represented would immediately follow the re-election of the President in opposition to the bank.

"Can it now be said that the question of a re-charter of the

bank was not decided at the election which ensued? Had the veto been unequivocal, or had it not covered the whole ground; if it had merely taken exceptions to the details of the bill or to the time of its passage; if it had not met the whole ground of constitutionality and expediency, then there might have been some plausibility for the allegation that the question was not decided by the people. It was to compel the President to take his stand that the question was brought forward at that particular time. He met the challenge, willingly took the position into which his adversaries sought to force him, and frankly declared his unalterable opposition to the bank as being both unconstitutional and inexpedient. On that ground the case was argued to the people; and now that the people have sustained the President, notwithstanding the array of influence and power which was brought to bear upon him, it is too late, he confidently thinks, to say that the question has not been decided. Whatever may be the opinions of others, the President considers his re-election as a decision of the people against the bank. In the concluding paragraph of his veto message he said:

"I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me ample grounds for contentment and peace."

"He was sustained by a just people, and he desires to evince his gratitude by carrying into effect their decision so far as it depends upon him.

"Of all the substitutes for the present bank which have been suggested, none seems to have united any considerable portion of the public in its favor. Most of them are liable to the same constitutional objection for which the present bank has been condemned, and perhaps to all there are strong objections for which the present bank has been condemned, and perhaps to all there are strong objections on the score of expedience. In ridding the country of an irresponsible power which has attempted to control the Government, care must be taken not to unite the same power with the executive branch. To give a President the control over the currency and the power over individuals now possessed by the Bank of the United States, even with the material difference that he is responsible to the people, would be as objectionable and as dangerous as to leave it as it is. Neither one nor the other is necessary and therefore ought not to be resorted to.

"On the whole, the President considers it as conclusively settled that the charter of the Bank of the United States will not be renewed, and he has no reasonable ground to believe that any substitute will be established. Being bound to regulate his course by the laws as they exist, and not to anticipate the interference of the legislative power for the purpose of framing new systems, it is proper for him seasonably to consider the means by which the services rendered by the Bank of the United States are to be performed after its charter shall expire.

"The existing laws declare that:

" 'The deposits of the money of the United States in places in which the said bank and branches thereof may be established shall be made in said bank or branches thereof unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct, in which case the Secretary of the Treasury shall immediately lay before Congress, if in session, and, if not, immediately after the commencement of the next session, the reasons for such order or direction.'

"The power of the Secretary of the Treasury over the deposits is unqualified. The provision that he shall report his reasons to Congress is no limitation. Had it not been inserted he would have been responsible to Congress had he made a removal for any other than good reasons, and his responsibility now ceases upon the rendition of sufficient ones to Congress. The only object of the provision is to make his reasons accessible to Congress and enable that body the more readily to judge of their soundness and purity, and thereupon to make such further provision by law as the legislative power may think proper in relation to the deposit of the public money. Those reasons may be very diversified. It was asserted by the Secretary of the Treasury, without contradiction, as early as 1817, that he had power, 'to control the proceedings' of the Bank of the United States at any moment 'by changing the deposits to the State Banks,' should it pursue an illiberal course toward those institutions; that 'the Secretary of the Treasury will always be disposed to support the credit of the State Banks, and will invariably direct transfers from the deposits of the public money in aid of their legitimate exertions to maintain their credit; and he asserted a right to employ the State Banks when the Bank of the United States should refuse to receive on deposit the notes of such State Banks as the public interest required should be received in payment of the public dues. In several instances he did transfer the public deposits to State Banks in the immediate vicinity of branches, for reasons connected only with the safety of those banks, the public convenience, and the interests of the Treasury.

"It was lawful for Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury at that time, to act on these principles, it will be difficult to discover any sound reason against the application of similar principles in still stronger cases. And it is a matter of surprise that a power which in the infancy of the bank was freely asserted as one of the ordinary and familiar duties of the Secretary of the Treasury, should now be gravely questioned, and attempts made to excite and alarm the public mind as if some new and unheard of power was about to be usurped by the executive branch of the Government.

"It is but a little more than two and half years to the termination of the charter of the present bank. It is considered as the decision of the country that it shall then cease to exist, and no man,

the President believes, has reasonable ground for expectation that any other Bank of the United States will be created by Congress.

"To the Treasury Department is intrusted the self-keeping and faithful application of the public moneys. A plan of collection different from the present must therefore be introduced and put in complete operation before the dissolution of the present bank. When shall it be commenced? Shall no step be taken in this essential concern until the charter expires and the Treasury find itself without an agent, its accounts in confusion, with no depository for its funds, and the whole business of the Government deranged, or shall it be delayed until six months, or a year, or two years before the expiration of the charter? It is obvious that any new system which may be substituted in the place of the Bank of the United States could not be suddenly carried into effect on the termination of its existance without serious inconvenience to the Government and the people. Its vast amount of notes are then to be redeemed and withdrawn from circulation and its immense debt collected. These operations must be gradual, otherwise much suffering and distress will be brought upon the community.

"It ought to be not a work of months only, but of years, and the President thinks it can not, with due attention to the interests of the people, be longer postponed. It is safer to begin it too soon than to delay it too long.

"It is for the wisdom of Congress to decide upon the best substitute to be adopted in the place of the Bank of the United States, and the president would have left himself relieved from a heavy and painful responsibility if in the charter to the bank Congress had reserved to itself the elsewhere deposits, and had not devolved that power exclusively on one of the Executive Departments. It is useless now to inquire why this high and important power was surrounded by those who are peculiarly and appropriately the guardians of the public money. Perhaps it was an oversight. But as the President presumes that the charter to the Bank is to be considered as a contract on the part of the Government, it is not now in the power of Congress to disregard its stipulations; and by the terms of that contract the public money is to be deposited in the bank during the continuance of its charter unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall otherwise direct. Unless therefore, the Secretary of the treasury first acts, Congress have no power over the subject, but they can not add a new clause to the charter or strike one out of it without the consent of the bank, and consequently the public money must remain in that institution to the last hour of its existence unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall remove it at an earlier day. The responsibility is thus thrown upon the executive branch of the Government of deciding how long before the expiration of the charter the public interest will require the deposits to be placed elsewhere; and although according to the frame and principle of our Government this decision would seem more properly to belong to the legislative power, yet as the law

has imposed it upon the executive department the duty ought to be faithfully and firmly met, and the decision made and executed upon the best lights that can be obtained and the best judgment that can be formed. It would ill become the executive branch of the Government to shrink from any duty which the law imposes on it, to fix upon others the responsibility which justly belong to itself. And while the President anxiously wishes to abstain from the exercise of doubtful powers and to avoid all interference with the right and duties of others, he must yet with unshaken constancy discharge his own obligations, and can not allow himself to turn aside in order to avoid any responsibility which the high trust with which he has been honored required him to encounter; and it being the duty of one of the Executive Departments to decide in the first instance, subject to the future action of the legislative power whether the public deposits shall remain in the Bank of the United States until the end of its existence or be withdrawn some time before, the President has felt himself bound to examine the question carefully and deliberately in order to make up his judgment on the subject, and in his opinion the near approach of the termination of the charter and the public considerations heretofore mentioned are of themselves amply sufficient to justify the removal of the deposits without reference to the conduct of the bank or their safety in its keeping.

"But in the conduct of the bank may be found other reasons, very imperative in their character, and which require prompt action. Developments have been made from time to time of its faithfulness as a public agent, its misapplication of public funds, its interference in elections, its efforts by the machinery of committees to deprive the Government directors of a full knowledge of its concern, and, above all, its fragrant misconduct as recently and unexpectedly disclosed in placing all the funds of the bank, including the money of the Government, at the disposition of the president of the bank as means of operating upon public opinion and procuring a new charter, without requiring him to render a voucher for their disbursement. A brief recapitulation of the facts which justify these charges, and which have come to the knowledge of the public and the President, will, he thinks, remove every reasonable doubt as to the course which it is now the duty of the President to pursue.

"We have seen that in sixteen months ending in May, 1832, the bank had extended its loans more than \$28,000,000, although it knew the Government intended to appropriate most of its large deposit during that year in payment of the public debt. It was May, 1832, that its loans arrived at the maximum, and in the preceding March so sensible was the bank that it would not be able to pay over the public deposit when it would be required by the government that it commenced a secret negotiation, without the approbation or knowledge of the Government, with the agents for about \$2,700,000 of the 3 per cent stocks held in Holland, with

a view of inducing them not to come forward for payment for one or more years after notice should be given by the Treasury Department. This arrangement would have enabled the bank to keep and use during that time the public money set apart for the payment of these stocks.

"After this negotiation had commenced, the Secretary of the Treasury informed the bank that it was his intention to pay off one-half of the 2 per cent on the 1st of the succeeding July, which amounted to about \$6,500,000. The president of the bank, although the committee of investigation was then looking into its affairs at Philadelphia, came immediately to Washington, and upon representing that the bank was desirous of accommodating the importing merchants at New York (which it failed to do) and undertaking to pay the interest itself, procured the consent of the Secretary, after consultation with the President, to postpone the payment until the succeeding 1st of October.

"Conscious that at the end of that quarter the bank would not be able to pay over the deposits, and that further indulgence was not to be expected of the Government, an agent was dispatched to England secretly to negotiate with the holders of the public debt in Europe and induce them by the offer of an equal or higher interest than that paid by the Government to hold back their claims for one year, during which the bank expected thus to retain the use of \$5,000,000 of the public money, which the Government should set apart for the payment of that debt. The agent made an arrangement on terms, in part, which were in direct violation of the charter of the bank, and when some incidents connected with this secret negotiation accidentally came to the knowledge of the public and the Government, then, and not before, so much of it as was palpably in violation of the charter was disavowed. A modification of the rest was attempted with the view of getting the certificates without payment of the money, and thus absolving the Government from its liability to the holders. In this scheme the bank was partially successful, but to this day the certificates of a portion of these stocks have not been paid and the bank retains the use of the money.

"This effort to thwart the Government in the payment of the public debt that it might retain the public money to be used for their private interests, palliated by pretenses notoriously unfounded and insincere, would have justified the instant withdrawal of the public deposits. The negotiation itself rendered doubtful the ability of the bank to meet the demands of the Treasury, and the misrepresentations by which it was attempted to be justified proved that no reliance could be placed upon its allegations.

"If the question of a removal of the deposits presented itself to the Executive in the same attitude that it appeared before the House of Representatives at their last session, their resolution in relation to the safety of the deposits would be entitled to more weight, although the decision of the question of removal has been

confided by law to another department of the Government. But the question now occurs attended by other circumstances and new disclosures of the most serious import. It is true that in the message of the President which produced this inquiry and resolution on the part of the House of Representatives it was his object to obtain the aid of that body in making a thorough examination into the conduct and condition of the bank and its branches in order to enable the executive department to decide whether the public money was longer safe in its hands. The limited power of the Secretary of the Treasury over the subject disabled him from making the investigation as fully and satisfactorily as it could be done by committee of the House of Representatives, and hence the President desired the assistance of Congress to obtain for the Treasury Department a full knowledge of all the facts which were necessary to guide his judgment. But it was not his purpose, as the language of his message will show, to ask the representatives of the people to assume a responsibility which did not belong to them to relieve the executive branch of the Government from the duty which the law had imposed upon it. It is due to the President that his object in that proceeding should be distinctly understood, and that he should acquit himself of all suspicion of seeking to escape from the performance of his own duties or of desiring to interpose another body between himself and the people in order to avoid a measure which he is called upon to meet. But although as an act of justice to himself he disclaims any design of soliciting the opinion of the House of Representatives in relation to his own duties in order to shelter himself from responsibility under the sanction of their counsel, yet he is at all times ready to listen to the suggestions of the representatives of the people, whether given voluntarily or upon solicitation, and to consider them with the profound respect to which all will admit that they are justly entitled. Whatever may be the consequences, however, to himself, he must finally form his own judgment where the constitution and the law make it his duty to decide, and must act accordingly; and he is bound to suppose that such a course on his part will never be regarded by that elevated body as a mark of disrespect to itself, but that they will, on the contrary, esteem it the strongest evidence he can give of his fixed resolution conscientiously to discharge his duty to them and the country.

"A new state of things has, however, arisen since the close of the last session of Congress, and evidence has since been laid before the President which he is persuaded would have led the House of Representatives to a different conclusion if it had come to their knowledge. The fact that the bank controls, and in some cases substantially owns, and by its money supports some of the leading presses of the country, is now more clearly established. Editors to whom it loaned extravagant sums in 1831 and 1832, on unusual time and nominal security, have since turned out to be



CHURCH BUILT BY ANDREW JACKSON IN 1823 FOR MRS. JACKSON.

insolvent, and to others apparently in no better condition accommodations still more extravagant, on terms more unusual, and some without any security, have also been heedlessly granted.

“The allegation which has so often circulated through these channels that the Treasury was bankrupt and the bank was sustaining it, when for many years there has not been less, on an average, than six millions of public money in that institution, might be passed over as a harmless misrepresentation; but when it is attempted by substantial acts to impair the credit of the Government and tarnish the honor of the country, such charges require more serious attention. With six million of public money in its vaults, after having had the use of from five to twelve million for nine years without interest, it became the purchaser of a bill drawn by our Government on that of France for about \$900,000 being the first installment of the French indemnity. The purchase money was left in the use of the bank, being simply added to the Treasury deposit. The bank sold the bill in England, and the holder sent it to France for collection, and arrangements not having been made by the French Government for its payment, it was taken up by the agents of the bank in Paris with the funds of the bank in their hands. Under these circumstances it has through its organs openly assailed the credit of the Government and has actually made and persists in a demand of 15 per cent, or \$158,842.77, as damages when no damage, or none beyond some trifling expense, has in fact been sustained, and when the bank had in its own possession on deposit several millions of the public money which it was then using for its own profit. Is a fiscal agent of the Government which thus seeks to enrich itself at the expense of the public worthy of further trust?

“There are other important facts not in the contemplation of the House of Representatives or not known to the members at the time they voted for the resolution.

“Although the charter and the rules of the bank both declare that ‘not less than seven directors’ shall be necessary to the transaction of business, yet the most important business, even that of granting discounts to any extent, is intrusted to the committee of five members, who do not report to the board.

“To cut off all means of communication with the Government in relation to its most important acts at the commencement of the present year, not one of the Government directors was placed on any one committee; and although since, by an unusual remodeling of those bodies, some of those directors have been placed on some of the committees, they are yet entirely excluded from the committee of exchange, through which the greatest and most objectionable loans have been made.

When the Government directed or made an effort to bring back the business of the bank to the board in obedience to the charter and the existing regulations, the board not only overruled

their attempt, but altered the rule so as to make it conform to the practice, in direct violation of one of the most important provisions of the the charter which gave them existence.

"It has long been known that the president of the bank, by his single will, originates and executes many of the most important measures connected with the management and credit of the bank, and that the committee as well as the board of directors are left in entire ignorance of many acts done and correspondence carried on in their names and apparently under their authority. The fact has been recently disclosed that an unlimited discretion has been and is now vested in the president of the bank to expend its funds in payment for preparing and circulating articles and purchasing pamphlets and newspapers, calculated by their contents to operate on elections and secure a renewal of its charter. It appears from the official report of the public directors that on the 30th, November, 1830, the president submitted to the board an article published in the American Quarterly Review containing favorable notices of the bank, and suggested the expediency of giving it a wider circulation at the expense of the bank; whereupon the board passed the following resolution, viz.:

"RESOLVED, That the president be authorized to take such measures in regard to the circulation of the contents of the said article, either in whole or in part, as he may deem most for the interest of the bank.

"By an entry in the minutes of the bank dated March 11, 1831, it appears that the president had not only caused a large edition of that article to be issued, but had also, before the resolution of 30th November was adopted, procured to be printed and widely circulated numerous copies of the reports of General Smith and Mr McDuffie in favor of the bank; and on that day he suggested the expediency of extending his power to the printing of other articles which might observe the purpose of the institution, whereupon the following resolution was adopted, viz.:

"RESOLVED, That the president is hereby authorized to cause to be prepared and circulated such documents and papers as may communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operations of the bank.

"The expenditures purporting to have been made under authority of these resolutions the year 1831 and 1832 were about \$80,000. For a portion of these expenditures vouchers were rendered, from which it appears that they were incurred in the purchase of some hundred thousand copies of newspapers, reports and speeches made in Congress, reviews of the veto message and reviews of speeches against the bank, etc. For another large portion no voucher whatever were rendered, but the various sums were paid on orders of the president of the bank, making reference to the resolution of the 11th of March, 1831.

"On ascertaining these facts and perceiving that expenditures of a similar character were still continued, the Government

directors a few weeks ago offered a resolution in the board calling for a specific account of these expenditures, showing the objects to which they had been applied and the persons to whom the money had been paid. This reasonable proposition was voted down.

"They also offered a resolution rescinding the resolutions of November, 1830, and March, 1831. This was also rejected.

"Not content with thus refusing to recall the obnoxious power or even to require such an account of the expenditure as would show whether the money of the bank had in fact been applied to the objects contemplated by these resolutions, as obnoxious as they were, the board renewed the power already conferred, and even enjoined renewed attention to its exercise by adopting the following in lieu of the proposition submitted by the Government directors, viz.:

"RESOLVED, That the board have confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the president and in the propriety of the resolutions of 30th November, 1830, and 11th March, 1831, and entertain a full conviction of the necessity of a renewed attention to the object of those resolutions, and that the president be authorized and requested to continue his exertions for the promotion of said object.

"Taken in connection with the nature of the expenditures heretofore made, as recently disclosed, which the board not only tolerated, but approved, this resolution puts the funds of the bank at the disposition of the president for the purpose of employing the whole press of the country in the service of the bank, to hire writers and newspapers, and to pay out such sums as he pleases to what person and for what services he pleases without the responsibility of rendering any specific account. The bank is thus converted into a vast electioneering engine, with means to embroil the country in deadly feuds, and, under cover of expenditures in themselves improper, extend its corruption through all the ramifications of society.

"Some of the Items for which accounts have been rendered show the construction which has been given to the resolution and the way in which the power it confers has been exerted. The money has not been expended merely in the publication and distribution of speeches, reports of committees, or articles written for the purpose of showing the constitutionality or usefulness of the bank, but publications have been prepared and extensively circulated containing the grossest invectives against the officers of the Government, and the money which belongs to the stockholders and to the public has been freely applied in efforts to degrade in public estimation those who were supposed to be instrumental in reinstating the wishes of this grasping and dangerous institution. As the president of the bank has not been required to settle his accounts, no one but himself knows how much more than the sum already mentioned may have been squandered, and for which a credit may hereafter be claimed in his account under this most extraordinary resolution. With these facts before us can we be

surprised at the torrent of abuse incessantly poured out against all who are supposed to stand in the way of the cupidity or ambition of the Bank of the United States? Can we be surprised at sudden and unexpected changes of opinion in favor of an institution which has millions to lavish and avows its determination not to spare its means when they are necessary to accomplish its purpose? The refusal to render an account of the manner in which a part of the money expended had been applied gives just cause for the suspicion that it has been used for purposes which it is not deemed prudent to expose to the eyes of an intelligent and virtuous people. Those who act justly do not shun the light, nor do they refuse explanation when the propriety of their conduct is brought into question.

“With these facts before him in official report from the Government directors, the President would feel that he was not only responsible for all the abuses and corruption the bank has committed or may commit, but almost an accomplice in a conspiracy against the Government which he has sworn honestly to administer, if he did not take every step within his constitutional and legal power likely to be efficient in putting an end to these enormities. If it be possible within the scope of human affairs to find a reason for removing the Government deposits and leaving the bank to its own resources for the means of effecting its criminal designs, we have it here. Was it expected when the moneys of the United States were directed to be placed in that bank that they would be put under the control of one man empowered to spend millions without rendering a voucher or specifying the object? Can they be considered safe with the evidence before us that tens of thousands have been spent for highly improper, if not corrupt, purposes, and that the same motive may lead to the expenditure of hundreds of thousands, and even millions, more? And can we justify ourselves to the people by longer leaving to it the money and power of the Government to be employed for such purposes?

“It has been alleged by some as an objection to the removal of the deposits that the bank has the power, and in that event will have the disposition, to destroy the State Banks employed by the Government, and bring distress upon the country. It has been the fortune of the President to encounter dangers which were represented as equally alarming, and he has seen them vanish before resolution and energy. Pictures equally appalling were placed before him when this bank came to demand a new charter. But what was the result? Has the country been ruined, or even distressed? Was it ever more prosperous than since that act?

The President verily believes the bank has not the power to produce the calamities its friends threaten. The funds of the Government will not be annihilated by being transferred. They will immediately be issued for the benefit of trade, and if the bank of the United States curtails its loans the State Banks, strengthened by the public deposits will extend theirs. What comes in through

one bank will go out through others, and the equilibrium will be preserved. Should the bank, for the mere purpose of producing distress, press its debtors more heavily than some of them can bear, the consequences will recoil upon itself, and in the attempts to embarrass the country it will only bring loss and ruin upon the holders of its own stock. But if the President believed the bank possessed all the power which has been attributed to it, his determination would only be rendered the more inflexible. If indeed, this corporation now holds in its hands the happiness and prosperity of the American people, it is high time to take the alarm. If the despotism be already upon us and our only safety is in the mercy of the despot, recent developments in relation to his designs and the means he employs show how necessary it is to shake it off. The struggle can never come with less distress to the people or under more favorable auspices than at the present moment.

"All doubt as to the willingness of the State Bank to undertake the service of the Government to the same extent and on the same terms as it is now performed by the Bank of the United States is put to rest by the report of the agent recently employed to collect information, and from that willingness their own safety in the operation may be confidently inferred. Knowing their own resources better than they can be known by others, it is not to be supposed that they would be willing to place themselves in a situation which they can not occupy without danger of annihilation or embarrassment. The only consideration applies to the safety of the public funds if deposited in these institutions, and when it is seen that the directors of many of them are not only willing to pledge the character and capital of the corporations in giving success to this measure, but also their own property and reputation, we can not doubt that they at least believe the public deposits would be safe in their management. The President thinks that these facts and circumstances afford as strong a guaranty as can be had in human affairs for the safety of the public fund and the practicability of a new system of collection and disbursement through the agency of the State Banks.

"From all these considerations the President thinks that the state banks ought immediately to be employed in the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, and the funds now in the Bank of the United States drawn out with all convenience dispatched. The safety of the public moneys if deposits in the state bank must be secured beyond all reasonable doubts; but the extent and nature of the security in addition to their capital, if any be deemed necessary, is a subject of detail to which the Treasury Departments will undoubtedly give its anxious attention. The bank to be employed must remit the moneys of the Government without charge, as the Bank of the United States now does; must render all the services which that bank now performs; must keep the Government advised of their situation by periodical returns; in fine, in any arrangement with the state banks the Government

must not in any respect be placed on a worse footing than it now is. The President is happy to perceive by the report of the agent that the banks which he has consulted have, in general, consented to perform the service on these terms, and that those in New York have further agreed to make payments in London without other charge than the mere cost of the bills of exchange.

It should also be enjoined upon any banks which may be employed that it will be expected of them to facilitate domestic exchanges for the benefit of internal commerce, to grant all reasonable facilities to the payers of the revenue; to exercise the utmost liability toward the other state banks, and do nothing useless to embarrass the Bank of the United States.

"As one of the most serious objections to the Bank of the United States is the power which it concentrates, care must be taken in finding other agents for the service of the Treasury not to raise up another power equally formidable. Although it would probably be impossible to produce such a result by any organization of the State Banks which could be devised, yet it is desirable to avoid even the appearance. To this end it would be expedient to assume no more power over them and interfere no more in their affairs than might be absolutely necessary to the security of the public deposit and the faithful performance of their duties as agent of the Treasury. Any interference by them in the political contests of the country with a view to influence elections ought, in the opinion of the President, to be followed by an immediate discharge from the public service.

"It is the desire of the President that the control of the banks and the currency shall, as far as possible, be entirely separated from the political power of the country as well as wrested from an institution which has already attempted to subject the Government to its will. In his opinion the action of the General Government on this subject ought not to extend beyond the grant in the Constitution, which only authorizes Congress 'to coin money and regulate the value thereof;' all else beyond to the states and the people, and must be regulated by public opinion and the interests of trade.

"In conclusion the President must be permitted to remark that he looks upon the pending question as of higher consideration than the mere transfer of a sum of money from one bank to another. Its decision may effect the character of our Government for ages to come. Should the bank be suffered longer to use the public moneys in the accomplishment of its purpose, with the proofs of its faithlessness and corruption before our eyes, the patriotic among our citizens will despair the success in struggling against its power, and we shall be responsible for entailing it upon our country forever. Viewing it as a question of transcendent importance, both in the principles and consequences it involves, the President could not, in justice to the responsibility which he owes to the country, refrain from passing upon the Secretary of the Treasury his view

of the consideration which impel to immediate action. Upon him has been devolved by the Constitution and the suffrages of the American people the duty of superintending the operation of the Executive Departments of the Government and seeing that the laws are faithfully executed. In the performance of this high trust it is his undoubted right to express to those whom the laws and his own choice have made his associates in the administration of the Government his opinion of their duties under circumstances as they arise. It is the right which he now exercises. Far be it from him to expect or require that any member of the Cabinet should at his request, order or dictation, do any act which he believes unlawful or in his conscience condemns. From them and from his fellow citizens in general he desires only that aid and support which their reason approves and their conscience sanctions.

"In the remarks he has made on this all-important question he trusts the Secretary of the Treasury will see only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinion which the President has formed on a measure of great national interest deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his Administration, and not a spirit of dictation, which the President would be as careful to avoid as ready to resist. Happy will he be if the facts now disclosed produce uniformity of opinion and unity of action among the members of the administration.

"The President again repeats that he begs his Cabinet to consider the proposed measure as his own, in the support of which he shall require no one of them to make a sacrifice of opinion or principle. Its responsibility has been assured after the most matured deliberation and reflection as necessary to preserve the morals of the people, the freedom of the press, and the purity of the elective franchise, without which all will unite in saying that the blood and treasure expended by our forefathers in the establishment of our happy system of government will have been vain and fruitless. Under these convictions he feels that a measure so important to the American people can not be commenced too soon, and he therefore names the 1st day of October next as a period proper for the change of the deposits, or sooner provided the necessary arrangements with the state banks can be made.

CHAPTER 17.

Jackson's "Protest," April 15, 1843, on the Senate's Resolution of Censure for moving the Deposite.

On March 28, 1834, the Senate passed Henry Clay's Resolution of Censure on Jackson by a vote of 26 to 20 for removing the Deposits from the Bank of the United States, and on April 15, 1834, Jackson sent a Protest against this Resolution to the Senate with the request that it be entered on the Journal of that body.

The Protest was considered for a month and finally by a vote of 27 to 16, the Senate declined to enter it on its Journal upon the ground that the Protest was a breach of the privileges of the Senate, and that the President had no right to send a Protest to the Senate upon any of its proceedings.

The following is the full text of the Protest:

"TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES: It appears by the published Journal of the Senate that on the 26th of December last a resolution was offered by a member of the Senate, which after a protracted debate was on the 28th day of March last modified by the mover and passed by the votes of twenty-six Senators out of forty-six who were present and voted, in the following words, viz.:

"RESOLVED, That the President, in the late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both.

"Having had the honor, through the voluntary suffrages of the American people, to fill the office of the President of the United States during the period which may be presumed to have been referred to in this resolution, it is sufficiently evident that the censure it inflicts was intended for myself. Without notice, unheard and untried, I thus find myself charged on the records of the Senate, and in a form hitherto unknown in our history, with the high crime of violating the laws and Constitution of my country.

"It can seldom be necessary for any department of the Government, when assailed in conversation or debate or by the strictures of the press or of popular assemblies, to step out of its ordinary path for the purpose of vindicating its conduct or of pointing



Mr E Livingston is requested to accept this
present as mark of the sense I entertain
of his public services, and a token of
my private friendship and Esteem.
Head quarters N. Orleans,
Jan 1st 1815- Andrew Jackson

James Parton in his life of Jackson says this is the youngest known picture of Jackson.

out any irregularity or injustice in the manner of the attack; but when the Chief Executive Magistrate is, by one of the most important branches of the Government in its official capacity, in a public manner, and by its recorded sentence, but without precedent, competent authority, or just cause, declared guilty of a breach of the laws and Constitution, it is due to his station, to public opinion, and to a proper self-respect that the officer thus denounced should properly expose the wrong which has been done.

"In the present case, moreover, there is even a stronger necessity for such a vindication. By an express provision of the Constitution, before the President of the United States can enter on the execution of his office he is required to take an oath or affirmation in the following words:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

"The duty of defending so far as in him lies the integrity of the Constitution would indeed have resulted from the very nature of his office, but by thus expressing it in the official oath or affirmation, which in this respect differs from that of any other functionary, the founders of our Republic have attested their sense of its importance and have given to it a peculiar solemnity and force. Bound to the performance of this duty by the oath I have taken, by the strongest obligations of gratitude to the American people, and by the ties which unite my every earthly interest with the welfare and glory of my country, and perfectly convinced that the discussion and passage of the above-mentioned resolution were not only unauthorized by the Constitution, but in many respects repugnant to its provisions and subversive of the rights secured by it to other co-ordinate departments, I deem it an imperative duty to maintain the supremacy of that sacred instrument and the immunities of the Department intrusted to my cares by all means consistent with my own lawful powers, with the rights of others, and with the genius of our civil institutions. To this end I have caused this my solemn protest against the aforesaid proceedings to be placed on the files of the executive department and to be transmitted to the Senate.

"It is alike due to the subject, the Senate, and the people that the views which I have taken of the proceedings referred to, and which compel me to regard them in the light that has been mentioned, should be exhibited at length, and with the freedom and firmness which are required by an occasion so unprecedented and peculiar.

"Under the Constitution of the United States the powers and functions of the various departments of the Federal Government and their responsibilities for violations or neglect of duty are clearly defined or result by necessary inference. The legislative power is, subject to the qualified negative of the President, vested in the

Congress of the United States, composed of the Senate and House of Representatives; the executive power is vested exclusively in the President, except that in the conclusion of treaties and certain appointments to office he is to act with the advice and consent of the Senate; the judicial power is vested exclusively in the Supreme and other courts of the United States, except in cases of impeachment, for which purpose the accusatory power is vested in the House of Representatives and that of hearing and determining in the Senate. But although for the special purposes which have been mentioned there is an occasional intermixture of the powers of the different departments, yet with these exceptions each of the three great departments is independent of the others in its sphere of action, and when it deviates from that sphere is not responsible to the others further than it is expressly made so in the Constitution. In every other respect each of them is the co-equal of the two, and all are the servants of the American people, without power or right to control or censure each other in the service of their common superior, save only in the manner and to the degree which that superior has prescribed.

"The responsibilities of the President are numerous and weighty. He is liable to impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, and on due conviction to removal from office and perpetual disqualification; and notwithstanding such conviction, he may also be indicted and punished according to law. He is also liable to the private action of any party who may have been injured by his illegal mandates or instructions in the same manner and to the same extent as the humblest functionary. In addition to the responsibilities which may thus be enforced by impeachment, criminal prosecution, or suit at law, he is also accountable at the bar of public opinion for every act of his Administration. Subject only to the restraints of truth and justice, the free people of the United States have the undoubted right, as individuals or collectively, orally or in writing, at such times and in language and form as they may think proper, to discuss his official conduct and to express and promulgate their opinions concerning it. Indirectly also his conduct may come under review in either branch of the legislature, or in the Senate when acting in its executive capacity, and so far as the executive or legislative proceedings of these bodies may require it, it may be exercised by them. These are believed to be proper and only modes in which the President of the United States is to be held accountable for his official conduct.

"Tested by these principles, the resolution of the Senate is wholly unauthorized by the Constitution, and in derogation of its entire spirit. It assumes that a single branch of legislative department may for the purposes of a public censure, and without any view to legislation or impeachment, take up, consider, and decide upon the official acts of the Executive. But in no part of the Constitution is the President subject to any such responsibility, and in no part of that instrument is any such power conferred on either branch of the legislature.

"The justice of these conclusions will be illustrated and confirmed by a brief analysis of the powers of the Senate and a comparison of their recent proceedings with those powers.

"The high functions assigned by the Constitution to the Senate are in their nature either legislative, executive, or judicial. It is only in the exercise of its judicial powers, when sitting as a court for the trial of impeachments, that the Senate is expressly authorized and necessarily required to consider and decide upon the conduct of the President or any other public officer. Cases may occur in the course of its legislative or executive proceedings in which it may be indispensable to the proper exercises of its powers that it should inquire into and decide upon the conduct of the President or other public officers, and in every such case its constitutional right to do so is cheerfully conceded. But to authorize the Senate to enter on such a task in its legislative or executive capacity the inquiry must actually grow out of and tend to some legislative or executive action, and the decision, when expressed, must take the form of some appropriate legislative or executive act.

"The resolution in question was introduced, discussed, and passed not as a joint but as a separate resolution. It asserts no legislative power, proposes no legislative action, and neither possesses the form nor any of the attributes of a legislative measure. It does not appear to have been entertained or passed with any view or expectation of its issuing in a law or joint resolution, or in the repeal of any law or joint resolution, or in any other legislative action.

"Whilst wanting both the form and substance of a legislative measure, it is equally manifest that the resolution was not justified by any of the executive powers conferred on the Senate. These powers relate exclusively to the consideration of treaties and nominations to office, and they are exercised in secret session and with closed doors. This resolution does not apply to any treaty or nomination, and was passed in a public session.

"Nor does this proceeding in any way belong to that class of incidental resolutions which relate to the officers of the Senate, to their Chamber and other appurtenances, or to subjects, order and other matters of the like nature, in all which either House may lawfully proceed without any operation with the other or with the President.

"On the contrary, the whole phraseology and sense of the resolution seem to be judicial. Its essence, true character, and only practical effect are to be found in the conduct which it charges upon the President and in the judgment which it pronounces on that conduct. The resolution, therefore, though discussed and adopted by the Senate in its legislative capacity, is in its office and in all its characteristics essentially judicial.

"That the Senate possesses a high judicial power and that instances may occur in which the President of the United States will be amenable to it is undeniable; but under the provisions of the Constitution it would seem to be equally plain that neither the

President nor any other officer can be rightfully subjected to the operation of the judicial power of the Senate except in the cases and under the forms prescribed by the Constitution.

"The Constitution declares that 'the President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors; that the House of Representatives' shall have the sole power of impeachments;' that 'when sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation;' that 'when the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside;' that 'no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present,' and that 'judgment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.'

"The resolution above quoted charges, in substance, that in certain proceedings relating to the public revenue the President has usurped authority and power not conferred upon him by the Constitution and laws, and that in doing so he violated both. Any such act constitutes a high crime—one of the highest, indeed, which justly exposes him to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and upon due conviction, to removal from office and to the complete and immutable disfranchisement prescribed by the Constitution. The resolution, then, was in substance an impeachment of the President, and in its passage amounts to a declaration by a majority of the Senate that he is guilty of an impeachable offense. As such it is spread upon the journals of the Senate, published to the nation and to the world, made part of our enduring archives, and incorporated in the history of the age. The punishment of removal from office and future disqualification does not, it is true, follow this decision, nor would it have followed the like decision if the regular forms of the proceeding had been pursued, because the requisite number did not concur in the result. But the moral influence of a solemn declaration by a majority of the Senate that the accused is guilty of the offense charged upon him has been as effectually secured as if the declaration had been made upon an impeachment expressed in the same terms. Indeed, a greater practical effect has been gained, because the votes given for the resolution, though not sufficient to authorize a judgment of guilty on an impeachment, were numerous enough to carry that resolution.

"That the resolution does not expressly allege that the assumption of power and authority which it condemns was intentional and corrupt is no answer to the preceding view of its character and effect. The act thus condemned necessarily implies volition and design in the individual to whom it is imputed, and, being unlawful in its character, the legal conclusion is that it was prompted by improper motives and committed with an unlawful intent. The charge is not of a mistake in the exercise of supposed powers

but of the assumption of powers not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both, and nothing is suggested to excuse or palliate the turpitude of the act. In the absence of any such excuse or palliation there is only room for one inference, and that is that the intent was unlawful and corrupt. Besides, the resolution not only contains no mitigating suggestion, but on the contrary, it holds up the act complained of as justly obnoxious to censure and repobation, and thus as distinctly stamps it with impurity of motive as if the strongest epithets had been used.

"The President of the United States, therefore, has been by a majority of his constitutional triers accused and found guilty of an impeachable offense, but in no part of this proceeding have the directions of the Constitution been observed.

"The impeachment, instead of being preferred and prosecuted by the House of Representatives, originated in the Senate, and was prosecuted without the aid or concurrence of the other House. The oath or affirmation prescribed by the Constitution was not taken by the Senators, the Chief Justice did not preside, no notice of the charge was given to the accused, and no opportunity afforded him to respond to the accusation, to meet his accusers face to face, to cross-examine the witnesses, to procure counter-acting testimony or to be heard in his defense. The safeguards and formalities which the Constitution has connected with the power of impeachment were doubtless supposed by the framers of that instrument to be essential to the protection of the public servant, to the attainment of justice, and to the order, impartiality, and dignity of the procedure. These safeguards and formalities were not only practically disregarded in the commencement and conduct of these proceedings, but in their result I find myself convicted by less than two-thirds of the members present of an impeachable offense.

"In vain may it be alleged in defense of this proceeding that the form of the resolution is not that of an impeachment or of a judgment thereupon, that the punishment prescribed in the Constitution does not follow its adoption, or that in this case no impeachment is to be expected from the House of Representatives. It is because it did not assume the form of an impeachment that it is the more palpably repugnant to the Constitution, for it is through that form only that the President is judicially responsible to the Senate; and though neither removal from office nor future disqualification ensues, yet it is not to be presumed that the framers of the Constitution considered either or both of those results as constituting the whole of the punishment they prescribed. The judgment of guilty by the highest tribunal in the Union, the stigma it would inflict on the offender, his family, and fame, and the perpetual record on the Journal, handing down to future generations the story of his disgrace, were doubtless regarded by them as the bitterest portions, if not the very essence, of that punishment. So far, therefore, as some of its most material parts are concerned,

the passage recording and promulgation of the resolution are an attempt to bring them on the President in a manner unauthorized by the Constitution. To shield him and other officers who are liable to impeachment from consequences so momentous, except when really merited by official delinquencies, the Constitution has most carefully guarded the whole process of impeachment. A majority of the House of Representatives must think the officers guilty before he can be charged. Two-thirds of the Senate must pronounce him guilty or he is deemed to be innocent. Forty-six Senators appear by the Journal to have been present when the vote on the resolution was taken. If after all the solemnities of an impeachment thirty of those Senators had voted that the President was guilty, yet would he have been acquitted; but by the mode of the proceeding adopted in the present case a lasting record of conviction has been entered up by the votes of twenty six Senators without an impeachment or trial, whilst the Constitution expressly declares that to the entry of such a judgment an accusation by the House of Representatives, a trial by the Senate, and a concurrence of two-thirds in the vote of guilty shall be indispensable prerequisites.

“Whether or not an impeachment was to be expected from the House of Representatives was a point on which the Senate had no constitutional right to speculate, and in respect to which even had it possessed the spirit of prophecy, its anticipations would have furnished no just ground for this procedure. Admitting that there was reason to believe that a violation of the Constitution and laws had been actually committed by the President, still it was the duty of the Senate, as his sole constitutional judges, to wait for an impeachment until the other House should think proper to prefer it. The members of the Senate could have no right to infer that no impeachment was intended. On the contrary, every legal and rational presumption on their part ought to have been that if there was good reason to believe him guilty of an impeachable offense the House of Representatives would perform its constitutional duty by arrainging the offender before the justice of his country. The contrary presumption would involve an implication derogatory to the integrity and honor of the representatives of the people. But suppose the suspicion this implied were actually entertained and for good cause, how can it justify the assumption by the Senate of powers not conferred by the Constitution?

“It is only necessary to look at the condition in which the Senate and the President have been placed by this proceeding to perceive its utter incompatibility with the provisions and the spirit of the Constitution and with the plainest dictates of humanity and justice.

“If the House of Representatives shall be of opinion that there is just ground for the censure pronounced upon the President, then will it be the solemn duty of that House to prefer the proper accusation and to cause him to be brought to trial by the con-

stitutional tribunal. But in what condition would he find that tribunal? A majority of its members have already considered the case, and have not only formed but expressed a deliberate judgment upon its merits. It is the policy of our benign systems of jurisprudence to secure in all criminal proceedings, and even in the most trivial litigations, a fair, unprejudiced, and impartial trial, and surely it can not be less important that such a trial should be secured to the highest officer of the Government.

"The Constitution makes the House of Representatives the exclusive judges, in the first instance, of the question whether the President has committed an impeachable offense. A majority of the Senate, whose interference with this preliminary question has for the best of all reasons been studiously excluded, anticipate the action of the House of Representatives, assume not only the function which belongs exclusively to that body, but convert themselves into accusers, witnesses, counsels, and judges, and pre-judge the whole case, thus presenting the appealing spectacle in a free state of judges going through a labored preparation for an impartial hearing and decision by a previous *ex parte* investigation and sentence against the supposed offender.

"There is no more settled axiom in that Government whence we derived the model of this part of our Constitution than that 'The lords can not impeach any to themselves, nor join in the accusation, because they are judges.' Independently of the general reasons on which this rule is founded, its propriety and importance are greatly increased by the nature of the impeaching power. The power of arraigning the high officers of the Government before a tribunal whose sentence may expel them from their seats and brand them as infamous is eminently a popular remedy—a remedy designed to be employed for the protection of private right and public liberty against the abuses of injustice and the encroachments of arbitrary power. But the framers of the Constitution were also undoubtedly aware that this formidable instrument had been and might be abused, and that from its very nature an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, whatever might be its result, would in most cases be accompanied by so much of dishonor and reproach, solicitude and suffering, as to make the power of preferring it one of the highest solemnity and importance. It was due to both these considerations that the impeaching power should be lodged in the hands of those who from the mode of their election and the tenure of their offices would most accurately express the popular will and at the same time be most directly and speedily amenable to the people. The theory of these wise and benignant intentions is in the present case effectually defeated by the proceedings of the Senate. The members of that body represent not the people, but the States; and though they are undoubtedly responsible to the States, yet from their extended term of service the effect of that responsibility during the whole period of that term must very much depend upon

their own impressions of its obligatory force. When a body thus constituted expressed beforehand its opinion in a particular case, and thus indirectly invited a prosecution, it not only assumes a power intended for wise reasons to be confined to others, but it shields the latter from that exclusive and personal responsibility under which it was intended to be exercised, and reverses the whole scheme of this part of the Constitution.

“Such would be some of the objections to this procedure, even if it were admitted that there is just ground for imputing to the President the offenses charged in the resolution. But if, on the other hand, the House of Representatives shall be of opinion that there is no reason for charging them upon him, and shall therefore deem it improper to prefer an impeachment, than will the violation of privilege as it respects that House, of justice as it regards the President, and of the Constitution as it relates to both be only the more conspicuous and impressive.

“The Constitutional mode of procedure on an impeachment has not only been wholly disregarded, but some of the first principles of natural right and enlightened jurisprudence have been violated in the very form of the resolution. It carefully abstains from averring in which of ‘the late proceedings in relation to the public revenue the President has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws.’ It carefully abstains from specifying what laws or what parts of the Constitution have been violated. Why was not the certainty of the offense—‘the nature and cause of the accusation’—set out in the manner required in the Constitution before even the humblest individual, for the smallest crime, can be exposed to condemnation? Such a specification was due to the accused that he might direct his defense to the real points of attack, to the people that they might clearly understand in what particulars their institutions had been violated, and to the truth and certainty of our public annals. As the record now stands, whilst the resolution plainly charges upon the President at least one act of usurpation in ‘the late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue,’ and is so framed that those Senators who believe that one such act, and only one, had been committed could assent to it, its language is yet broad enough to include several such acts, and so it may have been regarded by some of those who voted for it. But though the accusation is thus comprehensive in the censures it implies, there is no such certainty of time, place, or circumstances as to exhibit the particular conclusion of the fact or law which induced any one Senator to vote for it; and it may well have happened that whilst one Senator believed that some particular act embraced in the resolution was an arbitrary and unconstitutional assumption of power, others of the majority may have deemed that very act both constitutional and expedient, or if not expedient, yet still within the pale of the Constitution; and thus a majority of the Senators may have been enabled to concur in a vague and undefined accusa-



MRS. ANDREW JACKSON

In costume worn at Ball at New Orleans in honor of the Battle of New Orleans. From painting by Earl

tion that the President, in the course of 'the late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue,' had violated the Constitution and laws, whilst if a separate vote had been taken in respect to each particular act included within the General terms the accusers of the President might on any such vote have been found in the minority.

"Still further to exemplify this feature of the proceeding, it is important to be remarked that their resolution as originally offered to the Senate specified with adequate precision certain acts of the President which it denounced as a violation of the Constitution and laws, and that it was not until the very close of the debate, and when perhaps it was apprehended that a majority might not sustain the specific accusation contained in it, that the resolution was so modified as to assume its present form. A more striking illustration of the soundness and necessity of the rules which forbid vague and indefinite generalities and require a reasonable certainty in all judicial allegations, and a more glaring instance of the violation of those rules, has seldom been exhibited.

"In this view of the resolution it must certainly be regarded not as a vindication of any particular provision of the law or the constitution, but simply as an official rebuke or condemnatory sentence, too general and indefinite to be easily repelled, but yet sufficiently precise to bring into discredit the conduct and motives of the Executive. But whatever it may have been intended to accomplish, it is obvious that the vague, general, and abstract form of the resolution is in perfect keeping with those other departures from first principles and settled improvements in jurisprudence so properly the boast of free countries in modern times. And it is not too much to say of the whole of those proceedings that if they shall be approved and sustained by an intelligent people, then will that great contest with arbitrary power which had established in statutes, in bills or rights, in sacred charters, and in constitutions of government the right of every citizen to a notice before trial, to a hearing before conviction, and to an impartial tribunal for deciding on the change have been waged in vain.

"If the resolution had been left in its original form, it is not to be presumed that it could ever have received the assent of a majority of the Senate, for the acts therein specified as violations of the Constitution and laws were clearly within the limits of the Executive authority. They are the 'dismissing the late Secretary of the Treasury because he would not, contrary to his sense of his own duty, remove the money of the United States in deposit with the Bank of the United States and its branches and in conformity with the President's opinion and appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done.' But as no other specification has been substituted, and as these were the 'Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue' principally referred to in the course of the discussion, they will doubtless be general regarded as the acts intended to be denounced by the Constitu-

tion or laws, but in derogation of both.' It is therefore due to the occasion that the condensed summary of the views of the Executive in respect to them should be here exhibited.

"By the Constitution 'the executive power is vested in a President of the United States,' Among the duties imposed upon him, and which he is sworn to perform, is that of 'taking care that the laws be faithfully executed.' Being thus made responsible for the entire action of the executive department, it was but reasonable that the power of appointing, overseeing, and controlling those who execute the laws—a power in its nature executive—should remain in his hands. It is therefore not only his right, but the Constitution makes it his duty, to 'nominate and, by and with the advance and consent of the Senate, appoint' all 'officers of the United States whose appointments are not in the Constitution otherwise provide for,' with a proviso that the appointment of inferior officers may be vested in the President alone, in the courts of justice, or in the heads of Departments.

"The executive power vested in the Senate is neither that of 'nominating' nor 'appointing.' It is merely a check upon the Executive power of appointment. If individuals are proposed for appointment by the President by them deemed incompetent or unworthy, they may withhold their consent and the appointment can not be made. They check the action of the executive, but can not in relation to those very subjects act themselves nor direct him. Selections are still made by the President, and the negative given to the Senate, without diminishing his responsibility, furnishes an additional guaranty to the country that the subordinate executive as well as the judicial office shall be filled with worthy and competent men.

"The whole executive power being vested in the President, who is responsible for its exercise, it is a necessary consequence that he should have a right to employ agents of his own choice to aid him in the performance of his duties, and to discharge them when he is no longer willing to be responsible for their acts. In strict accordance with this principle the power of removal, which, like that of appointment, is an original executive power, is left unchecked by the Constitution in relation to all executive officers, for whose conduct the President is responsible, while it has been taken from him in relation to judicial officers, for which acts he is not responsible. In the Government from which many of the fundamental principles of our system are derived the head of the executive department originally had power to appoint and remove at will all officers, executive and judicial. It was to take the judges out of this general power of removal, and thus make them independent of the Executive, that the tenure of their officers was charged to good behavior. Nor is it conceivable why they are placed in our constitution upon a tenure different from that of all other officers appointed by the Executive unless it be for the same purpose.

"But if there were any just ground for doubt on the face of the

Constitution whether all executive officers were removable at the will of the President, it is obviated by the cotemporaneous construction of the instrument and the uniform practice under it.

"The power of removal was a topic of solemn debate in the Congress of 1789 while organizing the administrative departments of the Government, and it was finally decided that the President derived from the Constitution the power of removal so far as it regards that department for whose acts he is responsible. Although the debate covered the whole ground, embracing the Treasury as well as all the other Executive Departments, it arose on a motion to strike out of the bill to establish a Department of Foreign Affairs, since called the department of State, a clause declaring the Secretary 'to be removable from office by the President of the United States.' After that motion had been decided in the negative it was perceived that these words did not convey the sense of the House of Representatives in relation to the true source of the power of removal. With the avowed object of preventing any further inference that this power was exercised by the President in virtue of a grant from Congress, when in fact that body considered it as derived from the Constitution, the words which had been the subject of debate were struck out, and in lieu thereof a clause was inserted in a provision concerning the Chief Clerk of the Department, which declared that 'whenever the said principal officer shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, or in any other case of vacancy,' the chief clerk should during such vacancy have charge of the papers of the office. This change having been made for the express purpose of declaring the sense of Congress that the President derived the power of removal from the Constitution, the act as it passed has always been considered as a full expression of the sense of the legislature on this important part of the American Constitution.

"Here then, we have the concurrent authority of President Washington, of the Senate, and the House of Representatives, numbers of whom had taken an active part in the convention which framed the Constitution and in the state conventions which adopted it, that the President derived an unqualified power of removal from that instrument itself, which is 'beyond the reach of legislative authority.' Upon the principle the Government has now been steadily administered for about forty-five years, during which there have been numerous removals made by the President or by his direction, embracing every grade of executive officers from the heads of Departments of the messengers of bureaus.

"The Treasury Department in the discussions of 1789 was considered on the same footing as the other executive Departments and in the act establishing it were incorporated the precise words indicative of the sense of Congress that the President derives his power to remove the Secretary from the Constitution, which appears in the act establishing the Department of Foreign Affairs. An Assistant Secretary of the Treasury was created, and it was

provided that he should take charge of the books and papers of the Department 'Whenever the Secretary shall be removed from office by the President of the United States.' The Secretary of the Treasury being appointed by the President, and being considered as constitutionally removable by him, it appears never to have occurred to anyone in the Congress of 1789, or since until very recently, that he was other than the executive officer, the mere instrument of the Chief Magistrate in the execution of the laws, subject, like all other heads of Departments, to his supervision and control. No such idea as an officer of the Congress can be found in the Constitution or appears to have suggested itself to those who organized the Government. There are officers of each house the appointment of which is authorized by the Constitution, but all officers referred to in that instrument as coming within the appointing power of the President, whether established thereby or created by law, or 'officers of the United States.' No joint power of appointment is given to the two Houses of Congress, nor is there any accountability to them as one body; but as soon as any office is created by law, of whatever name or character, the appointment of the person or persons to fill it devolves by the Constitution upon the President, with the advise and consent of the Senate, unless it be in inferior office, and the appointment be vested by the law itself 'in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of Departments.'

"But at the time of the organization of the Treasury Department an incident occurred which distinctly evinces the unanimous concurrence of the First Congress in the principle that the Treasury Department is wholly executive in its character and responsibilities. A motion was made to strike out the provisions of the bill making it the duty of the Secretary 'to digest and report plans for the improvement and management of the revenue and for the support of public credit,' on the ground that it would give the executive department of the Government too much influence and power in Congress. The motion was not opposed on the ground that the Secretary was the officer of Congress and responsible to that body, which would have been conclusive if admitted, but on other ground, which conceded his executive character throughout. The whole discussion evinces an unanimous concurrence in the principle that the Secretary of the Treasury is wholly an executive officer, and the struggle of the minority was to restrict his power as such. From that time down to the present the Secretary of the Treasury, the Treasurer, Register, Comptroller, Auditors, and clerks who fill the offices of that Department have in the practice of the Government been considered and treated as on the same footing with corresponding grades of officers in all the other Executive Departments.

"The custody of the public property, under such regulations as may be prescribed by legislative authority, has always been considered an appropriate function of the executive department in

this and all other Governments. In accordance with this principle, every species of property belonging to the United States (excepting that which is in the use of the several co-ordinate departments of the Government as means to aid them in performing their appropriate functions) is in charge of officers appointed by the President, whether it be lands, or buildings, or merchandise, or provisions, or clothing, or arms and munitions of war. The superintendents and keepers of the whole are appointed by the President, responsible to him, and removable at his will.

"Public money is but a species of public property. It can not be raised by taxation or customs, nor brought into the Treasury in any other way except by law; but whenever or howsoever obtained, its custody always has been and always must be, unless the Constitution be changed, intrusted to the executive department. No office can be created by Congress for the purpose of taking charge of it whose appointment would not by the Constitution at once devolve on the President and who would not be responsible to him for the faithful performance of his duties. The legislative power may undoubtedly bind him and the President by any laws they may think proper to enact; they may prescribe in what place particular portions of the public property shall be kept and for what reason it shall be removed, as they may direct that supplies for the Army or Navy shall be kept in particular store, and it will be the duty of the President to see that the law is faithfully executed; yet will the custom remain in the executive department of the Government. Were the Congress to assume, with or without a legislative act, the power of appointing officers, independently of the President, to take the charge and custody of the public property contained in the military and naval arsenals, magazines, and storehouses, it is believed that such an act would be regarded by all as a palpable usurpation of executive power, subversive of the form as well as the fundamental principles of our Government. But where is the difference in principle whether the public property be in the form of arms, munitions of war, and supplies or in gold and silver or bank notes? None can be perceived; none is believed to exist. Congress can not, therefore, take out of the hands of the executive department the custody of the public property or money without an assumption of executive power and a subversion of the first principles of the Constitution.

"The Congress of the United States have never passed an act imperatively directing that the public moneys shall be kept in any particular place or places. From the origin of the Government to the year 1816 the statue book was wholly silent on the subject. In 1789 a Treasurer was created, subordinate to the Secretary of the Treasury, and through him to the President. He was required to give bond safely to keep and faithfully to disburse the public moneys, without any direction as to the manner or places in which they should be kept. By reference to the practice of the Government it is found that from its first organization the Secretary of the

Treasury, acting under the supervision of the President, designated the places in which the public moneys should be kept, and especially directed all transfers from place to place. This practice was continued, with the silent acquiescence of Congress, from 1789 to 1816, and although many banks were selected and discharged, and although a portion of the moneys were first placed in the state banks, and then in the former Bank of the United States, and upon the dissolution of that were again transferred to the State Banks, no legislation was thought necessary by Congress, and all the operations were originated and perfected by Executive authority. The Secretary of the Treasury, responsible to the President, and with his approbation, made contracts and arrangements in relation to the whole subject-matter, which was thus entirely committed to the direction of the President under his responsibilities to the American people and to those who were authorized to impeach and punish him for any breach of this important trust.

"The act of 1816 establishing the Bank of the United States directed the deposits of public money to be made in that bank and its branches in places in which the said bank and branches thereof may be established, 'unless the Secretary of the Treasury should otherwise order and direct,' in which event he was required to give his reasons to Congress. This was but a continuation of his pre-existing power as the head of the Executive Department to direct where the deposits should be made, with the superadded obligation of giving his reasons to Congress for making them elsewhere than in the Bank of the United States and its branches. It is not to be considered that this provision in any degree altered the relation between the Secretary of the Treasury and the President as the responsible head of the executive department, or released the latter from his constitutional obligation to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' On the contrary, it increased his responsibilities by adding another to the long list of laws which it was his duty to carry into effect.

"It would be an extraordinary result if because the person charged by law with a public duty is one of his Secretaries it were less the duty of the President to see the law faithfully executed than other laws enjoining duties upon subordinate officers or private citizens. If there be any difference, it would seem that the obligation is the stronger in relation to the former, because the neglect is in his presence and the remedy at hand.

"It can not be doubted that it was the legal duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to order and direct the deposits of the public money to be made elsewhere than in the Bank of the United States whenever sufficient reasons existed for making the change. If in such a case he neglected or refused to act, he would neglect or refuse to execute the law. What would be the sworn duty of the President? Could he say that the Constitution did not bind him to see the law faithfully executed because it was one of his Secretaries and not himself upon whom the service was specially

imposed? Might he not be asked whether there was any such limitation to his obligations prescribed in the Constitution? Whether he is not equally bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, whether they impose duties on the highest officer of state or the lowest subordinate in any of the Departments? Might he not be told that it was for the sole purpose of causing all executive officers, from the highest to the lowest, faithfully to perform the services required of them by law that the people of the United States have made him their Chief Magistrate and the Constitution has clothed him with the entire executive power of this Government? The principles implied in these questions appear too plain to need elucidation.

"But here also we have a cotemporaneous construction of the act which shows that it was not understood as in any way changing the relations between the President and Secretary of the Treasury, or as placing the latter out of Executive control even in relation to the deposits of the public money. Nor on that point are we left to any equivocal testimony. The documents of the Treasury Department show that the Secretary of the Treasury did apply to the President and obtained his approbation and sanction of the original transfer of the public deposits to the present Bank of the United States, and did carry the measure into effect in obedience to his decision. They also show that transfers of the public deposits from the branches of the Bank of the United States to State Banks at Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and Louisville, in 1819, were made with the approbation of the President and by his authority. They show that upon all important questions appertaining to his Department, whether they related to the public deposits or other matters, it was the constant practice of the Secretary of the Treasury to obtain for his acts the approval and sanction of the President. These acts and the principles on which they were founded were known to all the departments of the Government, to Congress and the country, and until very recently appear never to have been called in question.

"Thus was it settled by the Constitution, the laws, and the whole practice of the Government that the entire executive power is vested in the President of the United States; that as incident to that power the right of appointing and removing those officers who are to aid him in the execution of the laws, with such restrictions only as the Constitution prescribes, is vested in the President; that the Secretary of the Treasury is one of those officers; that the custody of the public property and money is an Executive function which, in relation to the money, has always been exercised through the Secretary of the Treasury and his subordinates; that in the performance of these duties he is subject to the supervision and control of the President, and in important measures having relation to them consults the Chief Magistrate and obtains his approval and sanction; that the law establishing the bank did not, as it could not, change the relation between the President and the

Secretary—did not release the former from his obligation to see the law faithfully executed nor the latter from the President's supervision and control; that afterwards and before the Secretary did in fact consult and obtain the sanction of the President to transfers and removals of the public deposits, and that all departments of the Government, and the nation itself, approved or acquiesced in these acts and principles as in strict conformity with our Constitution and laws.

“During the last year the approaching termination, according to the provisions of its charter and the solemn decision of the American people, the Bank of the United States made it expedient, and its exposed abuses and corruptions made it, in my opinion, the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, to place the moneys of the United States in other depositories. The Secretary did not concur in that opinion, and declined giving the necessary order and direction. So glaring were the abuses and corruptions of the bank, so evident its fixed purpose to persevere in them, and so palpable its design by its money and power to control the Government and change its character, that I deemed it the imperative duty of the Executive authority, by the exertion of every power confided to it by the Constitution and laws, to check its career and lessen its ability to do mischief, even in the painful alternative of dismissing the head of one of the Departments. At the time the removal was made other causes sufficient to justify it existed, but if they had not the Secretary would have been dismissed for this cause only.

“His place I supplied by one whose opinions were well known to me, and whose frank expression of them in another situation and generous sacrifices of interest and feeling when unexpectedly called to the station he now occupies, ought forever to have shielded his motives from suspicion and his character from reproach. In accordance with the views long before expressed by him he proceeded, with my sanction, to make arrangement for depositing the moneys of the United States in other safe institutions.

“The resolution of the Senate as originally framed and as passed, if it refers to these acts, presupposes a right in that body to interfere with its exercise of Executive power. If the principle be once admitted, it is not difficult to perceive where it may end. If by a mere denunciation like this resolution the President should ever be induced to act in a matter of official duty contrary to the honest convictions of his own mind in compliance with the wishes of the Senate, the constitutional independence of the executive department would be as effectually destroyed and its power as effectually transferred to the Senate as if that end had been accomplished by an amendment of the Constitution. But if the Senate have a right to interfere with the Executive powers, they have also the right to make that interference effective, and if the assertion of the power implied in the resolution be silently acquiesced in, we may reasonably apprehend that it will be followed

at some future day by an attempt at actual enforcement. The Senate may refuse, except on the condition that he will surrender his opinions to theirs and obey their will, to perform their own constitutional functions, to pass the necessary laws, to sanction appropriations proposed by the House of Representatives, and to confirm proper nominations made by the President. It has already been maintained (and it is not conceivable that the resolution of the Senate can be based on any other principle) that the Secretary of the Treasury is the officer of Congress and independent of the President; that the President has no right to control him, and consequently none to remove him. With the same propriety and on similar grounds may the Secretary of State, the Secretaries of War and the Navy, and the Postmaster General each in succession be declared independent of the President, the subordinates of Congress, and removable only with the concurrence of the Senate. Followed to its consequences, this principle will be found effectually to destroy one co-ordinate department of the Government to concentrate in the hands of the Senate the whole Executive power, to leave the President as powerless as he would be useless—the shadow of authority after the substance had departed.

"The time and the occasion which have called forth the resolution of the Senate seem to impose upon me an additional obligation not to pass it over in silence. Nearly forty-five years had the President exercised, without a question as to his rightful authority, those powers for the recent assumption of which he is now denounced. The vicissitudes of peace and war had attended our Government; violent parties, watchful to take advantage of any seeming usurpation on the part of the Executive, had distracted our councils; frequent removals, had been made of the Secretary and other officers of the Treasury, and yet in no one instance is it known that any man, whether patriot or partisan, had raised his voice against it as a violation of the Constitution. The expediency and justice of such changes in reference to public officers of all grades have frequently been the topic of discussion, but the constitutional right of the President, to appoint, control, and remove the head of the Treasury as well as all other Departments seems to have been universally conceded. And what is the occasion upon which other principles have been first officially asserted? The Bank of the United States, a great moneyed monopoly, had attempted to obtain a renewal of its charter by controlling the elections of the people and the action of the Government. The use of its corporate funds and power in that attempt was fully disclosed, and it was made known to the President that the corporation was putting in train the same course of measures, with the view of making another vigorous effort, through an interference in the elections of the people, to control public opinion and force the Government to yield to its demands. This, with its corruption of the press, its violation of its charter, its exclusion of the Government directors from its proceedings, its neglect of

duty and arrogant pretensions, made it, in the opinion of the President incompatible with the public interest and the safety of our institutions that it should be longer employed as the fiscal agent of the Treasury. A Secretary of the Treasury appointed in the recess of the Senate, who had not been confirmed by that body, and whom the President might or might not at his pleasure nominate to them, refused to do what his superior in the executive department considered the most imperative of his duties, and became in fact, however innocent his motives, the protector of the Bank. And on this occasion it is discovered for the first time that those who framed the Constitution misunderstood it; that the first Congress and all its successors have been under a delusion; that the practice of near forty-five years is but a continued usurpation; that the Secretary of the Treasury is not responsible to the President, and that to remove him is a violation of the Constitution and laws for which the President deserves to stand forever dishonored on the journals of the Senate.

"There are also some other circumstances connected with the discussion and passage of the resolution to which I feel it to be not only my right, but my duty, to refer. It appears by the Journal of the Senate that among the twenty-six Senators who voted for the resolution on its final passage, and who had supported it in debate in its original form, were one of the Senators from the State of Maine, the two Senators from New Jersey, and one of the Senators from Ohio. It also appears by the same Journal and by the files of the Senate that the legislatures of these States had severally expressed their opinions in regard to the Executive proceedings drawn in question before the Senate.

"The two branches of the legislature of the State of Maine on the 25th of January, 1834, passed a preamble and series of resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas at any early period after the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, in accordance with the sentiments which he had uniformly expressed, the attention of Congress was called to the constitutionality and expediency of the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank; and

"Whereas the bank has transcended its chartered limits in the management of its business transactions, and has abandoned the object of its creation by engaging in political controversies by wielding its power and influence to embarrass the Administration of the General Government, and by bringing insolvency and distress upon the commerical community; and

"Whereas the public security from such an institution consists less in its present pecuniary capacity to discharge its liabilities than in the fidelity with which the trusts reposed in it have been executed; and

"Whereas the abuse and misapplication of the powers conferred have destroyed the confidence of the public in the officers of the bank and demonstrated that such powers endanger the stability of republican institutions: Therefore,





COL. ANDREW JACKSON COFFEE, 1819-1891.

Painted by Harte in New Orleans, Louisiana, and now the property of Col. Coffee's daughter, Mrs. Catherine Coffee McDougai, of San Francisco, California. Harte studied in Italy, came to America, married a Louisiana lady and lived in New Orleans. The author has in his possession from Mrs. Mary Coffee Campbell of Florence, Alabama, the original letter in Jackson's handwriting, acknowledging receipt of Gen. John Coffee's letter telling that the General had named a newly arrived son after Old Hickory. This is the son grown to manhood.

“RESOLVED, that in the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, as well as in the manner of their removal, we recognize in the Administration an adherence to constitutional rights and the performance of a public duty.

“RESOLVED, That this legislature entertain the same opinion as heretofore expressed by preceding legislatures of this State, that the Bank of the United States ought not to be chartered.

“RESOLVED, That the Senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed and the Representatives be requested to oppose the restoration of the deposits and the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank.

“On the 11th of January, 1834, the house of assembly and council composing the legislature of the State of New Jersey passed a preamble and a series of resolutions in the following words:

“Whereas the present crisis in our public affairs calls for a decided expression of the voice of the people of this State; and

“Whereas we consider it the undoubted right of the legislatures of the several states to instruct those who represent their interests in the councils of the nations in all matters which intimately concern the public weal and may affect the happiness or well-being of the people: Therefore,

“1. Be it resolved by the council and general assembly of this state, That while we acknowledge with feelings of devout gratitude our obligations to the Great Ruler of Nations for his mercies to us as a people that we have been preserved alike from foreign wars, from the evils of internal commotions, and the machinations of designing and ambitious men who would prostrate the fair fabric of our Union, that we ought nevertheless to humble ourselves in His presence and implore His aid for the perpetuation of our republican institutions and for a continuance of that unexampled prosperity which our country has hitherto enjoyed.

“2. Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the integrity and firmness of the venerable patriot who now holds the distinguished post of Chief Magistrate of this nation, and whose purity of purpose and elevated motives have so often received the unqualified approbation of a large majority of his fellow-citizens.

“3. Resolved, That we view with agitation and alarm the existence of a great moneyed incorporation which threatens to embarrass the operations of the Government and by means of its unbounded influence upon the currency of the country to scatter distress and ruin throughout the community, and that we therefore solemnly believe the present Bank of the United States ought not to be rechartered.

“4. Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our members of the House of Representatives be requested to sustain, by their votes and influence, the course adopted by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Taney, in relation to the Bank of the United States and the deposits of the Government moneys, believing as we do the course of the Secretary to have been constitutional, and that the public good required its adoption.

"5. Resolved, That the governor be requested to forward a copy of the above resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives from this state to the Congress of the United States.

"On the 21st day of February last the legislature of the same state reiterated the opinions and instructions before given by joint resolutions in the following words:

"Resolved by the council and general assembly of the State of New Jersey, That they adhere to the resolutions passed by them on the 11th day of January last, relative to the President of the United States, the Bank of the United States, and the course of Mr. Taney in removing the Government deposits.

"Resolved, That the legislature of New Jersey have not seen any reason to depart from such resolutions since the passage thereof, and it is their wish that they should receive from our Senators and Representatives of this state in the Congress of the United States that attention and obedience which are due to the opinion of a sovereign state openly expressed in its legislative capacity.

"On the 2nd of January, 1834, the senate and house of representatives composing the legislature of Ohio passed a preamble and resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas there is reason to believe that the Bank of the United States will attempt to obtain a renewal of its charter at the present session of Congress; and

"Whereas it is abundantly evident that said bank has exercised powers derogatory to the spirit of our free institutions and dangerous to the liberties of these United States; and

"Whereas there is just reason to doubt the constitutional power of Congress to grant acts of incorporation for banking purposes out of the District of Columbia; and

"Whereas we believe the proper disposal of the public lands to be of the utmost importance to the people of these United States, and that honor and good faith require their equitable distribution: Therefore,

"Resolved, by the general assembly of the State of Ohio, that we consider the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States as required by the best interests of our country, and that a proper sense of public duty imperiously demanded that that institution should be no longer used as a depository of the public funds.

"Resolved also, That we view with decided disapprobation the renewed attempts in Congress to secure the passage of the bill providing for the disposal of the public domain upon the principles proposed by Mr. Clay, inasmuch as we believe that such a law would be unequal in its operations and unjust in its result.

"Resolved also, That we heartily approve of the principles set forth in the late veto message upon that subject; and

"Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use their influence to prevent the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States, to sustain the

Administration in its removal of the public deposits, and to oppose the passage of a land bill containing the principles adopted in the act upon that subject passed at the last session of Congress.

“Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives.

“It is thus seen that four Senators have declared by their votes that the President, in the late Executive proceedings in relation to the revenue, had been guilty of the impeachable offense of ‘assuming upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both,’ whilst the legislatures of their respective states had deliberately approved those very proceedings as consistent with the Constitution and demanded by the public good. If these four votes had been given in accordance with the sentiments of the legislatures, as above expressed, there would have been but twenty-two votes out of forty-six for censuring the President, and the unprecedented record of his conviction could not have been placed upon the Journal of the Senate.

“In thus referring to the resolutions and instructions of the state legislatures I disclaim and repudiate all authority or design to interfere with the responsibility due from members of the Senate to their own consciences, their constituents, and their country. The facts now stated belong to the history of these proceedings, and are important to the just development of the principles and interests involved in them as well as to the proper vindication of the executive department, and with that view only, are they here made the topic of remark.

“The dangerous tendency of the doctrine which denies to the President the power of supervising, directing, and controlling the Secretary of the Treasury in like manner with the other executive officers would soon be manifest in practice were the doctrine to be established. The President is the direct representative of the American people, but the Secretaries are not. If the Secretary of the Treasury be independent to the President in the execution of the laws, then there is no direct responsibility to the people in that important branch of this Government to which is committed the care of the national finances. And it is in the power of the Bank of the United States, or any other corporation, body of men, or individuals, if a Secretary shall be found to accord with them in opinion or can be induced in practice to promote their views, to control through him the whole action of the Government, (so far as it is exercised by his Department) in defiance of the Chief Magistrate elected by the people and responsible to them.

“But the evil tendency of the particular doctrine adverted to, though sufficiently serious, would be as nothing in comparison with the pernicious consequences which would inevitably flow from the approbation and allowance by the people and the practice by the Senate of the unconstitutional power of arraigning and censuring the official conduct of the Executive in the manner re-

cently pursued. Such proceedings are eminently calculated to unsettle the foundations of the Government, to disturb the harmonious action of its different departments, and to break down the checks and balances by which the wisdom of its framers sought to insure its stability and usefulness.

"The honest difference of opinion which occasionally exist between the Senate and the President in regard to matters in which both are obliged to participate are sufficiently embarrassing; but if the course recently adopted by the Senate shall hereafter be frequently pursued, it is not only obvious that the harmony of the relations between the President and the Senate be destroyed, but that other and graver effects will ultimately ensue. If the censurers of the Senate be submitted to by the President, the confidence of the people in his ability and virtue and the character and usefulness of his Administration will soon be at an end, and the real power of the Government will fall into the hands of a body holding their offices for long terms, not elected by the people and not to them directly responsible. If, on the other hand, the illegal censures of the Senate should be resisted by the President, collisions and angry controversies might ensue, discreditable in their progress and in the end compelling the people to adopt the conclusion either that their Chief Magistrate was unworthy of their respect or that the Senate was chargeable with calumny and injustice. Either of these results would impair public confidence in the perfection of the system and to serious alternations of its framework or to the practical abandonment of some of its provisions.

"The influence of such proceedings on the other departments of the Government, and more especially on the States could not fail to be extensively pernicious. When the judges in the last resort of official misconduct themselves overleap the bounds of their authority as prescribed by the Constitution, what general disregard of its provisions might not their example be expected to produce? And who does not perceive that such contempt of the Federal Constitution by one of its most important departments would hold out the strongest temptations to resistance on the part of the state sovereignties whenever they shall suppose their just rights to have been invaded? Thus all the independent departments of the Government, and the states which compose our confederated Union, instead of attending to their appropriate duties and leaving those who may offend to be reclaimed or punished in the manner pointed out in the Constitution, would fall to mutual crimination and recrimination and give to the people confusion and anarchy instead of order and law, until at length some form of aristocratic power would be established on the ruins of the Constitution or the States be broken into separate communities.

"Far be it from me to charge or to insinuate that the present Senate of the United States intend in the most distant way to encourage such a result. It is not of their motives or designs, but only of the tendency of theirs, that it is my duty to speak.

It is, if possible to make Senators themselves sensible of the danger which lurks under the precedent set in their resolution, and at any rate to perform my duty as the responsible head of one of the coequal departments of the Government, that I have been compelled to point out the consequences to which the discussion and passage of the resolution may lead if the tendency of the measure be not checked in its inception. It is due to high trust with which I am charged, to those who may be called to succeed me in it, to the representatives of the people whose constitutional prerogative has been unlawfully assumed, to the people of the States, and to the Constitution they have established that I should not permit its provisions to be broken down by such an attack on the executive department without at least some effort 'to preserve, protect, and defend,' them. With this view, and for the reasons which have been stated, I do hereby solemnly protest against the aforementioned proceedings of the Senate as unauthorized by the Constitution, contrary to its spirit and to several of its express provisions, subversive of that distribution of the power of the Government which it has ordained and established, destructive of the checks and safeguards by which those powers were intended on the one hand to be controlled and on the other to be protected, and calculated by their immediate and collateral effects, by their character and tendency to concentrate in the hands of a body not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties and fatal to the Constitution of their choice.

"The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as upon my public character, and as it must stand forever on their journals, I can not close this substitute for that defense which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking that I have lived in vain if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased; in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life in defense of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers from which by mere inactivity in relation to a single point I might have been exempt, if any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I should have sought an alliance with that powerful institution which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs. Had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never in the fire of youth nor in the vigor of manhood could I find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty, and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of

ambition when gray hairs and a decaying frame, instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honored and usurpers expiate their crimes. The only ambition I can feel is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account on my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honored in the history of my country. No; the ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to return to the people unimpaired the sacred trust they have confided to my charge; to heal the wounds of the Constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or their liberties protection, but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings, like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a government that a genius of our people requires; such an one only under which our states may remain for ages to come united, prosperous and free. If the Almighty Being who has hitherto sustained and protected me will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief that I have contributed in some small degree to increase the value and prolong the duration of American liberty.

“To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the executive department, and to the end also that my motives and views in Executive proceedings denounced in that resolution may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this message and protest may be entered at length on the journals of the Senate.”



MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1782-1862.

United States Senator 1821-1828; Governor of New York, resigned March 12, 1829; Secretary of State in Jackson's first Cabinet 1829-1831; Minister to England but not confirmed by the Senate; Vice President 1833-1837; President 1837-1841.

CHAPTER 18.

Martin Van Buren and his Autobiography.

In 1919 the United States Government issued through its printing office an autobiography of Martin Van Buren which brings his life down to 1834. The existence of this autobiography was unknown to the general American public, but known to a limited number of students and historical writers.

Its "Prefatory Note" states that "the autobiography was presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Smith Thompson Van Buren, of Fishkill, New York, in 1905, and at the same time the Van Buren papers were presented to the Library by Mrs. Smith Thompson Van Buren and Dr. and Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish Morris, of New York City. A Calendar of the papers was published by the Library in 1910."

"The autobiography is the manuscript copy in seven folio volumes—1247 pages—made by Smith Thompson Van Buren, the son and literary executor of the President, from Van Buren original draft. Portions of volumes 6 and 7 are in another hand, and the last fifteen pages of the manuscript having many changes and corrections by Van Buren himself.

"The autobiography is written with engaging frankness, and the insight it affords to the mental process of a master politician is deeply interesting. Van Buren's desire to be scrupulously fair in his estimates is evident, and if he did not always succeed, his failures are not discreditable. Though the autobiography does not compel the revision of established historical judgments, it yet presents authority for much in our political history hereto somewhat conjectural, and records political motives and activities of the period in an illuminating and suggestive way. In analyzing men and measures, Van Buren, all unconsciously paints a picture of himself, and it is a truthful and worthy portrait."

This Prefatory Note was written by the Assistant Chief, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and we agree with its statement that the autobiography as written affords an insight into the mental processes of a "master politician", but we dissent from its opinion that its apparent engaging frankness is a full and candid exposure by Mr. Van Buren of his own motives or of the incidents which he professes to relate.

We agree also that the autobiography does not compel the revision of established historical judgments, and this because, while Mr. Van Buren is apparently frank, he is evidently not always entirely candid and wholly sincere. We can hardly believe that Mr. Van Buren tells the whole truth about incidents he relates, and we do not believe that this autobiography will have the result of relieving his memory of the charge made against him for a lifetime, that he was merely an able politician. This charge was so repeatedly made and so generally believed that he was popularly given the name of "the little magician". As this book cannot change that estimate of him, it would have been best for his memory that the book had not been written. It confirms by the testimony of his own handwriting the popular charge, and our opinion is that Mr. Van Buren will continue to remain as a fixed member of that class of persons who are denominated American Politicians.

It may be said that no politician is frank and candid all the time, which may be true; but it is certainly true that the American people have never elevated to their class of statesmen political leaders who have not been frank and candid and honorable in the statement of the motives and causes of their actions.

In the story Mr. Van Buren tells of himself, we fail to find any motives higher than those that usually move politicians—policy and success. As we read, we wish we could see the man, now and then, with candor and sincerity, get up on a higher plane and think some fine thought because it was intrinsically fine to think it; relate some great noble deed which he carried out because it was great and noble to perform it; tell of initiating some ideal movement on behalf of his kind, because man is at his loftiest and best when he unselfishly serves his fellowman.

We are constantly impressed with the correctness of the appellation given him in the Prefatory Note, where he is called a "Master Politician". We sigh for him to write it down that he sometimes did lift himself out of his accustomed self and become a man, even for a moment, that was bigger, nobler, more disinterested, than the every day Martin Van Buren. We are forced to feel, after reading his autobiography, that with Mr. Van Buren there was nothing loftier in all this world than the aggrandizement, success, and progress of himself.

If this book had not been written, posterity might have said that history is not always fair and does not always do justice, and

that Mr. Van Buren's success in politics had created envious critics who were jealous of him; but the book forces, for all time to come, the unhappy conclusion that an American President was just an American politician, and in that class he must remain with posterity.

INTRODUCTION OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Van Buren gives the following introduction to his autobiography:

"Villa Falogola,
Sorrento, June 12, 1854.

"At the age of seventy-one, and in a foreign land, I commenced a sketch of the principal events of my life. I enter upon this work in the hope of being yet able to redeem promises exacted from me by friends on whose judgments and sagacity I have been accustomed to rely. I need not now speak of the extent to which an early compliance with their wishes has been presented, but an unaffected diffidence to assume that the scenes of which they desire to perpetuate the memory will be found to possess sufficient interest to justify such a notice. That their opinions in regard to the question have not been biased by the partiality of their ardent friendship is hardly to be supposed, yet it ought not perhaps to surprise me that they should have thought not a few of our contemporaries and successors would be interested, and possibly the young men of the country benefited by a thorough and frank account of the rise and progress of one who, without the aid of powerful family connections, and with but few of the advantageous facilities for the acquisition of political power had been elevated by his countrymen to a succession of official trusts, not exceeded perhaps, either in number, in dignity, or in responsibility, by any that have been committed to the hands of one man—consisting of the representative offices of Surrogate of his Country, State Senator, Attorney-General of the State of New York, Regent of the University, Member of a Convention to revise the Constitution of the State, Governor of the State, Senator in Congress, for two terms, Secretary of State of the United States, Minister to England, Vice President, and President of the United States."

There are some episodes in Mr. Van Buren's career that illuminate the man's methods and morale so clearly that no one can misinterpret them. One that occurred when the removal of the deposits was in its acute stage is in point. General Jackson wanted Van Buren's opinion and advice on the matter and that supreme courtier and diplomat was loath to take a stand yet afraid not to do so, so on August 19th, 1833, he sent Jackson this reply:

"This bank matter is to be the great finale of your public life and I feel on that account a degree of solicitude about it

but little less than that which is called for by the public considerations connected therewith. I hope that we shall in the end see the matter in precisely the same light; but, be that as it may, in as much as I know no man in the purity of whose intentions as it respects the public, I have greater or as great confidence as I have in yourself, and as I cannot but look upon you as unconquerable and the most faithful, efficient and disinterested friend I have ever had, so I am with you against the world, whether it respects men or things."

This was undoubtedly the summit of all personal loyalty—if sincere. The intense intimacy between Jackson and Van Buren is not difficult to account for when the character of the two men is taken into consideration. Van Buren's devotion to Jackson was purely a matter of politics and self-interest. He would have been just as devoted to any other man of Jackson's phenomenal influence or even less, who was willing to assist him as much as Jackson evidently was. Van Buren was courtier, manipulator, flatterer, and politician and he cast as many anchors to windward as any man that ever figured conspicuously in American politics. Jackson, on the other hand, was unquestionably caught by Van Buren's flattery and adroitness and his apparent frankness and sincerity. He liked Van Buren and one's first impression is that it was a peculiar association between men who were so radically different in every respect. Jackson could see no evil in his friends and little, if any, good in his enemies, and Van Buren had wormed himself into his confidence to the extent that Old Hickory was blind to the kind of man he was. Also, Van Buren possessed qualities which Old Hickory lacked and which were complementary to his deficiencies and Jackson saw and greatly appreciated this.

After the above letter was written, Jackson wanted Van Buren to come to Washington to consult with him about the deposits, and this request, evidently, Van Buren did not want to comply with, but again was afraid not to do so, and in his smooth, suggestive way, he wrote to Jackson:—

"I shall be governed in that matter (the deposits) altogether by your wishes. You know that the game of the opposition is to relieve the question as far as they can from the influence of your well deserved popularity with the people, by attributing the removal of the deposits to the solicitation of myself and the moneyed Junto in New York, and that it is not your intention to play into the enemies hands, you will not I know request me to come down unless there is some adequate inducement for my so doing. With this consideration in view you have only to

suggest the time when you wish me to come down and I will come forthwith. * * * And always remember that I think it is an honor to share any portion of responsibility in this affair."

One can almost see Mr. Van Buren smile broadly as he wrote the last sentence. Responsibility in this affair was the very thing he did not want to share, and he was bringing to bear all of his great ability in adroitness to divest himself of responsibility, and, at the same time, keep on the most intimate terms with General Jackson and retain the General as his loyal friend and political champion.

Van Buren rose to the summit of audacity and nerve when on October 2nd, 1833, he wrote to Jackson again in this manner:—

"You will see by the enclosed that the opposition have used the game I anticipated. They have found by experience that their abuse of you is labor lost and they concluded wisely that if they could succeed in shifting the bank question from your shoulders that they would be better able to serve manna than they are at present. Now, although I cannot gamble at the service they are rendering me with the people by identifying me with you in this manner, it will not do for us to expose the great measure to prejudice by doing anything that would tend in the slightest degree to draw from it the protection of your name."

It is doubtful if any courtier or flatterer ever delivered to his victim insincere adoration more adroit and alluring than this, and it seems certain that General Jackson never suspected the sincerity of the Little Man who wrote this to him.

Edward M. Shepard, Van Buren's biographer, *American Statesman Series*, relates an incident which leaves an exceedingly bad taste in one's mouth, so to speak, as follows:

During the Jackson-Adams campaign the younger Hamilton was about sending to some important person an account of General Jackson. Van Buren knowing of this wrote to Hamilton, and after signing his name added: "P. S. Does the old gentleman have prayers in his own home? If so, mention it modestly."

This is offensive to a refined man's conception of propriety and good breeding, and coming from one who at one time was President of the United States, it lowers that high official to the vote-getting level and methods of a ward-politician. We cannot wonder that "Demagogue" was one of the milder terms applied by his contemporaries to Mr. Van Buren.

THE APPOINTMENT OF RANDOLPH.

We said above that Van Buren did not always give all of the reasons for his political actions and that his frankness often stopped

half-way. He did things and said things that could not have been done and said by a perfectly frank and candid man, and what is worse, he was not always frank and candid with Andrew Jackson, who believed in his truthfulness, loyalty, and veracity, and who made him President of the United States, and without whom he never would have become President.

A study of his account of the appointment of John Randolph as Minister to Russia puts the brand on Van Buren, and we are able to tell of this appointment in his own words in his autobiography, as follows:

"The appointment as envoy to Russia, of John Randolph, of Virginia, or as he described himself, of Roanoke, became too conspicuous a feature of the early years of the Jackson administration to be passed over without notice. Early in the autumn of 1829, the President and myself rode out to Arlington to pay a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Custis, and the conversation, whilst we were there, turned on the subject of Mr. Randolph, whose name had been casually introduced. As we were returning, I told my companion that I had a suggestion to make to him, which would surprise him, and that his astonishment would probably be much increased, when I assured him in advance that the step I was about to propose was one which I would neither take myself, if I were in his place, nor recommend to any other President, but which I thought he might take, although not without hazard. To his puzzled look and demand for information, I replied:— "It is to give John Randolph, of whom we have just been talking, a foreign mission." He acknowledged his astonishment, but expressed a willingness to hear my reasons for the suggestion. Van Buren then proceeded to give General Jackson reasons which he denominated "humane and praiseworthy", and said that "if he, Randolph, died, without some further opportunity to exert professionally the remarkable capacities, intelligence, sagacity and knowledge of men which he possessed, he would leave the world in the opinion that he had been impracticable and unprofitable. * * * An object so humane and so praiseworthy, might be appropriately and hopefully attempted by General Jackson, to which I (Van Buren) added a strong expression of satisfaction I would derive from having made myself in any degree instrumental in its accomplishment."

Van Buren then proposed to give his knowledge of John Randolph, derived from an intimacy that apparently had extended over many years, and it is this very knowledge of Randolph that makes even a suggestion of his being a Minister to Russia practically treason to General Jackson, and proves the cold blooded indifference and lack of real honorable friendship on the part of Van Buren to Jackson's administration. No one can read Randolph's life without reaching the conclusion that there was not a more undesirable citizen in the United States to select as Minister

to Russia or any other nation. Randolph was practically an insane man, drank liquor to excess and frequently was not at himself and had no quality that would enable him to perform the duties of a minister or a diplomat. One of the many curious things about this autobiography is that in the matter of the appointment of Randolph, Van Buren sets out the very qualities which should make his appointment unthinkable.

JACKSON TO RANDOLPH.

“Washington, September 16, 1829.

“Dear Sir:

“The office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia will soon become vacant, and I am anxious that the place should be filled by one of the most capable and distinguished of our fellow-citizens.

“The great and rapidly increasing influence of Russia in the affairs of the world, renders it very important that our representative at that Court should be of the highest respectability; and the expediency of such a course at the present moment is greatly increased by circumstances of a special character. Among the number of our statesmen from whom the selection might with propriety be made, I do not know one better fitted for the station, on the score of talents and experience in public affairs, or possessing stronger claims upon the favorable consideration of his country, than yourself. Thus impressed, and entertaining a deep and grateful sense of your long and unceasing devotion to sound principles, and the interest of the people, I feel it a duty to offer the appointment to you.

“In discharging this office I have the double satisfaction of seeking to promote the public interest, whilst performing an act most gratifying to myself, on account of the personal respect and esteem which I have always felt and cherished towards you.

“It is not foreseen that any indulgence as to the period of your departure, which will be required by a due regard to your private affairs, will conflict with the interests of the mission; and I sincerely hope that no adverse circumstances may exist, sufficient to deprive the country of your services.

“I have the honor to be, with great respect,

“Your most ob’t serv’t,

“Andrew Jackson.

“The Hon. John Randolph, of Roanoke.

RANDOLPH’S REPLY.

“Roanoke, September 24, 1829.

“Sir: By the last mail I received, under Mr. Van Buren’s cover, your letter, submitting to my acceptance the mission to Russia.

“This honor, as unexpected as it was unsought for, is very

much enhanced in my estimation, by the very kind and flattering terms in which you have been pleased to crouch the offer of the appointment. May I be pardoned for saying, that the manner in which it has been conveyed could alone have overcome the reluctance that I feel at the thoughts of leaving private life, and again embarking on the stormy sea of federal politics. This I hope I may do without any impeachment of my patriotism, since it shall in no wise diminish my exertions to serve our country in the station to which I have been called by her chief magistrate, and under those 'circumstances of a special character' indicated by your letter. The personal good opinion and regard, which you kindly express towards me, merit and receive my warmest acknowledgements.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"John Randolph, of Roanoke.

"To Andrew Jackson, Esq., President of the U. S.

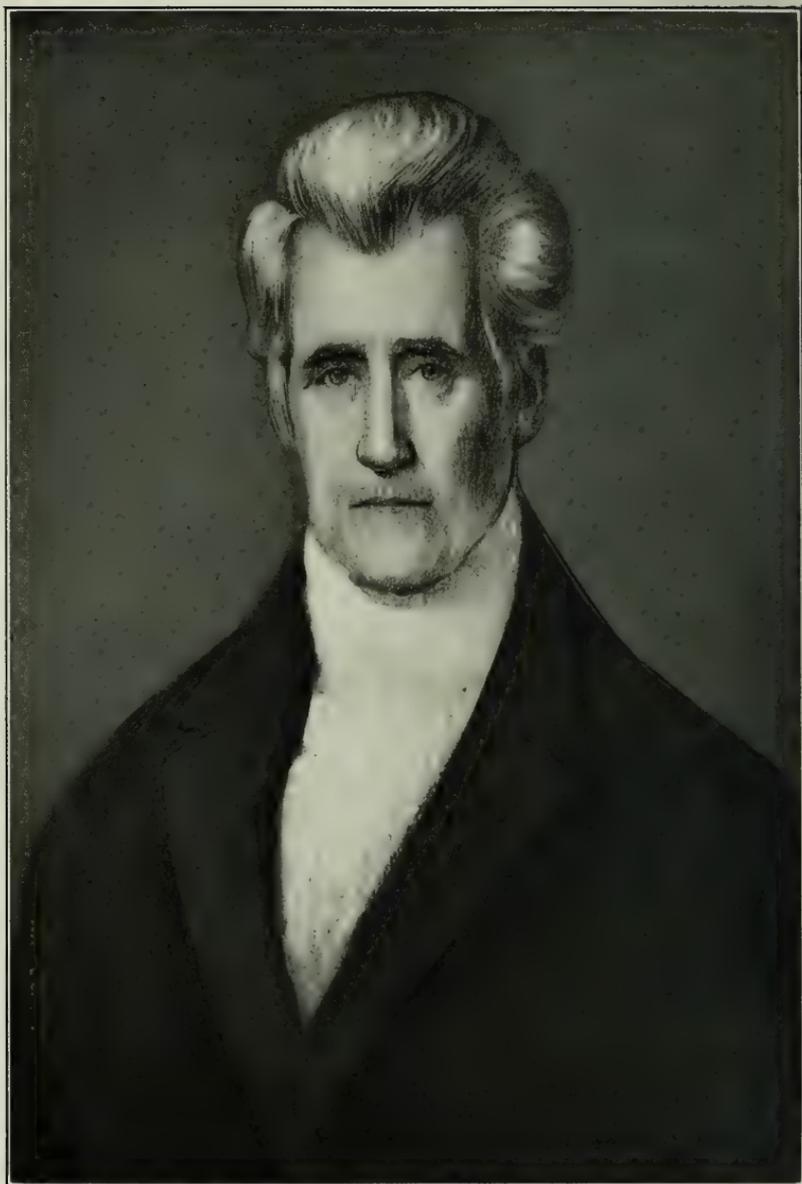
Randolph was duly appointed, confirmed, went to Russia and Van Buren tells the result.

"Distressed by the dangerous illness of his favorite Juba, and alarmed about his own health, he (Randolph) left St. Petersburg, panic stricken by its climate, for London shortly after his arrival at his post, and never returned to it. Other consideration and feeling may and very probably did contribute to produce this result, but it would now be worse than useless to speculate about them. We did not even then think it profitable to inquire about them regarding the denouement as conclusively proving his unfitness for the diplomatic service and our mistake in electing him."

RANDOLPH'S EXPERIENCE IN ST. PETERSBURG.

Mr. Randolph arrived in St. Petersburg about the last of August. He writes to Dr. Brockenbrough, 4th September:

"My reception has been all that the most fastidious could wish. You know I always dreaded the summer climate, when my friends were killing me with the climate of Russia before my time. Nothing can be more detestable. It is a comet; and when I arrived it was in perihelion. I shall not stay out the aphelion. Heat, dust impalpable, prevailing every part and pore, and actually sealing these last up, annoying the eyes especially, which are farther distressed by the glare of the white houses. Insects of all nauseous descriptions, bugs, fleas, mosquitos, flies innumerable, gigantic as the empire they inhabit; who will take no denial. Under cover of the spectacles, they do not suffer you to write two words, without a conflict with them. This is the land of Pharoah and his plagues—Egypt, and its ophthalmia and vermin, without its fertility—Holland, without its wealth, improvements, or cleanliness. Nevertheless, it is beyond all comparison, the most magnificent city I ever beheld. But you must not reckon upon being



ANDREW JACKSON.
Photographed from Painting by Earle.

laid in earth; there is, properly speaking, no such thing here. It is rotten rubbish on a swamp; and at two feet you come to water. This last is detestable. The very ground has a bad odor, and the air is not vital. Two days before my presentation to the Emperor and Empress, I was taken with an ague. But my poor Juba lay at the point of death. His was a clear case of black vomit; and I feel assured that in the month of August, Havana or New Orleans would be as safe for a stranger as St. Petersburg. It is a Dutch town, with fresh-water-river canals, etc. To drink the water is to insure a dysentery of the worst type.

"In consequence of Juba's situation, I walked down one morning to the English boarding house, where Clay had lodged, kept by a Mrs. Wilson, of whom I had heard a very high character as a nurse, and especially of servants. I prevailed upon her to take charge of the poor boy, which she readily agreed to do. I put Juba, on whom I had practised with more than Russian energy, into my carriage, got into it, brought him into the bedroom taken for myself, had a blazing fire kindled, so as to keep the thermometer at 65 degrees morning, 70 degrees afternoon; ventilated well the apartment; poured in the quinine, opium, and port wine; snake-root tea for drink, with a heavy hand (he had been previously purged with mercurials), and to that energy, under God, I owe the life of my dear faithful Juba.

"Nothing could be more cordial than my reception in Russia. It was but yesterday (Dec. 19, 1830) that I had my first interview with Prince Lieven since his return to this court, and my reception was like that of a brother.

"On my arrival at St. Petersburg I took up my abode at the principal hotel, Demouth's, where I staid one week.

"Furnishing myself with a handsome equipage and four or five horses, I called promptly on every diplomatic character, whether Ambassador, Envoy, or Charge, or even Secretary of Legation, from the highest to the lowest. Not content with sending round my carriage and servants, I called in person and left my cards.

"Count Athalin, the new representative of France, promptly called on me (being a later comer), and the next day, being ill a-bed, I sent my coach and Secretary of Legation to return his visit. I had previously called on the Charge d' Affaires of France under Charles X.

"I had not, during my sojourn in St. Petersburg, the slightest difference with any one, except a British subject, and that was on the construction of a contract. This man (my landlord) and his niece were my fellow-passengers from Cronstadt, and we parted on the most civil and friendly terms.

"He is not the author of these slanders.

"Before I thought of cancelling the bargain with Smith, I had applied to Mrs. Wilson to receive and nurse my poor Juba. I removed to her house myself, not as a boarder, but a lodger, and

took a room on the ground floor. Except Clay and Capt. Turner, of the ship *Fama* of Boston, to whom I intrusted my faithful Juba, I did not set eyes upon one of the inmates of the house. Capt. T. at my request was often in my apartment, and to him I fearlessly appeal for the falsehood of these calumnies, so far as I came under his observation. They are utterly false.

“‘The Court Tailor.’ A day or two after I got to Demouth’s Hotel, a person very unceremoniously opened my parlor door and advanced to my bed-room, where I was lying on a sofa. He was the American Consul’s Tailor, and said, ‘he had been sent for,’ but seemed abashed at finding the Consul with me. I, seeing through the trick (it is universally practised there), told him he had been misinformed, and the man apologized and withdrew. He was sent for about ten days afterwards, and made some clothes for Mr. Clay.

“I did not refuse to land at Cronstadt. The authorities came on board to visit me, and when they returned, I entered the steamboat and proceeded up to St. Petersburg.

“My dress, on presentation to their Imperial Majesties, was a full suit of the finest black cloth that London could afford; and, with the exception of a steel-cap sword, was the dress of Mr. Madison during the late Convention. (I had indeed no diamond buckles). In the same dress, never worn except upon those two occasions (with the exception of gold shoe and knee buckles, adopted out of pity to Mr. McLane, and laying aside, at his instance, the sword) I was presented at court here. On neither occasion did I think of my costume after I had put it on; nor did I attract observation; and I am well satisfied that the love of display on the part of some of our own foreign agents and the pruriency of female frontlets for coronets and tiaras, have been at the bottom of our court-dress abroad. It is not expected or desired, that a foreign minister shall have exacted from him what is the duty of a subject. I saw Prince Talleyrand at the King’s levee as plainly dressed as I was. But what satisfies me on the subject is, that Prince Lieven, on whose goodness I threw myself for instruction at St. Petersburg, and who saw me in the dress (chosen by Polonius’s advice) never hinted anything on the subject; but truly said that ‘his Majesty the Emperior would receive me as one gentleman receives another.’ and such was the fact.

On page 426, Mr. Van Buren enters into an analysis of Randolph’s indiosyncrasies, all of which he knew for years before he made his very curious recommendation to General Jackson, on their ride out to call on Mr. and Mrs. Custis. This analysis, which we quote, shows that Van Buren knew the total unfitness of Randolph for any diplomatic position.

Mr. Van Buren analyses Randolph thus:

“Mr. Randolph was an inscrutable man—the most so I ever

knew. His Indian descent, of which, as I have elsewhere said, he was unaffectedly proud, was in nothing else, not even in his looks, so strongly displayed as in his inflexible resistance to every thing like attempts to read his motives or thoughts on particular occasions or to acquire a general knowledge of his idiocrasy. Diametrically opposite to that frank disposition which takes pride in ready disclosure of itself in perfect sincerity to whomsoever may have an interest in knowing it was the sentiment which influenced him in shrouding himself, his motives, his acts, and even his movements in mystery, and to resent any attempts, however friendly or well intended, to penetrate it or to understand his character. He was, notwithstanding, always a study to me and on one occasion, during our long and close intimacy, I endeavoured to avail myself of some incident not of course to pry into his secrets but to obtain a glimpse of the inner chambers of the man's real constitution who was on occasions so great a puzzle. He suddenly turned upon me, as if offended, saying "I understand you, Sir! You are ambitious to look deeper into my dispositions than I am inclined to let you—you think you understand me already, but you are mistaken, you know nothing at all about me! There has been but one person in the world who understood me perfectly—but one who comprehended my character and that person was not of the earth, earthly." The person he alluded to was his worthy mother, of whom he often spoke and always with the utmost love and veneration; but even here he adopted a mode of expression to prevent me from certainly knowing to whom he alluded by avoiding a description of his or her sex. I was naturally not disposed to inquire further either upon that or upon the principal point. In a similar spirit he guarded the knowledge of the state of his health as much as possible from others. While it formed a principal staple of his daily conversation, no person, however well acquainted with him, could ascertain anything very definite or reliable in regard to it. Altho' this was partly a consequence of its variable character it was also in a great degree an affair of policy. Strange as it may appear to those who were not well acquainted with this strange man his health was one of his weapons of war in the contentions in which he was all his life involved. It served as a cloak for omissions which he could not otherwise satisfactorily excuse and its fitful character put it out of the power of his enemies ever to calculate safely upon his absence or his presence among them on any particular occasion. When he was confined to his bed and to all appearances in the extremity of suffering from disease, there was scarcely ever a certainty that he would not suddenly repair to the hall of the Legislature and take a part in the debates, especially if they concerned a matter in which he was interested or in which he could make himself felt."

"That he was a man of extraordinary intelligence, well educated, well informed on most subjects, thoroughly grounded in the history and rationale of the Constitution and of the Government that was formed under it, eloquent in debate and wielding a power

of invective superior to that of any man of his day is unquestionable, but with all these liberal endowments he lacked a balance-wheel to regulate his passions and to guide his judgment. This grand deficiency which the whole course of his previous life had given us strong reason to suspect was deplorably demonstrated by the transactions of which we are speaking. Few men had enjoyed better opportunities during ten preceding years to form an opinion of his character and capacities than myself and the error into which I fell betrayed, therefor, an inadequacy of observation or a weakness of judgment which I could not too much regret. My mistake was as I have said, considering the relation in which I stood to the appointment, a fair subject for the animadversion of my political adversaries."

THOMAS H BURTON'S ESTIMATE OF RANDOLPH.

"To comprehend him, he must be judged as a whole—physically and mentally—and under many aspects, and for his entire life. He was never well—a chronic victim of ill health from the cradle to the grave. A letter from his most intimate and valued friend, Mr. Macon, written to me after his death, expressed the belief that he had never enjoyed during his life one day of perfect health—such as well people enjoy. Such life-long suffering must have its effect on the temper and on the mind; and it had on his—bringing the temper often to the querulous mood, and the state of his mind sometimes to the question of insanity; a question which became judicial after his death, when the validity of his will came to be contested. I had my opinion on the point, and gave it responsibly in a deposition duly taken, to be read on the trial of the will; and in which a belief in his insanity, at several specified periods, was fully expressed—with the reasons for the opinion. I had good opportunities of forming an opinion, living in the same house with him several years, having his confidence, and seeing him at all hours of the day and night. It also on several occasions became my duty to study the question, with a view to govern my own conduct under critical circumstances. Twice he applied to me to carry challenges for him. It would have been inhuman to have gone out with a man not in his right mind, and critical to one's self, as an accident on the ground might seriously compromise the second. My opinion was fixed, of occasional temporary aberrations of mind; and during such periods, he would do and say strange things—but always in his own way—not only method, but genius in his fantasies: nothing to bespeak a bad heart, but only exaltation and excitement. The most brilliant talk that I ever heard from him came forth on such occasions—a flow for hours (at one time seven hours) of copious wit and classic allusion—a perfect scattering of the diamonds of the mind. I heard a friend remark on one of these occasions, 'he has wasted intellectual jewelry enough here this evening to equip many speakers for great orations.' I once sounded him on the delicate point of his own

opinion of himself: of course when he was in a perfectly natural state, and when he had said something to permit an approach to such a subject. It was during his last visit to Washington, two winters before he died. It was in my room, in the gloom of the evening light, as the day was going out and the lamps not lit—no one present but ourselves—he reclining on a sofa, silent and thoughtful, speaking but seldom, and I only in reply, I heard him repeat, as if to himself, those lines from Johnson (which in fact I had often heard from him before) on 'Senility and Imbecility,' which show us life under its most melancholy form:

"In life's last scenes what prodigies surprise,
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise!
From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,
And Swift expires, a driveller and a show.'

"When he had thus repeated these lines, which he did with deep feeling, and in slow and measured cadence, I deemed it excusable to make a remark of a kind which I had never ventured on before; and 'said: Mr. Randolph, I have several times heard you repeat these lines, as if they could have an application to yourself, while no person can have less reason to fear the fate of Swift.' I said this to sound him, and to see what he thought of himself. His answer was: 'I have lived in dread of insanity.' That answer was the opening of a sealed book—revealed to me the source of much mental agony that I had seen him undergo. I did deem him in danger of the fate of Swift, and from the same cause as judged by his latest and greatest biographer, Sir Walter Scott.

The question then arises, what was Van Buren's motive in his enigmatic proposition to General Jackson about sending Randolph to Russia. Did he tell the whole truth when he set forth his reasons? It is difficult to believe it,—there was some hidden motive that was not disclosed. The proposition by Van Buren sprung from some hidden motive of his own. He evidently thought if Randolph's performance of the duties of Minister to Russia was successful, that he, Van Buren, would get credit for having suggested his name for that post; and that if he proved a failure as a diplomat, the responsibility would fall on General Jackson, which responsibility Van Buren knew General Jackson would assume, because he never dodged a responsibility; and that, in this way, a failure by Randolph would cast no reflection upon Van Buren for suggesting his name, and especially for suggesting it in the curious way that he presented it to General Jackson.

Suppose, for a moment, that George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, or other great Americans we might name, had recommended a John Randolph as Minister to Russia, how would the public have received the sugges-

tion? Is it not unthinkable that any of the men named would suggest a John Randolph as Minister and at the same time profess the warmest friendship for the President who was to make the appointment? What was Van Buren aiming at in attempting to foist on Jackson's administration such an encumbrance? The appointment of Randolph is one of the wholly indefensible acts of Jackson's administration. There is neither excuse or mitigation for the appointment, to say nothing of a defense. We must conclude that there was something behind the appointment that Van Buren does not disclose, and that his recommendation was to all intents and purposes, treason to Jackson's fame. His recommendation becomes all the more unworthy when we consider his intimacy with General Jackson, and that he knew he had more influence with Jackson than any person in America at that time.

As early as December 1829 Jackson had declared in a letter to Judge Overton of Tennessee in favor of Van Buren as his successor and had given this opinion of him:

"I have found him everything that I could desire him to be, and believe him not only deserving my confidence, but the confidence of the nation. Instead of his being selfish and intriguing, as has been represented by some of his opponents, I have ever found him frank, open, candid, and manly. As a counselor, he is able and prudent, republican in his principles, and one of the most pleasant men to do business with I ever knew. He, my dear friend, is well qualified to fill the highest office in the gift of the people, who in him will find a true friend and safe depository of their rights and rights and liberty. I wish I could say as much for Mr. Calhoun and some of his friends."

IN CHAPTER 20 OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY MR. VAN BUREN TELLS OF HIS APPOINTMENT AS SECRETARY OF STATE BY JACKSON AND OF HIS GOING TO WASHINGTON TO ACCEPT THE POSITION. WE QUOTE SOME INTERESTING EXTRACTS.

"I received a letter from General Jackson, soon after his arrival at Washington, offering me the place of Secretary of State of the United States—a wholly unsolicited step. I had expressed no desire to receive that or any other appointment at his hands, either to him or to any other person and I have every reason to believe that no advances to that end were ever made on the part of my personal friends. He said in a published letter: "I called him (Mr. V. B.) to the Department of State influenced by the general wish and expectation of the republican party throughout the Union." This position, like every other office or nomination save one, bestowed upon me in the course of my long public life,

came to me without interference on my part, direct or indirect, and in the execution of the well understood wish of the great majority of the political party of which I was a member. * * * *

"A solitary lamp in the vestibule and a single candle in the President's office gave no promise of the cordiality with which I was, notwithstanding, greeted by General Jackson on my visit to the White House. I found no one with him except his intimate friend Major Lewis. His health was poor, and his spirits depressed as well by his recent bereavement of his wife as by the trials of personal and political friendship which he had been obliged to encounter in the organization of his Cabinet. This was our first meeting as political friends and it was certainly a peculiar feature in that interview and no insignificant illustration of his nature that he received with most affectionate eagerness, at the very threshold of his administration, the individual destined to occupy the first place in his confidence, of whose character his only opportunities to learn anything by personal observation had been presented during periods of active political hostility.

"He soon noticed my exhaustion from sickness and travel and, considerably postponing all business to an appointed hour of the next day, recommended me to my bed.

"From that night to the day of his death the relations, sometimes official, always political and personal, were inviolably maintained between that noble old man and myself, the cordial and confidential character of which can never have been surpassed among public men. The history of those associations I propose to relate and to accompany it with an unreserved publication of our entire correspondence. But before entering upon this work it may be useful that I should give a succinct account of our personal and political intercourse from the commencement of our acquaintance to the time of his elevation to the Presidency.

"I was presented to General Jackson for the first time, at Washington in the winter of 1815-16, whilst on a visit to that city, to which place he had been called by the exciting contest that grew out of his Seminole campaign. Partaking of the extraordinary interest which he inspired wherever he went I sought an introduction to him at the very moment of his departure for Tennessee, and did not see him again until I met him, in 1823, on the floor of the Senate of the United States, of which body he had become a member. * * * * *

"He made his appearance in the Senate in the double character of one of the Senators from Tennessee and her candidate for the office of President of the United States, and among those who opposed his election to the latter place there was scarcely one more actively and zealously employed than myself; an opposition which extended alike to Mr. Adams and to himself and which was neither relaxed nor intermitted until the final settlement of the question by the House of Representatives. But these differences did not produce the slightest trace of ill blood between us. Our personal in-

tercourse from the day we met in the Senate to the end of the severe Presidential canvass of 1824, was, on the contrary uniformly kind and courteous, altho' circumstances occurred which, unexplained, were well calculated to put his self-control at least for the moment, to severe tests."

MR. VAN BUREN'S RESIGNATION AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

Washington, April 11th, 1831.

"Dear Sir:-

"I feel it to be my duty to retire from the office to which your confidence and partiality called me. The delicacy of this step under the circumstances in which it is taken, will, I trust, be deemed an ample apology for stating more at large, than might otherwise have been necessary, the reasons by which I am influenced.

"From the moment of taking my seat in your Cabinet, it has been my anxious wish and zealous endeavor to prevent a premature agitation of the question of your successor; and, at all events, to discountenance, and if possible repress the disposition at an early day manifested, to connect my name with that disturbing topic. Of the sincerity and the constancy of this disposition, no one has had a better opportunity to judge than yourself. It has, however, been unavailing. Circumstances, not of my creation, and altogether beyond my control, have given this subject a turn which cannot now be remedied, except by a self-disfranchisement which, even if dictated by my individual wishes, could hardly be reconcilable with propriety or self-respect."

"Concerning the injurious effects which the circumstance of a member of the Cabinet's occupying the relation towards the country to which I have adverted, is calculated to have upon the conduct of public affairs, there cannot, I think, at this time, be room for two opinions. Diversities of ulterior preference among the friends of an Administration are unavoidable; and even if the advocates of those thus placed in rivalry be patriotic enough to resist the temptation of creating obstacles to the advancement of him to whose elevation they are opposed, by embarrassing the branch of public service committed to his charge, they are, nevertheless, by their position, exposed to the suspicion of entertaining and encouraging such views; a suspicion which can seldom fail in the end, to aggravate into present alienation and hostility the prospective differences which first gave rise to it. This, under the least unfavorable consequences, individual injustice is suffered, and the Administration embarrassed and weakened. Whatever may have been the course of things under peculiar circumstances of the earlier stage of the Republic, my experience has fully satisfied me that, at this day, when the field of selection has become so extended, the circumstance referred to by augmenting the motives and sources of opposition to the measures of the executive, must unavoidably prove the cause of injury to the public service,

for a counterpoise to which we may in vain look to the peculiar qualifications of any individual; and even if I should in this be mistaken, still I cannot so far deceive myself as to believe for a moment that I am included in the exceptions."

"These obstructions to the successful prosecution of public affairs, when superadded to that opposition which is inseparable from our free institutions and which every administration must expect, present a mass to which the operations of the government should at no time be voluntarily exposed:— the more especially should this be avoided at so eventful a period in the affairs of the world, when our country may particularly need the utmost harmony in her councils."

"Such being my impressions, the path of duty is plain: I not only submit with cheerfulness to whatever personal sacrifices may be involved in the surrender of the station I occupy, but I make it my ambition to set an example which, should it in the progress of the Government be deemed, notwithstanding the humility of its origin, worthy of respect and observance, cannot, I think, fail to prove essentially and permanently beneficial.

"Allow, me, Sir, to present one more view of the subject:— You have consented to stand before your constituents for re-election. Of their decision, resting as it does upon the unbought suffrage of a free, numerous, and widely extended people, it becomes no man to speak with certainty. Judging, however, from the past, and making a reasonable allowance for the fair exercise of the intelligence and public spirit of your fellow citizens, I cannot hesitate in adopting the belief that the confidence, as well in your capacity for civil duties as in your civic virtues already so spontaneously and strikingly displayed, will be manifested with increased energy, now, that all candid observers must admit their utmost expectations to have been more than realized."

"If this promise, so auspicious to the best interests of our common country, be fulfilled, the concluding term of your administration will, in the absence of any prominent cause of discord among its supporters, afford a most favorable opportunity for the full accomplishment of those important public objects, in the prosecution of which I have witnessed on your part such a steady vigilance and untiring devotion. To the unfavorable influence which my continuance in your Cabinet, under existing circumstances, may exercise upon this flattering prospect, I cannot, Sir, without a total disregard of the lights of experience, and without shutting my eyes to the obvious tendency of things for the future, be insensible. Having, moreover, from a deep conviction of its importance to the country, been among the most urgent advisers to yield yourself to the obvious wishes of the People, and knowing the sacrifice of personal feeling which was involved in your acquiescence I cannot reconcile it to myself to be in any degree the cause of embarrassment to you during the period which, as it cer-

tainly will be of deep interest to your country, is moreover destined to bring to its close, your patriotic, toilsome and eventful public life."

"From these considerations, I feel it to be doubly my duty to resign a post, the retention of which is so calculated to attract assaults upon your administration, to which there might otherwise be no inducement—assaults of which, whatever be their aim, the most important as well as most injurious effect is, upon those public interests which deserve and should command the support of all good citizens. This duty, I should have discharged at an earlier period, but for considerations, partly of a public, partly of a personal nature, connected with circumstances which were calculated to expose its performance then to misconstruction and misrepresentation."

"Having explained the motives which govern me in thus severing, and with seeming abruptness, the official ties by which we have been associated, there remains but one duty to perform. I make my profound and sincere acknowledgments for that steady support and cheering confidence which, in the discharge of my public duties, I have under all circumstances, received at your hands; as well as for the personal kindness at all times extended to me.

"Rest assured, Sir, that the success of your administration, and the happiness of your private life will ever constitute objects of the deepest solicitude with

"Your sincere friend and obed't servant,"

"M. VAN BUREN.

"The President.

JACKSON'S ACCEPTANCE.

"Washington, April 12, 1831.

"Your letter resigning the office of Secretary of State was received last evening. I could indeed wish that no circumstance had arisen to interrupt the relations which have, for two years, subsisted between us, and that they might have continued through the period during which it may be my lot to remain charged with the duties which the partiality of my countrymen has imposed upon me. But the reasons you present are so strong that, with a proper regard for them, I cannot ask you, on my own account, to remain in the Cabinet."

"I am aware of the difficulties you have had to contend with, and of the benefits which have resulted to the affairs of your country, from your continued zeal in the arduous tasks to which you have been subjected. To say that I deeply regret to lose you, is but feebly to express my feelings on this occasion."

"When called by my country to the station which I occupy, it was not without a deep sense of its arduous responsibility, and a

strong distrust of myself, that I obeyed the call; but, cheered by the consciousness that no other motive actuated me, than a desire to guard her interest, and to place her upon the firm ground of those great principles which by the wisest and purest of our patriots, have been deemed essential to her prosperity, I ventured upon the trust assigned me. I did this in the confident hope of finding the support of advisers, able and true; who, laying aside every thing but a desire to give new vigor to the vital principles of our Union, would look with a single eye to the best means of effecting this paramount object. In you, this hope has been realized to the utmost. In the most difficult and trying moments of my administration, I have always found you sincere, able and efficient—anxious at all times to afford me every aid. If, however, from circumstances in your judgment sufficient to make it necessary, the official ties subsisting between us must be severed, I can only say that this necessity is deeply lamented by me. I part with you only because you yourself have requested me to do so, and have sustained that request by reasons strong enough to command my assent. I cannot, however, allow the separation to take place without expressing the hope, that this retirement from public affairs is but temporary; and that if in any other station, the government should have occasion for services, the value of which has been so sensibly felt by me, your consent will not be wanting.”

“Of the state of things to which you advert, I cannot but be fully aware. I look upon it with sorrow, and regret it the more, because one of its first effects is to disturb the harmony of my Cabinet. It is, however, but an instance of one of the evils to which free governments must ever be liable. The only remedy for these evils, as they arise, lies in the intelligence and public spirit of our common constituents; they will correct them—and in this there is abundant consolation. I cannot quit this subject without adding that with the best opportunities for observing and judging, I have seen in you no other desire than to move quietly on in the path of your duties, and to promote the harmonious conduct of public affairs. If on this point you have had to encounter detraction, it is but another proof of the utter insufficiency of innocence and worth to shield from such assaults.”

“Be assured that the interest you express in my happiness is most heartily reciprocated—that my most cordial feelings accompany you, and that I am, very sincerely, your friend,”

“ANDREW JACKSON.”

“P. S. It is understood that you are to continue in office until your successor is appointed.

Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State.”

VAN BUREN'S REJECTION BY THE SENATE.

Mr. Van Buren frankly says, page 508 of his Autobiography, that when he agreed to accept the English Mission, he expressed to General Jackson the opinion that such a step could not be regarded in any other light than that of a relinquishment of any chance to succeed him in the Presidency, and that he inferred from the President's silence that he looked at it in the same way. But evidently Jackson changed his mind because on September 5th, 1831, within eight weeks after Van Buren had relinquished the position of Secretary of State, Jackson wrote him:

"JACKSON TO VAN BUREN."

"Notwithstanding the high opinion I entertain of the talents and worth of my present Cabinet and the confidence I have in them, still there appears a vacancy in your absence and our faithful Eaton, that is not filled. Mr. McLane's mind is a host to me and with him and Barry, in whom I know I can under any circumstances confide, with the goodness and amiability and high talents of the others, I have no doubt we shall steer the national vessel into a safe port. Still I cannot but regret your absence. We have been so fortunate with our foreign relations hitherto that I would regret that any *faux-pas* should occur hereafter. I cannot close without again repeating that I hope circumstances will occur to enable me to return to the Hermitage in due season and set an example worthy to be followed and give an evidence to my country that I never had any other ambition than that of serving my country when she required it, and when I know it could be better served by others, to open the door for their employment; *you will understand me.*"

But Van Buren was to return to America and shortly to become a successful candidate for Vice-President, and start on the road to the presidency which he thought he had abandoned when he became Minister to England. The cause of this change in his fortunes, he at one time did not fore-see as a certainty, but it did not take many months to develope. The influence that was to make him finally president of the United States was the refusal by the Senate to confirm his nomination as English Minister.

On December 17th., 1831, Jackson wrote to him:-

"JACKSON TO VAN BUREN."

"I cannot close, altho' it is now late, without naming to you confidentially a subject which is constantly on my mind; it is this:—If I am reelected and you are not called to the Vice Pres-

idency I wish you to return to this country in two years from now, if it comports with your views and wishes. I think your presence here about that time will be necessary. The opposition would, if they durst, try to reject your nomination as Minister, but they dare not, they begin to know if they did that the people in mass would take you up and elect you Vice-President without a nomination. Was it not for this, it is said Clay, Calhoun & Co., would try it.

"You know Mr. Livingston is anxious to go abroad and I am as anxious to have you near me, and it would afford me pleasure to gratify both. * * * * *

"I would not be surprised, if, contrary to your declared wishes, you should be run for Vice-President; as sure as the Senate make the attempt to reject your nomination, I am told it will be done. This will bring you back in twelve months. If not, then I wish, if reelected, to bring you back as intimated."

These two letters of Jackson are quoted by Van Buren in his Autobiography. In order that the reader may keep track of the dates connected with his rejection by the Senate, it should be said that he was appointed Minister to England August 1st., 1831, by General Jackson during a recess of the Senate when he could not be confirmed. He was rejected for confirmation by the Senate January 25th., 1832. He left London for Holland on a visit April 1st., 1832, and sailed then for New York, arriving here July 5th., 1832. He was nominated for Vice-President May 21st., 1832.

The rejection by the Senate cleared the field of all obstacles for political preferment for Mr. Van Buren. That the party ought to nominate him for Vice-President and that he was bound to accept were points declared by General Jackson and he avowed them on all suitable occasions.

Van Buren first received intimation that he had been rejected by the Senate from a letter of his friend C. C. Cambreling, a member of Congress from the City of New York, who wrote him in London—

"CAMBRELING TO VAN BUREN."

Washington, 27 Jan'y. 1832.

"My Dear Friend:-

I most sincerely congratulate you on your rejection by the Senate—23 to 23 and by the casting vote of the Vice-President; Tazewell and Tyler voting for you and Hendricks of Indiana, Hayne, Miller, Poindexter and Moore, of Alabama, against you, Bibb and Prentiss not present, both I presume consulting their own inclinations.

"I consider this as a providential interposition in your favor. A more reckless act was never committed by men in their senses—indeed, altho' I had ardently desired it, I could not persuade myself to believe that their passions would drive them into a measure, the inevitable result of which might have been seen by a school boy. You may imagine how admirably they were drilled when Ruggles, Tomlinson, Johnson, Seymour and Robbins voted against you. The votes were precisely as they should have been, we could not have had them better. Poor Hayne had laid himself on the grave of Calhoun, and Webster and Clay die in each other's arms. The former conducted his opposition with dignity, the latter with something of violence; the abuse came from Miller, of South Carolina, one of Calhoun's barkers; but the thing is admirable, you will be our Vice-President in spite of yourself, and you will ride over your adversaries, or rather you will drag them after you a l' Achille. In the midnight of the Senate they have done the deed—but "Birnam wood will come" etc. etc.

"Come back as quck as you can, we have no triumphal arches as in ancient Rome, but we'll give you as warm a reception as ever Conqueror had.

Sincerely your friend,
C. C. Cambreling."

On page 509 of the Autobiography, Mr. Van Buren sets out his conclusion to become a candidate for Vice-President after his rejection by the Senate and says—

"The proposal of my friends that I should consent to run for the office of Vice-President being wholly disconnected from the suggestions of the President in respect to his ulterior views, I felt myself in a situation, after the treatment I had received to accept of the nomination consistently with the principles upon which I had acted, and concurred moreover in the opinion expressed by the President that I was, under the circumstances, bound to do so if it should be presented to me."

Entertaining such views on the subject, he sent the following answer to Mr. Marcy's letter:—

"London, March 14th., 1832.

"My Dear Sir:—

I have received your kind letter announcing the desire which has been manifested that I should be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and suggesting the propriety of an expression of my feeling on the subject to some one of my friends in Washington.

"Of the strong aversion which I have uniformly entertained

to this measure you, as well as many others, were fully informed before I left the United States. My private feelings on the subject are unchanged. I cannot regard the possession of that post as in any wise likely to promote my happiness or welfare. But whatever may be my individual repugnance, I cannot but feel the justice of the opinion, expressed as it appears, by a large portion of my Fellow Citizens, that recent events have materially changed the condition of the question. The President in the recess of Congress had nominated me to a foreign and important trust; I had left my native land, and entered, among strangers, upon the conspicuous functions of that trust; a majority of the Senate have rejected the nomination of the Executive, and publicly divested me of my employ when I was executing it in the presence of Europe and America. In so doing they have sought to bring discredit upon the act of the President and to disgrace me personally in the eyes, not merely of my Fellow Citizens, but of foreign nations. If the Republicans of the United States think my elevation to the Vice-Presidency the most effectual mode of testifying to the world their sentiments with respect to the act of the President and the vote of the Senate, I can see no justifiable ground for declining to yield to their wishes.

"Should a knowledge of this acquiescence on my part be deemed absolutely necessary to the harmonious operation of our friends, you are at liberty to state it; but not otherwise.

"I would sedulously avoid any act or agency that might appear calculated or designed to bring about the result referred to. My paramount desire is that my future fate be left to the unbiased decision of the people.

"Overwhelmed as I am with the generous sympathy manifested by my countrymen, I hope and trust, I shall not be thought to meet their confiding frankness with fastidious reserve. There is a degree of reserve forced upon me, however, by the nature of the question, by the peculiarly delicate situation in which I have been placed in regard to it, and by the wanton and persevering mis-representations of the whole subject with which the public ear has been abused.

"I am Dr. Sir,

Very truly yours,

"Wm. L. Marcy, Esq.

M. V. B."

INAUGURAL TRIBUTE TO JACKSON.

The concluding part of Mr. Van Buren's inaugural address included a handsome tribute to General Jackson:

"In approaching then in the presence of my assembled countrymen to make the solemn promise that yet remains and to pledge myself that I will faithfully execute the office I am about to fill, I bring with me a settled purpose to maintain the institutions of my country, which I trust will atone the errors I commit."

"In receiving from the people the sacred trust twice confided to my illustrious predecessor, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well, I know that I cannot expect to perform the arduous task with equal ability and success. But united as I have been in his councils, a daily witness of his exclusive and unsurpassed devotion to his Country's welfare, agreeing with him in sentiments which his countrymen have warmly supported and permitted to partake largely of his confidence, I may hope that somewhat of the same cheering approbation will be found to attend upon my path. For him I but express with my own the wishes of all, that he may yet long live to enjoy the brilliant evening of his well spent life; and for myself, conscious of but one desire, faithfully to serve my Country, I throw myself without fear on its justice and its kindness. Beyond that, I only look to the gracious protection of the Divine Being, whose strengthening support I humbly solicit, and whom I fervently pray to look down upon us all. May it be among the dispensation of His Providence to bless our beloved Country with honors and with length of days. May her ways be ways of pleasantness and all her paths be peace.

EDWARD M. SHEPARD'S SUMMARY.

Edward M. Shepard, in his life of Van Buren, summarizes the political principles of Van Buren and his associates:

"However widely the student of history may differ from the politics of Van Buren's associates, the politics of Benton, Wright, Butler, and Dix, and in a later rank of his New York disciples of Samuel J. Tilden and Sanford E. Church, it is impossible not to see that their political purpose was at the least as long and steady as their friendship for Van Buren. Love for the Union, a belief in a simple, economical, and even unheroic government, a jealousy of taking money from the people, and a scrupulous restriction upon the use of public moneys for any but public purposes, a strict limitation of federal powers, a dislike of slavery and an opposition to its extension,—these made up one of the great and fruitful political creeds of America, a creed which had ardent and hopeful apostles of half century ago, and which save in the articles which touched slavery and are now happily obsolete, will doubtless find apostles no less ardent and hopeful a half century hence. Each of its assertions has been found in other creeds; but the entire creed with all its articles made the peculiar and powerful faith only of the Van Buren men. As history gradually sets reputations aright, the leader of these men must justly wear the laurel of a statesman who, apart from his personal and party relations and ambitions, has stood clearly for a powerful and largely triumphant cause."

"No vague, no thoughtless rush of popular sentiment touched or shook this faith of Van Buren. Had there been indeed a readier emphasis about him, a heartier and quicker sympathy with the

temper of the day, he would perhaps have aroused a popular enthusiasm, he might perhaps have been the hero which in fact he never was. But his intellectual perceptions did not permit the subtle self-deceit, the enthusiastic surrender to current sentiment, to which the striking figures that delight the masses of men are so apt to yield. Van Buren was steadfast from the beginning to the end, save when the war threats of slavery alarmed his old age and the sober second thought of a really patient and resolute people seemed a long time coming."

Mr. Shepard gives Mr. Van Buren credit for political and moral courage, which all the American people during his lifetime and since have not given him, but which estimate of Mr. Shepard is largely justified; especially Van Buren's frankness with which he faced the crisis of 1837, when he wrote the famous letter on the annexation of Texas. This is Mr. Shepard's estimate.

"Chief among the elements of Van Buren's public character ought to be ranked his moral courage and the explicitness of his political utterances,—the two qualities which, curiously enough, were most angrily denied him by his enemies. His well-known Shocco Springs letter of 1832 on the tariff was indeed lacking in these qualities; but he was then not chiefly interested. There was only a secondary responsibility upon him. But it is not too much to say that no American in responsible and public station, since the days when Washington returned from his walk among the miserable huts of Valley Forge to write to the Continental Congress, or to face the petty imbecilities of the jealous colonists, has shown so complete a political courage as that with which Van Buren faced the crisis of 1837, or in which he wrote his famous Texas letter. Nor did any American, stirred with ambition, conscious of great powers, as was this captain of politicians, and bringing all his political fortunes, as he must do, to the risks of universal suffrage, ever meet living issues dangerously dividing men ready to vote for him if he would but remain quiet, with clearer or more decided answers than did Van Buren in his Sherrod Williams letter of 1836 and in most of his chief public utterances from that year until 1844. The courtesies of his manner, his failure in trenchant brevity, and even the almost complete absence of invective or extravagance from his papers or speeches, have obscured these capital virtues of his character. He saw too many dangers; and he sometimes made it too clear that he saw them. But upon legitimate issues he was among the least timid and the most explicit of great Americans. No President of ours has in office been more direct."

THE CHARGE OF INTRIGUE AGAINST VAN BUREN.

Mr. Van Buren was never able to divest public opinion of the charge of intrigue so generally made against him and so widely believed. We are not surprised, therefore, that in his Autobiography he refers to this charge and attempts to make defense

against it and to clear it up. This, he is thoroughly justified in doing in his own interest, and from his own standpoint. His Autobiography was written to present him in such colors as he desired to be viewed by posterity, and he produces a speech made by Mr. Forsyth who was, at one time Governor of Georgia and United States Senator, made in the United States Senate. Senator Forsyth was a strong friend of Van Buren's.

MR. VAN BUREN SAYS ON PAGE 539

"But the subject of the rejection of my nomination has spun itself out to a far greater length than will I fear be deemed excusable. Still I cannot dismiss it without a word of acknowledgment of the fearlessness, promptitude and warm eloquence with which my personal character and official conduct were defended in the Senate by friends: especially is the acknowledgment due to the memory of my lamented friend Forsyth—from whose speech on the occasion, I make the following extract, the encomiastic tone of which, altho' he was one of those noblemen who would not flatter the gods for their power, is certainly raised far above my deserts or pretensions by the chivalric zeal of the speaker in the cause of an absent friend, but upon which I may be pardoned for placing the highest value because it grapples boldly with a charge perhaps more fanatically urged against me than against any other public man in the country—of course in my estimation without any justice—I mean the vague imputation of a capacity and a disposition for political intrigue."

SENATOR FORSYTH'S ADDRESS IN THE SENATE.

"But this England was not sought by Mr. Van Buren; his friends know that it was pressed on him by the President; and that it was reluctantly accepted at the earnest solicitations of friends who were satisfied it would promote his own reputation, and redound to the honor and welfare of the nation. I will not follow, further, the Senator's lead. Long known to me as a politician and as a man, acting together in the hour of political adversity, when we had lost all but our honor—a witness of his movements when elevated to power, and in the possession of the confidence of the Chief Magistrate, and of the great majority of the people, I have never witnessed aught in Mr. Van Buren which requires concealment, palliation, or coloring—never anything to lessen his character as a patriot and as a man—nothing which he might not desire to see exposed to the scrutiny of every member of this body with the calm confidence of unsullied integrity. He is called an artful man—a giant of artifice—a wily magician. From whom does he receive these opprobrious names? From open enemies and pretended friends. In the midst of all the charges that have been brought against him, in shapes more varying than those of Proteus, and thick as the autumnal leaves that strew the vale of Vallambrosa,

where is the false friend or malignant enemy that has fixed upon him one dishonorable or degrading act? If innocent of artifice, if governed by a high sense of honor, and regulating his conduct by elevated principles, this is not wonderful, but if the result of skill, of the *Ars celare artem*, he must be more cunning than the devil himself to have thus avoided the snares of enemies and the treachery of pretended friends.

"It is not possible, Sir, that he should have escaped, had he been otherwise than pure. Those ignorant of his unrivalled knowledge of human character, his power of penetrating into the designs and defeating the purposes of his adversaries, seeing his rapid advance to public honors and popular confidence, impute to art what is a natural result of those simple causes. Extraordinary talent, untiring industry, incessant vigilance, the happiest temper, which success cannot corrupt nor disappointment sour; these are the sources of his unexampled success, the magic arts—the artifices of intrigue, to which only he has restored in his eventful life. Those who envy his success may learn wisdom from his example." "Debate in Executive Session January 24-25, 1832.

Turning for the moment from some unpleasant incidents in Mr. Van Buren's career, we hail with pleasure an exhibition of high courtesy to General Jackson in his Executive Order that the Surgeon General of the Army accompany the General on his way to the Hermitage when he went home at the end of his presidential term in bad health. Follows the full text of the order.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Adjutant-General's Office.
"Washington, March 7, 1837.

"GENERAL ORDER NO. 6."

"I. The Major-General Commanding in Chief has received from the War Department the following order:"

"Washington, March 6, 1837."

"General Andrew Jackson, ex-President of the United States, being about to depart from this city for his home in Tennessee, and the state of his health rendering it important that he should be accompanied by a medical attendant, the President directs that the Surgeon-General of the Army accompany the ex-President to Wheeling, in the State of Virginia, there to be relieved, in case the ex-President's health shall be such as to allow it, by some officer of the Medical Department, who will attend the ex-President from that place to his residence.

In giving this order the President feels assured that this mark of attention to the venerable soldier, patriot, and statesman now

retiring in infirm health from the cares of office to the repose of private life will be as grateful to the feelings of the American people as it appears to the President to be suitable in itself.

"M. VAN BUREN."

"The Major-General Commanding in Chief will carry into effect the foregoing directions of the President of the United States."

"B. F. BUTLER."

"Secretary of War, ad interim."

"II. Pursuant to the above order, Surgeon-General Lawson will immediately join the ex-President, and will accompany him as his medical attendant to Wheeling, in the State of Virginia, and, at his discretion, to the residence of the ex-President, at the Hermitage, near Nashville, in the State of Tennessee."

"III. Assistant Surgeon Reynolds will join the ex-President at Wheeling, Va., and from that place, either alone or in conjunction with the Surgeon-General, as the latter may direct, will proceed with the ex-President to his residence in Tennessee."

"IV. The officers above named, on the conclusion of the duties above assigned to them, will repair to their respective stations."

"By order of Alexander Macomb, Major-General Commanding in Chief:"

"R. Jones, Adjutant-General."

VAN BUREN AND TEXAS.

Martin Van Buren's fame would reach further and be trumpeted stronger and louder if he had died as soon as the Democratic Convention of 1844 was over and he had been defeated for re-nomination for the Presidency by James K. Polk.

In the Democratic Convention, at Baltimore, held in May, 1844, is one of the times in his life he looms large and great as a fearless champion of his conviction that cost him the Presidency and his political life; viz., that Texas should not be admitted to the Union. This was the crucial question in the Convention, and he could have had the nomination by agreeing that Texas should come in; but without hesitancy he refused to agree, adhered to his convictions and Polk was nominated.

He wanted the nomination more than he ever sought an office before, and it was his by the turn of his hand; but Van Buren was opposed on principle to slavery. The annexation of Texas meant the extension of slavery to four more slave states to be carved out of Texas. The South was for slavery and dominated the Convention and demanded annexation without delay. General Jackson wrote a letter, favoring annexation, and this letter was dis-

tributed everywhere, and still Van Buren did not yield. He laid aside all the shifty methods his enemies had been charging him with using, and stood with the firmness, self respect, and courage of a statesman, actuated by the principles of a lifetime.

Then was the time for Van Buren to die, and then was the time he proved to all the world that he could rigidly act upon conviction and principle, and that history must credit him, this time at least with being something above the mere politician his contemporaries charged him with being. In the letter he wrote at the time, he expressed himself,

“Nor can I in any extremity be induced to cast a shade over the motive of my past life, by changes or concealment of opinions, maturely formed upon a great National question, for the unworthy purpose of increasing my chances for political promotion.”

In 1848 Mr. Van Buren accepted from the Free Soil party the nomination for President on a ticket with Charles Francis Adams for Vice President. Slavery was the one issue with the Free Soil party, and slavery was the question which when it was a dominating issue in politics that Van Buren never wavered or trimmed. Whatever may have been his motives on other questions, and however much diplomacy and policy, good or bad, he may have used, on the question of slavery, he never betrayed his convictions.

After 1848, when by compromise it was thought the question of slavery had been for a period at least postponed, Mr. Van Buren voted for Franklin Pierce for President in 1852 and for James Buchanan for President in 1856. He was a Democrat through and through, consistent, loyal, outspoken, and unwavering, except where slavery was the dominating issue, and he was then against slavery.

He was born December 5, 1782, and died July 24, 1862 when the artillery of the Civil War was roaring over the land, and when the fortunes of the Union Armies were at their lowest ebb.

One great act often redeems a hundred petty failings in the life and career of a human being, and so it was with Van Buren. He refused to betray his convictions on the subject of Texas and slavery, even though his agreeing that Texas might come into the Union at once would have secured for him the Democratic nomination and the Presidency. It has come to few men in politics,

either in America or the world, to be able to say as Van Buren could truthfully say, that he gave away an American Presidency for his honor and convictions.

“GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 89.

“WAR DEPARTMENT,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, July 25, 1862.

“The following order of the President of the United States communicates the information of the death of ex-President Martin Van Buren:

“Washington, July 25, 1862.

“The President with deep regret announces to the people of the United States the decease, at Kinderhook, N. Y., on the 24th instant, of his honored predecessor Martin Van Buren.

“This event will occasion mourning in the nation for the loss of a citizen and a public servant whose memory will be gratefully cherished. Although it has occurred at a time when his country is afflicted with division and civil war, the grief of his patriotic friends will measurably be assuaged by the consciousness that while suffering with disease and seeing his end approaching his prayers were for the restoration of the authority of the Government of which he had been the head and for peace and good will among his fellow-citizens.

“As a mark of respect for his memory, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several Executive Departments, except those of War and of the Navy, be immediately placed in mourning and all business be suspended during tomorrow.

“It is further ordered that the War and Navy Departments cause suitable military and naval honors to be paid on this occasion to the memory of the illustrious dead.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

II. “On the day after the receipt of this order the troops will be paraded at 10 o'clock a. m. and the order read to them. The national flag will be displayed at half-staff. At dawn of day thirteen guns will be fired, and afterwards at intervals of thirty minutes between rising and setting sun a single gun, and at the close of the day a national salute of thirty-four guns. The officers of the Army will wear crape on the left arm and on their swaords and the colors of the several regiments will be put in mourning for the period of six months.

By order of the Secretary of War.

“L. THOMAS,
“Adjutant-General.

"GENERAL ORDER.

"Navy Department, July 25, 1862.

"The death of ex-President Martin Van Buren is announced in following order of the President of the United States:

"As a mark of respect for his memory, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several Executive Departments, except those of War and of the Navy, be immediately placed in mourning and all business be suspended during tomorrow,

"It is further ordered that the War and Navy Departments cause suitable military and naval honors to be paid on this occasion to the memory of the illustrious dead.

"In pursuance of the foregoing order, it is hereby directed that thirty minutes guns, commencing at noon, be fired on the day after the receipt of this general order at the navy-yards, naval stations, and on board the vessels of the Navy in commission; that their flags be displayed at half-mast for one week, and that crape be worn on the left arm by all officers of the Navy for a period of six months.

"GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

CHAPTER 19.

Letters to and from Martin Van Buren and now
in the Congressional Library in Washington.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN

"Washington, July 11th, 1831.

"My dear Sir:

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 21st ult. with Col. Moor's letter enclosed, which was sent to me at the Rip Raps, from whence I returned on the 7th instant; and this moment I have rec'd your very interesting letter of the 2nd instant which I have hastily read, and now give it a partial answer.

"The first intimation I have had of the enemy attempting to hold out the idea that my confidence was lessened in you, was your letter just received. You are aware that I never read the papers that diffuse falshood, rather than truth, therefore the groundless rumor had never reached my ear. Since you left me, I have been visited by many at the Rip Raps; many from Richmond Va., and Norfolk came to see me. When your name was introduced, my opinion was frankly given, from which no one could believe my confidence was lessened in you. I have no doubt it would be pleasing to our enemies if they could circulate the report and obtaln belief in it, that our confidence in each other had been interrupted. I shall now take some pains (having heard of the wretched attempt, without seeming to do so) to show that my confidence has not been lessened, but increased. This will meet the falshood, and have no injurious effect, but a good one in putting down the falsehood. It is fortunate that our enemies have lied so long that their untruths do *good* rather than harm.

"The disgraceful course of Mr. Ingham, has, and will forever prostrate him. I am humbled when I reflect that a man who stood so high in good old Pennsylvania and was exalted to a seat in the Cabinet, has been so vindictive and destitute of common sense, as to adopt the degrading course he has, so disgraceful to himself and the nation. I trust you will see that the whole course I have adopted in this matter is calm and proper. You will see the moment I found he was writing letters, and having them published before they reached me, I directed Mr. Trist to answer his last and thus closed the correspondence. When you read it you will find he has no regard to the truth of the facts, but wishes me to become a prosecutor in his stead, and hold forth to the world that I keep the clerks under duress from giving testimony. I refer you to the correspondence which you will find in the Globe.



JOHN C. CALHOUN, 1782-1850.

Vice President of the United States, March 4, 1825 to December 28, 1832. From National Portrait Gallery, 1864. Member of Congress from South Carolina 1811-1817; Secretary of War 1817-1825; United States Senator 1832-1843; Secretary of State 1844-1845; United States Senator from South Carolina, 1845-1850.

"I have ordered the Potomac to be at New York on the first of August next, to take you to England in this ship, as a mark of my confidence; I wish you to sail but I am afraid it will not be in my power to meet you there. We have letters of the 30th of May from Mr. McLane, at which date, he had not received our dispatches asking him to come home and to accept of the Treasury Department made vacant by the resignation, or as Mr. Ingham would say, his dismissal.

"Judge White has finally declined. Col. Drayton was then offered the War office, declined and Governor Cass appointed, who I suppose will accept. Taney has been appointed Attorney General. Mr. Berrien has resigned and acted well on the occasion. His first letter to Eaton was a deep, *considered*, diplomatic letter, but his last, frank and honourable. The contrast has sunk Ingham. Governor Branch, in his Parthian fight, has weakened himself in Carolina and it is supposed Bynam will beat him for Congress. He is *sick* but able, (as high authority says) to circulate secret slander against me. It will recoil upon himself, it has its antidote, if well used.

"Major Eatons decorous and firm course has raised him in the estimation of the citizens here, and elsewhere, and prostrated Ingham. The citizens here, I am told, have offered him a dinner, whether he will accept it, I have not heard. Judge Overton is with me, goes to Philadelphia tomorrow, unless Major Eaton accepts of the dinner, and as Major Barry goes with him, may be detained a day or two; he sends his kind respects to you, he is much mended. Mr. Rhea is at home in improved health, awaiting the *answer to his letter*, which he will, *now* never receive, or if Mr. Monroe had lived, my opinion was he would not answer, because he could not deny the statement made in Mr. Rhea's letter, and silence was the only course. I have no doubt but Mr. Calhoun was advised of it, he is pursuing his old course, of secret writing, and slandering me, I have a few extracts from his letters sent to me, which in due time, will aid *in finishing the picture I mean to draw of him*. I said to him in my reply to his letter 'when leisure would permit, and the documents were at hand, I would present a different colouring to the subject, than he had given to it.' *I will fulfil my promise*—You may rest assured Duff Green, Calhoun and Co. are politically dead. Mr. Earle and Major join me in kind respects to you and sons and accept the assurance of my friendship and esteem.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren Esq,
Late Secretary of State.

"I write this in haste with an excruciating head ache. I have no time to copy, and you must accept the hasty scroll just as it is, and decipher it as well as you can. I will write you soon again.

Your friend,
A. J.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"Washington, July 25th, 1831.

"My dear Sir:

"The inclosed has this moment reached me, under cover of one to me from Mr. John Randolph of Roanoke, with the request that I should forward it to you, I do this with much pleasure.

"Mr. Randolph speaks in the highest terms of praise of the manner in which you retired from office, he says your course has been 'manly and judicious.'

"The intelligence from Mr. McLane is that he will embark the 22nd June or 1st of July. I hope he may be with you when this reaches you.

"You will have seen the length, breadth and caliber, of the trio, three ex-Secretaries, who profess great sensibility, and would at the least hint have resigned, but from their own shewing, clung to office until dismissed by me. They have proved by their own shewing that I ought to have had a witness present whenever they approached me, to have guarded me against their base falsehoods, and slanders. I had a hope that Berrien would have retired like a Gentleman, but I fear he is a stranger to what constitutes one as much as he is to truth. They are a happy trio and worthy of each other. Berrien found Ingham prostrate, and he thought like Duff Green that he could with his mighty mind and with Ingham and Branch for witnesses, raise him again, but if he does not regret his voluntary intrusion upon the public before he is done with it, I am much mistaken. Blair has got him on the hip, and he will destroy him, before he lets go the hold.

"Let me hear from you and any idea that may occur to you, worthy to be presented to Congress, suggest it to me, and believe me your friend.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren, Esq.,
Late Secretary of State.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"*(Private and Confidential)*

"Washington, Dec. 17th, 1831.

"My dear Sir:

"When I wrote you for the last packet I was surrounded by company and had it not have been that in my previous letter I had promised, I should not have troubled you with that hasty scroll.

"Congress have been some days in session, the committees all raised, but their leaders have not as yet unmasked their views, or the course they mean to adopt.

"Clay and Calhoun both present. Rumor says that these antipodes in politics have come together on the tariff. If this be so, then we have a clue to their joint opposition of those important

matters recommended in the message. Mr. Calhoun has declared to Mr. McLane that nothing will satisfy the south, short of the *postponement* of the payment of the *public debt*, and an immediate reduction of the tariff on *all* imported articles, to fifteen per cent *ad valorem*. If Mr. Clay has come down to this standard, it must be to catch the south, and to thwart the views of the administration. Virginia will not take the vote if Mr. Clay presents it, she is as firm as a rock, and I think Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, except those members who are Calhoun's *mere tools*, will unite in meeting the north upon a reduction of the tariff, so as to give a fair protection to our own labour, by placing it upon a fair competition with Europe; and if Mr. Clay unites with Calhoun in his course his political sun is set forever. All his fame built on his American system is lost, and all his friends gained by this bubble, desert him.

"I have no doubt Calhoun and Clay will unite in one scheme, that is if possible to destroy me, and prevent your growing popularity. We have nothing to fear from their intrigues so long as we continue the straight forward uniform course we have adopted, looking alone to the good and prosperity of our beloved country.

"The other day the Convention at Baltimore nominated, *as instructed*, Mr. Henry Clay for president, and John Sargeant for vice president. I am told that several members of that body have said that it was not with any hope of his success at the next election, but for future use, and to prevent him from sinking into oblivion as a candidate for the presidency, and prevent his friends from attaching themselves to others as my successor, that is to say, to keep you down, if possible.

"Calhoun and Duff Green are both sunk into insignificance and will be both soon in oblivion. This they foresee and are become desperate, and are prepared to do any act of desperation that may appear to give the least glimmering hope to their wild ambition. I have no doubt but Calhoun would, if he could, induce South Carolina to secede from the Union, if he was sure he could place himself at the head of that Government. Governor Hamilton, I regret to say, appears equally mad and reckless as Calhoun, and the old adage appear to be realised, 'that evil communication corrupt good principles.' This appears to be the case with Hamilton, and as a proof of the fact, I refer you to his 4th of July speech and his late message to the Legislature of South Carolina. These afford conclusive proof to me, that he is devoid of truth, candour, honor, or fairness, equally destitute of *all*, as I know Calhoun is, and fills the character given him by Mr. Poinsett and others. I pray you to read them; the 4th of July speech shews, if his relation was strictly true, which it is not, that he has sacrificed every principle of honor by exposing in a public speech, what he says, was a private and friendly conversation, this is pursuing the example of his master Calhoun. I sincerely regret how he has fallen, for I

thought him, as I once thought Calhoun, a high minded honorable man, but birds of a feather will flock together, and Hamilton has been corrupted by Calhoun.

Letter from Columbia inform that Calhoun remained four days at Columbia on his way hither, and whilst there, I have no doubt, prepared that part of H's. message that attacks me. Calhoun came on to Richmond, and tarried there until he arranged Governor Floyds message, at least that part that assails me. All will not do. The old dominion, Judge P. Barbour says, in a letter to Mr. McLane, remains as firm as a rock, and cannot be shaken; he is in an extasy with my message. So much for domestic. I must draw your attention to our Foreign matters.

"I am in great hopes, from your gracious and friendly reception by the King and Queen, as detailed in your last, as well as the confidence you have acquired in the ministry, that you will succeed in the proposed arrangements on the subject of impressments of our seamen. If you can, it removes every thing that can interrupt that harmony and good feeling which now exists between the two governments, and which is increasing daily, amongst our citizens, and will lay a lasting foundation for perpetual peace and harmony between the two countries. Surely Great Britain must see that her interest, as well as ours, urge the settlement of this question so important to the peace of both. There is nothing but this that can disturb it, for I have resolved that the North Eastern boundary shall not, because I am sure, that Great Britain will agree, if the Senate do not adhere to the award, to settle this matter justly by arbitration. Therefore you can urge, that with the present mutual good feelings that exist, how unjust England and America would be to both their best interests to permit this subject to remain unsettled, which might involve them in war, and which may now be settled by treaty; and when thus settled, will ensure perpetual peace and harmony between the two nations. This would afford me a fine theme with others in my farewell address to the nation; obtain it. Urge this matter with all your tact and talents, and you will succeed; and if you do it will add another gem to your character for diplomacy, which the people must long cherish with gratitude. Closely connected with this subject, is a regulation by treaty on the subject of our fugitive slaves to Canada. I inclose you a letter addressed to me on this subject from a reputable source, that you may feel the British minister on this subject and know whether they will make some arrangement whereby our citizens may reclaim their fugitive slaves from Canada.

"I cannot close, although it is now late, without naming to you, confidentially a subject which is constantly on my mind; it is this: If I am re-elected, and you are not called to the vice presidency, I wish you to return to this country in two years from now, if it comports with your views and your wishes. I think your presence here about that time will be necessary. The opposition would if they durst try to reject your nomination as

minister, but they dare not, they begin to know if they did, that the people in mass would take you up and elect you vice president without a nomination; was it not for this, it is said Clay, Calhoun & Company would try it.

"You know Mr. Livingston is anxious to go abroad, and I am as anxious again to have you near me, and it would afford me pleasure to gratify both. I find on many occasions I want your aid and Eatons. I have to labour hard, and constantly watchful; had I you in the State Department and Eaton in the War, with the others filled as they are, it would be one of the strongest and happiest administrations that could be formed. We could control the little Federal leaven in that high minded honorable and talented friend of ours, Mr. McLane. Cass is an amiable talented man, a fine writer, but unfortunately it is hard for him to say no, and he thinks all men honest, this is a virtue in private, but unsafe in public life, for the public interest sometimes may suffer from having too much confidence. You are aware of the friendship I have for Livingston, and the respect I have for his talents, that he is a polished scholar, an able writer, and a most excellent man, but he knows nothing of mankind, he lacks in this respect, that judgment that you possess, in so eminent a degree. His memory is somewhat failing him, and a change in due time, would be pleasing to him, and with your consent, beneficial to me, if re-elected. I would not be surprised, if contrary to your declared wishes, you should be run for vice-president; as sure as the Senate make the attempt to reject your nomination. I am told it will be done. This will bring you back in twelve months, if not, then I wish, if re-elected, to bring you back as intimated. I flatter myself in one year you will be able to effect the great and important object of your mission. I shall write you again shortly, my household, *all* join in kind salutations to you, your son, and Mr. Vail, & believe me your friend.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Mr. Martin Van Buren,
Minister London.

P. S. I need not say that this is for your own eye.

"Dear Sir:

"I enclose you Judge White's letter this moment received, he refuses to accept the appointment offered him.

I wish to see you, Eaton, and Mr. Livingston this morning, advise Livingston of this, as I expect he is with you and come by the War office and bring Major Eaton with you. It will now be proper to make a selection, and the task is one of some difficulty.

"Yours,

"Andrew Jackson.

May 20th 1831.

"(Private)

Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State.

SENATOR ISAAC HILL TO VAN BUREN.

“Washington, Sunday, January 29, 1832.
Three o'clock, P. M.

“Hon. Martin Van Buren,

Dear Sir:

“Mr. McLane having just been here and informed us that an express would leave this evening in time for the sailing of the Packet from New York, I seize the occasion to give you some account of what has transpired since I took a seat in the Senate. In the proceedings of that body, as was perhaps best becoming a man of my humble capacity at the first session, I have taken no open active part: during the few first sittings with closed doors ready to hunt with indignation for the vile slanders which had but ‘airy nothing’ to give them a ‘local habitation and a name,’ I soon learned how to become calm when I saw bitter malignity and unrestricted violence defeating itself. Not to mention other minor cases, the nominations of Mr. Davezac, Mr. Livingston, Mr. McLane and yourself were all contested with great acrimony. The man who led the van was the ‘War, Pestilence and Famine’ Orator: in relation to the three first, after repeatedly coming to the charge, the assailants ingloriously retreated, and magnanimously suffered all of them to pass without calling for a division; and, in the subsequent debates, claim has been laid in that all of them voted for the confirmation! Davezac was characterized by Clay as having been guilty of ‘infamous crimes,’ Livingston as a dishonest speculator and a knave, and McLane as having wittingly and willingly aided and abetted in disgracing the country, and humbling it before the British throne. In each of these cases, our friend Forsyth demolished the ground on which the orator stood, laid his motives naked to view, and put on such stripes, such manifold lashes as made the orator wince.

“But my object more particularly is to give some account of your own case, which has terminated less fortunately than the others only because you stood in the way, or had stood in the way of the insatiable ambition of more than one man in that body. I say, *had* stood in the way; for if I had said that you *now* stood in the way of one politically defunct, it might be called nonsense.

“December 7, you was nominated by the President Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain. Other nominations made at the time were referred to their appropriate committees, but after some conversation on the subject, it never having been the practice to refer nominations of Cabinet and Foreign ministers to any committee, these were laid upon the table.

“The nominations here laid for twenty days until December 27, when yours was called up, and after some vituperation from Holmes, Webster, Clay and Ewen, a new member from Ohio, of the Hartford stamp, in which the instructions and the restoration of the British West India trade were introduced—a most sore

business to the gentlemen—the nomination was referred to the committee of Foreign Relations with the view ostensibly to ascertain whether your accounts at the Treasury had been settled.

“January 10, Mr. Tazewell, from that committee, reported that your name did not appear on the books of the treasury as having any accounts, that none of the public monies had been committed to you for disbursement.

“It was I believe at this sitting that Holmes introduced two resolutions instructing the committee on Foreign Relations to ‘inquire of the President’ the causes which produced the removal of the late officers of the Cabinet, to report to the Senate whether the causes given in the letter of the President were the ‘true’ instead of the ‘only’ causes, &c. Either on that or on a subsequent day, and previous to the 17th, I believe the discussion occupied several hours both on the 16th and 17th, much debate took place. The friends of the resolutions themselves, after expending their whole strength of vituperation, became convinced that they were too insulting, indecorous and improper for any committee to act upon, gave them up by general consent, Henry Clay holding on to them the last of all. The friends of the administration wished to meet them directly, and therefore voted against Holmes’ motion to lay them on the table; but the motion was determined in the affirmative by the casting vote of the Vice President. Mr. Marcy wished to assign the following Thursday (19th) to act on the nomination and the resolutions; but Mr. Holmes, suggesting that if he did not insist on the resolutions now on the table, he might wish to substitute others, and agreeing if he did substitute others he would give notice on Thursday, with the understanding that all other business should be postponed to give it preference on Tuesday following, Mr. Marcy acquiesced in this arrangement. Accordingly, when questioned on the subject, Mr. Holmes answered that he should withdraw or not prosecute his resolutions, and should submit no others. I should have mentioned, by the way, that Mr. Marcy at two several times, accorded by the consent of all our friends, distinctly stated that if any member in his place or on his responsibility would prefer any charges against the nominee, he and they would go to the utmost extent of investigation, and that they wanted this investigation. None were exhibited, and there was no intimation that any would be exhibited, until:

“Tuesday, January 24, when the nomination was again taken up. As I have some written minutes of expressions made at this and the subsequent sitting, I will be more particular. The ball was opened by Clayton of Delaware, who said he had it from the mouth of one of your former friends (a Mr. Clement of Brooklyn, N. Y.) that he heard you say, in presence of a company of your partisans in the city of New York before you sailed for Europe, that the cause of the explosion in the Cabinet was a conspiracy between the Vice President and some of the members of the Cabinet to sacrifice and ruin the wife of another member of the Cab-

inet. Clayton said he believed this. In addition, he said he considered you exclusively accountable for the disgraceful instructions to Mr. McLane, that he did not believe the President ever read those instructions, and that if he did read them that he never understood their import.

"Foote of Car. believed all that had been stated by Clayton respecting the 'explosion' &c. He was followed by Clay, who in five minutes became stark mad and raving the moment he touched the instructions and the West India trade; these seem all the way to have operated on him like the sight of water to any rabid animal. He said he solemnly believed, especially after what he had heard this day from the Senator from Delaware, that Martin Van Buren was the sole author of the explosion of the Cabinet. He believed too that M. V. B. was the author of that system of proscription, and first introduced it here to invite a scramble for the offices, that he brought that system from the State of New York, where he understood it had been and still was practised by the dominant party in that State.

"He went on to read from his own correspondence while Secretary of State to shew that no instructions were then sent forth degrading to the honor of the country, that the nation then maintained a proud stand, &c. He then read from your instructions, emphasizing and enunciating much in the style of some veteran Xantippe who was quarrelling with her neighbor. He said you had instructed the minister 'Go to the British minister and say Sir, we have been wrong, we know we have been wrong; we entreat your Majesty to forgive us.' At length, having reached the top of his climax, he stated 'There is no escape for Mr. Van Buren; he stated what he knew was false, or else he was culpably ignorant.' Seeing some of us writing, he lowered his voice, and again raising it—'I repeat it. He knew what he stated was false; and gentlemen may take it down.' This charge of falsehood he went on to reiterate, and repeated certainly five times. Nothing but the man himself in the extreme attitude of passion, could give you a tolerable idea of this exhibition.

"I should have stated that Webster, previous to the second or third speech of Clay had, in his usual Jesuitical manner, had given his reasons for voting against the nomination, in which he disclaimed all party views, and as an earnest of his intentions would punish the partisan minister; he was for the honor of 'the country and the whole country.'

"Forsyth answered Clay and Webster in his best manner, taking into view the humble manner in which the late administration had knocked, knocked, knocked at the door of the British minister, who was not at home, and were refused the boon which was now of no value.

"Marcy also noticed the gentlemen's 'proscription' and reminded him (Clay) that his friends commenced removals for opinion's sake; and repelled the aspersions upon the democratic party

in New York. Others spoke on the subject. But it was not until "Wednesday, January 25, that the cloven foot was laid bare. Miller, a new member from South Carolina, and evidently the creature of C—n, filled up the measure of calumny to overflowing. He went on a while with Mrs. E. &c. and at length came upon a widow lady in the city who (he said) had been by you escorted to the President's levees, and whose sons you had provided for in the public offices. This was so new to me, that I could not devise who the widow was. It has since become manifest to the public, that she is Mrs. B. with whom you boarded; and there is a general burst of indignation for the calumny.

"Forsyth here rose, indignant as you may well suppose, threw back the calumny in the face of its authors, and pointed so distinctly at an individual in it that the chair called him to order. 'The chair has no right to call me to order, I appeal to the Senate,' said the indignant Senator.

"Poindexter of Mississippi was scarcely less abusive than Miller. The result of the whole was that Calhoun carried Miller, Hayne, Poindexter and Moore; and these, added to the force of Clay, made 23 votes: Prentiss of Vt. was absent, having probably promised your friends not to vote against you. Bibb filed off against Prentiss; and Calhoun decided the vote against you.

'Tis all well for yourself, as other letters from your friends will tell. Col. Johnson, Mr. Grundy and other conspicuous men have already raised the Van Buren standard; and I have only time to say, I remain.

"Your friend and obt. servant,

"Isaac Hill.

"Excuse the haste. I have not even time to read over and correct.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"Washington, May 19th, 1833.

"My dear Sir:

"Yours of the 16th instant has just reached me. I am still much afflicted with pain in my side, shoulder and breast, which has removed higher in my breast. I have postponed answering the various committees of New York, Boston, Philadelphia &c., until I could form some positive idea as to my ability to perform the trip intending under probable hopes of being able to proceed, that I would announce in my replies, that I would set out, if not the first, early in June next. This is my intention and I will determine in a day or two. I will proceed on the intended journey, if my strength promise to hold me out in performing part of it, and I do hope, my fellow-citizens will let me pass with as little pomp and parade as possible.

"I have seen Dr. Southerland, he and Doctor Burden have been here on a visit, what speculation not known, unless the Potomac bridge.

"The outrage attempted by that dastard Randolph, and his

associates in the conspiracy, upon my person, receives but few advocates except the Fredericksburgh Arena, The Richmond Whig, The Intelligencer, and Duff Greens, but surely the attitude taken by the Judiciary of Virginia, 'that there is no law to arrest a fugitive from justice,' is a disgrace to the Old Dominion, and well calculated to disgrace our institutions abroad, and will compell us here to go armed, for our personal defense, and may lead to, what I would sincerely regret, and which never *shall happen* whilst I am in the office, *a military guard around the President*. The only safety now for the officers of Government here is to be prepared and shoot down or otherways destroy those dastardly assassins whenever they approach us; should I ever meet this dastard my enemies may tell and boast of the sequel. The grand jury I am told are investigating the *conspiracy* and Mr. Key thinks, will be able to unfold it. I have no doubt but Duff Green was knowing to it, more of this when we meet.

"You have inclosed me only one letter (you say two) and that is Mr. Edwards dated Hartford, Connecticut, and which has no relation to the subject of Hayward or Govenor Cass, therefore I infer that you have not inclosed them.

"The Globe, I suppose, will let the subject of Randolph's default and robbery of the dead, pass for the present, but the subject of the committee of Fredericksburgh inviting Duff Green 'as a distinguished gent', and as Duff say, intended to invite Randolph, will be followed up until the committee either denies the insult intended me or explains this matter. Duff Green intended as I now believe to draw from me an invitation to the national Cadets as my life guard to Fredericksburgh. I knew nothing of them, the Captain addressed a polite note tendering his companies service as my guard, which was politely refused, saying if they went to the ceremony it must be on the invitation of the committee, or their own free will. Since my return I find that the Captain is Duff Green's *foreman*, and one third the men in his service, and the balance of such materials, and it is *evident* that it was intended to have these spirits present to witness the outrage as my body guard, and in it, and swear for Duff and his party as occasion might require, for we know, that fight few of them will. We will ere long clean the stable of some of those who have lately been smuggled into office, as well as those who are too old to perform the duties.

"I have just seen the Major (your son) he is in good health. My hold Household unite with me in kind salutations to you.

"Yr friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren,
Vice President,
U States.

"This company was on board the boat selected for my conveyence. Duff had gone on before.

"(Endorsed in pencil): Randolph's attack and war to May 16 '33.

VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.

"Albany, December 27th, 1832

"My dear Sir:

"Your last has in consequence of the obstructions in the traveling been long detained by the way. It gives me sincere pleasure to find from its contents that the unusual and severe crisis in our public affairs finds you in such fine health and spirits. I agree with you fully that any thing which would wear the appearance of faltering in the course which you consider pointed out by your duty, might be fatally injurious to the country, and detrimental to the character of Republican Governments; sensible that you must estimate your standing with the people too well to think any thing beyond what is absolutely necessary, requisite, to keep the public mind satisfied, that happen what may you will do your duty. Depend upon it my dear Sir that there is scarcely an individual in the country who doubts that for a moment, and that there is no man who can forbear to the last point with more safety than yourself. I like your suggestions in respect to your proposed application to Congress in respect to every step you propose to take; but am not sufficiently acquainted with the law of Treason to decide whether the *mere passage* of the bills would constitute the crime and justify the measures you speak of. That should be well and carefully looked into, and no position assumed in your communication to Congress upon so delicate a point which is not palpably correct; as the doctrine of a *constructive levying of war* is justly unpopular in this country; rendered the more so by the abuses of it in Europe. In all your communications to Congress therefore I would confine my request as strictly as possible to the employment of the forces granted by them to exigencies which render its exercise indispensable to the due execution of the laws. The extent to which the hopes of the people rest upon you, and the intense anxiety that nothing should be done that can be avoided, which lessens the chances of an amicable adjustment will excuse, if they do not require, the observance of a greater degree of caution than might otherwise be deemed necessary. You will say I am on my old track, caution, caution: but my dear Sir, I have always thought that considering our respective temperments there was no way perhaps in which I could better render you that service which I owe you as well from a sense of deep gratitude as public duty.

"I regret to see that the discussion of some of the doctrinal points of the proclamation, the most assailable of which might perhaps have been omitted without weakening the force or probable effect of that document, is likely to bring you in collision with Virginia. Whilst you carry the great body of the people in the other states with you upon the vital point, you will I am sure receive the dissent of that state with those feelings of toleration and magnanimity which you have never failed to exhibit in all *honest* differences of opinion, upon points in respect to which men are so

apt to disagree as the theory and proper operation of our peculiar system of Government. As matters stand and as they are I think likely to remain, there is no difference of opinion between you which interferes with the performance of your duty according to your own views of it; and the present is not a season for the settlement or discussion of abstract propositions. They disclaim indignantly the right of a state to resist the execution of the laws, whilst she is in the Union, and insists that such resistance is criminal, and admit as who can deny, your duty to see to their execution. South Carolina has not, and will not secede. She will avail herself of the Mediation of Virginia and postpone the operation of her ordinance. Of this there cannot be reasonable doubt. It would be worse than madness in her to refuse to do so, and her leading men will be stimulated to it by the pressure of their internal dissensions. Even if she succeeds most of the Virginians will admit that it is a question for the remaining members of the confederacy to decide whether they will form a new Government, or wage a war against her to compel her to remain in the Union, and that the right of deciding upon the subject, whether the authority attempted to be exercised over her is authorized by the constitution or not, is reciprocal, as well also as the means of redress. If so that question is fitly to be decided by Congress, where you also mean to go for your means and authority. But my second sheet is nearly full and my letter already as long as you have time to read. I would have written you yesterday but have been engaged with the Governor in looking over his message. I hope and trust that he will respond fully to your last message upon the subject of the Tariff. If so the public opinion here will soon settle down right and our members will be strengthened in their good intentions. Look at the Argus of today. Remember me kindly to all your family and accept my sincere prayers for your health and happiness.

"M. Van Buren.

"To General A. Jackson.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"(Private)

"Washington, January 13th, 1833.

"My dear Sir:

Yours of the 9th instant was handed to me by Mr. Wright last night, with whom I had some conversation on our general concerns, and I congratulate your state and my country for sending us a man of his integrity, talents and firmness, at the present crisis. It will give me pleasure to consult him on all your local concerns; and here I would remark that the Secretary of State and many of your friends in New York were the cause of the selection of Mr. Dewit.

"I have received several letters from you which remain unan-



COL. GEORGE W. SEVIER.

Son of Gov. John Sevier by his second wife, Bonny Kate. Taken from miniature owned by Mrs. James Sevier of Tallulah, Louisiana. Procured for the author by Mrs. Sarah W. N. Leonard of Baltimore, Maryland, great granddaughter of Gov. Sevier. Ensign 1804; 2nd Lieutenant 1805; 1st Lieutenant 1807; Capt. Rifles 1808; Lieut.-Colonel 1812, Colonel Rifles 1814, honorably discharged 1815.

swered. You know I am a bad correspondent at any time, lately I have been indisposed by cold, and surrounded with the nullifiers of the south and the Indians in the south and west; that has occupied all my time, not leaving me a moment for private friendship, or political discussion with a friend.

"I beg you not to be disturbed by any thing you may hear from the alarmists of this place; many nullifiers are here under disguise, working hard to save Calhoun and would disgrace their country and the Executive to do it. Be assured that I have and will act with all the forbearance to do my duty and extend that protection to our good citizens and the officers of our Government in the south who are charged with the execution of the laws; but it would destroy all confidence in our government, both at home and abroad, was I to sit with my arms folded and permit our good citizens in South Carolina who are standing forth in aid of the laws to be imprisoned, fined, and perhaps hung, under the ordinance of South Carolina and the laws to carry it into effect, all which, are probable violations of the constitution and subversive of every right of our citizens. Was this to be permitted the Government would lose the confidence of its citizens and it would induce disunion every where. No my friend, the crisis must be now met with firmness, our citizens protected, and the modern doctrine of nullification and secession put down forever, for we have yet to learn whether some of the eastern states may not secede or nullify, if the tariff is reduced. I have to look at both ends of the Union to preserve it. I have only time to add, that as South Carolina, has by her *replevin*, and other laws, closed our courts, and authorized the Governor to raise 12,000 men to keep them closed, giving all power (to) the sheriffs to use this army as the *posse comitatus*, I must appeal to Congress to cloth our officers and Marshall with the same power to aid them in executing the laws, and apprehending those who may comit treasonable acts. This call upon Congress must be made as long before the 1st of February next as will give Congress time to meet before that day, or I would be chargeable with neglect of my duty, and as congress are in session, and as I have said in my message, which was before the So. C. ordinance reached me, if other powers were wanted I would appeal to Congress was I therefore to act without the aid of Congress, or without, communicating to it, I would be branded with the epithet, *tyrant*. From these remarks you will at once see the propriety of my course, and be prepared to see the communication I will make to Congress on the 17th instant, which will leave Congress ten days to act upon it before the 1st of February after it is printed. The parties in S. C. are arming on both sides, and drilling in the night and I expect soon to hear that a civil war of extermination has commenced. I will meet all things with deliberate firmness and forbearance, but wo to those nullifiers who shed the first blood. The moment I am prepared with proof I will direct prosecutions for treason to be instituted against the leaders, and if they are

surrounded with 12,000 bayonets our Marshall shall be aided by 24,000 and arrest them in the midst thereof—nothing must be permitted to weaken our Government at home or abroad.

“Virginia, except a few nullifiers and politicians, is true to the core. I could march from that state 40,000 men in forty days, nay, they are ready in N. C., in Tennessee, in all the western states, and from good old democratic Pennsylvania I have a tender of upwards of 50,000, and from the borders of S. C. and N. C. I have a tender of one entire Regt.—The Union *shall be preserved*. I write as usual in great haste.

“Yr friend,

“Andrew Jackson.

“P. S. I will be happy to hear from you often, and see you as early as a just sense of delicacy will permit. My whole household salute thee affectionately.

“A. J.

“Martin Van Buren, Esqr.

CAMBERLING TO VAN BUREN.

“Washington, December 26, 1832.

“My dear Sir:

“You will imagine me a regular correspondent, but today I merely communicate a message from Mr. Archer. He desires me to premise that he has no personal regard for you, this I was to omit on no account. That being over I was to go on and say that as he considered you in opposition to mischievous and bad men, it would be his public duty to support you, and for this reason he furthermore desired me to say that whatever appeared in the Albany Argus was attributed to you; and that as to getting Virginia to adopt the Presidents proclamation doctrines, it was utterly out of the question; that you might rely upon it no matter who might say otherwise that the old fashioned doctrines would be sustained by an overwhelming vote; and that any attempt to resist them would be destruction of your strength in Virginia. I believe this is pretty much the substance of what he desired to be communicated. His great object seemed to be to prevent the Argus from running counter to Virginia notions at this crisis as you must of necessity father every thing which is therein published. If you have nothing more to father you will be well off, but as the moral of the proclamation will sustain it with the people, it is not necessary to fight for or defend its abstractions.

“Sincerely yours,

“C. C. Camberling.

“M. Van Buren, Esq.

P. S. By the way A— tells me that Broadneck is a Jackson—V. B. man, there was a sort of comparison (in the Argus) between his and Kitchin’s course not altogether favorable to the former, in the first article, but A— did not refer to that.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

“Washington, May 12th, 1833.

“My dear Sir:

“I have received your letter of the 9th. It is creditable to the nation the general disgust and execration that the dastardly and cowardly insult offered me by the late disgraced and degraded Lt. Randolph, and it is equally creditable to the public presses that so much unanimity on this event prevades their columns; still you see that the National intelligencer unites in paleiating Randolph, as he did Watkins. I am now convinced he, Joe Gales, is as base a man as Duff Green.

“It is much regretted by me, and ever will be, that no one who knew Randolph when he was approaching me where I was confined, sitting between the table and berths, in all the humble attitude of a petitioner, that there were none to announce that it was Randolph. Mrs. Judge Thurston was sitting at the corner of the table, who knew him, and the judge standing opposite to me the other side of the table; if this had been done, I would have been prepared and upon my feet, when, he never would have moved with life from his tracks he stood in. Still more do I regret that when I got to my feet and extricated from the bunks and table, that my friends interposed, closed the passage of the door, and held me until I was obliged to tell them if they did not open a passage I would, open it with my cane. In the mean time the villain surrounded with his friends had got out of the boat crying they were carrying him to the civil authority; thus again was I halted at the war. Soloman says, ‘there is a time for all things under the sun,’ and if the dastard will only present himself to me, I will freely pardon him after the interview for every act or thing done to me, or he may thereafter do me.

“I observe your remarks with regard to Doctor Southerland. My rule is to repose in all but place confidence in none, until I find they are worthy of it. I mean to confide to none any thing that I do not wish to come before the public, until I know they are worthy to be confided in; and I am sure you will agree with me, that I have had sufficient cause for adopting this rule. It is a safe, and one I would recommend to be adopted by you with our friend Doctor S. He is capable of doing much good, but I have such a contempt for Ingham that I am suspicious of all who have been his, and Calhouns satellites and tools. Still I would extend to Doctor Southerlands district that equality of office, as I would to any other, and I would treat him with as much justice as any other member in congress.

“My health has been bad since you left me. I have been labouring under a severe affliction from pain in my left side and breast for some weeks, it has changed to my left breast and is very painful today. I may have got a former broken rib injured against the table in the struggle to get to my feet the other day, if this is

the case, I hope it will pass off in a few days. Major Donelson has gone to the races at Baltimore, on his return I will determine whether I will attempt the travel east this summer, when I will write you.

"All my household join with me in kind salutations to you and your sons. I write in much pain,

"Yr friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"(Endorsed In pencils): Randolph insult Judge King and Dr Sutherland. Philadelphia.

VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.

"Staatsborough, Dutchess County,
September 14, 1833.

"My dear Sir:

"Wishing to answer your last by return mail, I gave it rather a hasty perusal, and did not notice so particularly as I have since done your suggestion in regard to my coming to Washington. I shall be governed in that matter altogether by your wishes. You know that the game of the opposition is to relieve the question, as far as they can, from the influence of your well deserved popularity with the people, by attributing the removal of the deposits to the solicitation of myself and a monied junto in N— York and as it is not your habit to play into the enemies hands you will not, I know, request me to come down unless there is some adequate inducement for my so doing. With this consideration in view you have only to suggest the time when you wish me to be down, and I will come forthwith. A letter under cover to Mr. Cambreling will always reach me in a few day(s). I shall at all events come down some time in October to arrange my house, probably about the 20th. If earlier is necessary say (so) and always remember that I think it an honor to share any portion of your responsibility in this affair. Allow me to say a word to you in regard to our friend McLane. He and I differ *toto caelo* about the Bank, and I regret to find that upon almost all public questions the bias of our early feelings is apt to lead us in different directions. Still, I entertain the strongest attachment for him, and have been so long in the habit of interceding in his behalf, that I cannot think of giving it up, as long as I have it in my power to serve him and his. From what passed between us, at Washington, I think it possible, that he may (if Mr. Duane resigns) think himself obliged to tender his resignation also, which if accepted would inevitably ruin him. Your friends would be obliged to give him up politically and when stript of influence his former Federal friends would assuredly visit their first mortification at his success upon him in the shape of exultations at this fall. I am quite sure that if ever he tenders his resignation he will nevertheless be anxious to remain if he can do so with honor, and if you should say in reply that you

will accept his resignation if he insists upon it, but that you confide in him notwithstanding the difference between you upon this point, and that, if he could consistently remain in the administration, you would be gratified, I think he would be induced to withdraw it.

"I would not advise you to change your desire for anybody but it appears to me that you might go thus far consistently with what is due to all parties. I think I cannot be mistaken in believing that he told me explicitly that he did not know Mr. Duane's views in regard to the removal of the Deposits when he was selected. When at Washington I informed you that I had thought of Mr. Taney for the Treasury but had not made the suggestion to you in consequence of its not meeting with Mr. McLanes concurrence. On accidentally since reading a letter which he wrote me upon the subject of Mr. Duane's appointment, I find it stated that he had not mentioned my suggestion in regard to Mr. Taney to you in pursuance of my request that he should not do so, until I could ascertain whether Mr. Butler would take the office of Atty. Gen. if he should think proper to offer it to him, and which he declined and consequently nothing more was said of the other idea. Although this had escaped me I presume it must be so.

"Mr. Irving and myself have been spending a couple of days here very pleasantly with our old friend Genl. Lewis who desires me to say a word to you in behalf of the Mechanics Bank of New York as one of those to be selected for places of deposit, &c. He says that that institution made him large advances as quarter master during the late war and at a period when the national finances were in the worst condition. Although I do not wish to take any part, unnecessarily, in regard to the selection I feel it my duty to bear testimony to my own knowledge of the patriotic spirit by which that particular institution was influenced at the period referred to and I shall be happy to find that it has been found possible to include it in the number. If four are selected there can be no possible difficulty upon the point. The Genl. wishes to be cordially remembered to you.

Remember me kindly to all your household and believe me to be.

"Very truly yours,

"M. Van Buren.

"Genl. Andrew Jackson.

(Endorsed) Mechanics Bank.

Recommended by M. Van Buren.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"Washington, October 27th 1834.

"My dear Sir:

"Yours of the 23d enclosing one from Mr. Rives reached me this morning, that enclosing one from Genl. Hamilton (S. C.) by due course of mail. I should have written you before this,

but detained to be able to give you the result in Ohio, but still doubts hang over the success of Helfenstine, still my own opinion, from all the information received is, that the result will be found ten in favour of the administration nine against it. This is of no other importance except the election of the next president should devolve on Congress, when it would give the state to the republican candidate. Lucas is certainly elected, as I suppose by a majority of from 4 to 6000, and there is no doubt that Ohio is decidedly democratic. Mr. Lytle lost his election by his own folly and Dr. Mitchell lost his by defection and the Senate management of some of the friends of the administration who wanted to run themselves, and, by their course, neutralised many who would have been at the poles and voted for Doctor Mitchell.

New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, have nobly done their duty, nullification is nullified, and the ire of South Carolina is beginning to burn against Calhoun and will destroy him. The state has shewn symptoms of returning to its senses again by electing two union members of Congress, Manning in the Lancaster District and Rogers one, Clowney in York District, and it is believed, but not positively known here, that Mr. Campbell of the Georgetown District, formerly Mitchells, is beaten, and I have no doubt that in two years more the Union men will triumph, and nullification be entirely repudiated in So. C.

"I have read Mr. Rives letter with attention; he is badly advised from Paris as to Mr. Livingston's absence; he was in Paris until the Chambers was prorogued by the King—; did every thing that could be done to induce the King to convene the Chambers in October or the 1st of November, to which he had given his pledge 'that all his constitutional powers should be employed to bring this matter before the chambers,' so that we should be advised of the result before the meeting of Congress, and to induce the King to comply (hazzarded the experiment of shewing the King at a private audience my private letter) his reply, that he could not put the members of the Chambers to the *great inconvenience* of meeting in the hot season. What's the personal inconvenience of the members put in competition with his private pledge, as well as the pledge of the national faith by his own act in ratifying the Treaty. Livingston is quite outraged at this conduct, complains that nothing was done last Congress, and is of the opinion that the King and Ministers are acting hypocritically, and does not want the Treaty carried into effect, and wishes to throw the responsibility upon the Chambers; surely Mr. Rives has not weighed the subject well. Can the Executive under the circumstances be longer silent? if he speaks to Congress of truth, and he cannot refrain from recommending to them to legislate provisionally upon this subject, for as one chamber have refused, another may, and the King having prorogued the chambers to the 29th of December, it is evidently with the view, that Congress may adjourn before we hear of the result; and that result will be (unless overaw-

ed by provisional Legislation) another rejection. The right way is for the Executive to speak and let Congress act, or not, as it wishes.

"I mean to speak of the Bank, and with point and energy, with regard to its robbery of the Treasury and recommend a suspension of its bills n payment of the public dues, until the Bank pays over the amount withdrawn from the Treasury.

"I hope New York will do its duty as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, and I may add Ohio, for since I began this letter I see a letter from Mr. Helfenstines District, saying he is certainly elected. This gives a majority in that state in Congress.

"I am anxious to see you here. Should you be detained after the election, send on the remarks on the Wabash appropriation. Mr. Taney informs me he handed it over to you.

"You have no doubt seen the Nashville and some other Tennessee papers. Be assured that Tennessee will never separate from the democratic party, or take any step to weaken it. No man will be run for president unless taken up by the general convention. I know judge White too well, not to know that he never will permit his name to be used unless he believes it is the wish of a respectable portion of the people of several states; he never will permit his name to be used to withdraw from the people the power of the election of president, and throw it into Congress. This would be aiding the views of the opposition, *divide and conquer*, all things are progressing well. To fill the vacant seat of Judge Johnston I have some difficulty. There are several from Georgia. Cuthbert recommended by Govr Lumpkins, Wormly, Wayne and Hagner by others: from S. C. Petigrue by Mr. Poinsett, and Judge Johnston by Judge O'Neal, all good men and I suppose true. Which to take will you advise? Cuthbert (as Judge Wayne has been elected) and as Cuthbert is so strongly recommended by Govr Lumpkin, in whom I have great confidence, if his principles of the constitution are sound, and well fixed, I would like to gratify.

"Write me on the receipt of this and if you are to be detained long at Albany, send me on the paper on the Wabash appropriation.

I have just heard that my dwelling house at the Hermitage is burnt, the whole main body with the addition on the east end has been consumed, with the furniture in the upper story. I have ordered it to be rebuilt as early as possible. I am afraid all my old wine has been consumed, if so, the quarter cask got from you of sherry is gone.

"With great respect, your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren,
Vice president U. S.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

“Smithland, Kentucky March 22nd, 1837.

“My dear Sir:

“We landed here half after 4 o'clock A. M. to-day, and are now waiting for a boat to convey us to Nashville. We hear of several hourly expected from New Orleans bound to Nashville, and hope to find one here today. My health is improving since I got to the steamboat conveyance, and have a right to hope when I reach the Hermitage, and am in quiet, that it may still improve. Andrew and Sarah, with Colonel Earle, Colonel Polk and lady unite with me in kind solicitations and best wishes for your health and prosperity and that of your sons, to whom we wish to be presented kindly.

“From the time I left you, I have been literally in a crowd. Such assemblages of my fellow-citizens I have never before seen on my passage to or from Washington. I have conversed with many of our friends fully and freely about you and your administration. They all are delighted with your inaugural address, and say if you carry that out, you will be sustained by the whole Republic Democracy of the Union. I have pledged myself to all that you will comply with it to the letter and with your principles fully exposed in your letter to Mr. Williams, of Kentucky. This has quieted all their fears and you may rely upon a firm and generous support from all of the family of the Democratic Republicans.

“I have heard much said on the subject of the Treasury order. You may rest assured that nineteen twentieths of the whole people approve it, all except the speculators and their secret associates or partners. By these, you will if you have not already been strongly pressed to have it suspended, and from no quarter more strongly than from a few in Mississippi and Alabama. I left Mr. Falls, the Jacksonville printer, Mississippi, with several others, who are concerned with the *great ones*, whose business there was to have the Treasury order suspended and the public lands pressed into the market. By the speculators was the 15,000,000 Bank chartered, its bills issued payable in New York without any funds there to redeem them, and I hear since my arrival here that, that mammoth bubble has blown up. Many strong houses in New Orleans broke, and I expect it is the forerunner of a very general bankruptcy amongst the speculators, some of whom left Washington in great haste, whilst others remained to press you and the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the Treasury order; to all which I tell you, as your sincere friend, that if you do, until after a full examination, by a *strictly confidential and honest agent*, into the real condition of the Banks, your revenue will be lost by the breaking of the deposit Banks; for rely on it, when directors are so much involved in speculation, or so deeply indebted to the Banks, they will return to the Secretary of the Treasury notes of other Banks as cash, when those banks are unable to redeem

their paper in specie. I pray you as a friend to be guarded on this subject, and before you yield to the importunities of those speculators, be well assured that your deposit Banks are all safe. The speculators are all broke, except they can save themselves by breaking their Banks by over issues. I must close for the present. Present me in the kindest manner to all the heads of Departments and their families, and to Mr. F. P. Blair and his.

"Your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren,
President U. States.

"P. S. Col. Polk concurs in *all* I have here said. I will write you again when I reach home and answer all the addresses.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"Hermitage, March 30th, 1837.

"My dear Sir:

"I reached home on the 25th instant somewhat improved in strength, but a very bad cough increased by cold taken on board the steamboat. Our worthy friend, Doctor Lawson has left us and will be at Washington before this reaches you. He accompanied me to the Hermitage where he stayed but two nights, when he with Col. Earle went to Nashville to make arrangements for his return to the city. He was to have returned but being disappointed in getting a steam boat, a stage coach being ready, took his passage to Louisville, and I was prevented the pleasure of seeing him again. Your kindness and solicitude for my health and preservation as fully evidenced by sending the Doctor with me, is fully appreciated by me. The only reward I can make you is a tender of my sincere thanks, and to assure you that this act of kindness is deeply treasured by gratitude in my heart to you, and my excellent friend Mr. Butler, to whom present me in the kindest terms.

"I have not been able since my return to go any where, unless over to Major A. J. Donelsons to see his dear little Rachel who is confined to a dark room with a very sore and inflamed eye. I hope rest, in due time, may restore my health, so as to be able to ride over my farm and to visit my good neighbours. This will be a source of amusement and much pleasure to me. Be this as it may, I have great reason to be thankful, as I am, to a kind Providence for sparing me to reach home with my little family.

"The approbation I have received from the people every where on my return home on the close of my official life, has been a source of much gratification to me. I have been met at every point by numerous democratic republican friends, and many repenting Whigs, with a hearty welcome and expressions of 'well done thou faithful servant.' This is truly the patriot's reward, the summit of my gratification and will be my solace to my grave.

“When I review the arduous administration thro which I have passed, the formidable opposition to its very close of the combined talents, wealth and power of the whole aristocracy of the United States, aided as it was by the monied monopolies of the whole country with their corrupting influence with which we had to contend, I am truly thankful to my God for his happy result. This is not only gratifying to me but must be to every patriot who is looking to the perpetuation of our happy government, and glorious union. It displays the virtue and power of the sovereign people and that all must bow to their will. But it was the voice of this sovereign will that so nobly sustained us against this formidable power, and enable me to pass thro my administration so as to meet its approbation.

“What a pleasing foreboding to you, it must cheer and stimulate you thro your eight years, should you live, and keep always in view the pledges in your inaugural address. Execute them to a tittle and the result is certain that you will be hailed by the united voice of the great democratic republicans ‘well done thou faithful servant.’ You have only to be guarded against the will of ambitious men, you must not temporise with any but fearlessly pursue your own matured judgement based upon your declared principles, and the people will sustain you against all the arts, machinations, and combinations of apostates, ambitious and designing men. Demagogues were my bane. Remember I had many professed friends in whom I had great confidence who for office sake apostatised and you may meet with some Judases in your ranks. In one respect you are safe, your cabinet is filled by men of talents and integrity on whom, with safety, you can rely; and I have no fear but your administration will be one of success, and meet the approbation of the whole democracy of the country.

“I cannot close this letter without again drawing your attention to the present state of the paper system and the safety of the Deposit Banks of the west and south west. The late multiplicity of new paper Banks cannot have escaped your notice and that of the secretary of the Treasury. I am informed from a source that can be relied on that the planters of the south west are greatly indebted, that it will take at least three successful crops, with great economy to meet their debts. They have many of them, become speculators, and are paying to the banks and brokers, 30 per cent for money, hence the great desire to multiply banks and increase the paper issues. The more paper afloat, the more it depreciates. The Rail Road Bank of Mississippi of 15,000,000 has already blew up; houses in New Orleans to vast amount failed, one house it is said by some for six million by others ten. Let the Secretary of the Treasury look well to his Deposits Banks; he will find less actual specie in them, I fear, than the reports shew. He may find the amount of Bank notes that are paying for their notes in specie, charge as specie, as reported, but if those Banks were called on to redeem their notes in specie must stop payments.

Safety to the revenue admonishes me, that all the Deposit Banks in the west and southwest ought to be well examined and the *money actually counted*.

"I have taken some pains to enquire as to the Treasury order. You may rely that it is immensely popular with all the working class, and only found fault with by the great body of the speculators and gamblers in stocks, and those largely indebted who want more paper. The more that is issued the more depreciated it becomes, and the facilities to get it more easy. All such care but little about the success of your administration, or what becomes of the revenue if they can succeed in their speculations. And let me tell you that there are members of Congress in this class in whose advice it would be dangerous to repose. For I tell you should any of the Deposit Banks suspend specie payments it will shake your administration to its center. It would seem to me that a common share of prudence would await memorials from the people, *the real labouring classes*, for the suspension of the Treasury order, for I now predict that it is the only thing that can preserve the revenue and the country from great evil and losses. The western paper is now much below par. For banks at Nashville issue no bills payable at their counter, they are perfect shaving shops and swindlers.

"You will observe that I write you with the frankness of a friend, these hints are submitted for your safety and the serious reflection of the Secretary of the Treasury. The remarks are made with a heartfelt desire that your administration may be as successful as all your real friends wish it and as I fully anticipate. Check the existing paper mania and all its corrupting influence must cease, and then the republic is safe, and your administration must end in a happy triumph, so may it be.

"Rumor and some newspapers says that Col. King of Alabama has refused the Mission to Austria, *is this true?*

"My whole household unites with me in our kind salutations to you and yours. Will you have the goodness to present us affectionately to all the heads of Departments and their amiable families, and to Mr. and Mrs. Blair and theirs. Please say to Mr. Forsyth that I have recd his note with the inclosures, that I will write him soon but at present I am too much exhausted with writing this.

"Accept the assurance of my continued friendship and esteem.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren,
President of the U. States.

"(Endorsed:) A. J. March 30th., on reaching home after the expiration of his term.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

(Private)

"Hermitage, October 22nd, 1838.

"My dear Sir:

"Yours of the 8th instant is just rec'd with its inclosure and the bond handed to Major A. J. Donelson.

"I sincerely thank you for your kind sympathy in my bereavement in the death of my friend Mr. Earle. He was a good man and steadfast friend, and when I was able to travel was my companion; but he has been taken from me when least expected, and I am taught to submit to what Providence chooses, with humble submission, he giveth and he taketh away and blessed be his name, for he doeth all things well. When Mr. Earle was first taken I was just recovering from a severe attack that had reduced me very low, but I have recovered from it and am now enjoying more strength and better health than I have for many years; but it may be a calm before a violent storm. I trust in a kind Providence, perfectly resigned to his will and to go hence whenever he makes the call. It may be that he may permit me to live to see the great battle fought and our country redeemed from the corrupting influence of the combined money power so dangerous to the liberties of the people; and I have to congratulate you and my country upon the fair prospects that is opening to our view of the supremacy of the sovereign people over this corrupting influence.

"I have always had confidence in the virtue of the people, they have been deluded by designing demagogues and their panics, but that delusion is fast vanishing; they begin to see the imposition attempted upon them, and the ball is rolling, and all the money power will not be able to stop it until it reaches the Mouth of the Mississippi. Nothing short of a complete divorce between the Government and all Banks will satisfy the people *now*. The poor converservatives are just where I hope and trust all apostates will ever be found, *despised by all honest men*. We have this day heard of the triumph in New York. This added to Maryland, Pennsylvania and Ohio, cheers us all whilst it makes our Tennessee Federalists droop their heads. Old Republican Tennessee will soon be herself again, and you will have in the next Congress a full representation of pure Republicans. The recoil in Tennessee is great. Clay, mark me, will not be a candidate; and I doubt whether you will have any opponent unless it should be by Genl. Harrison. He will be scarcely a feather as Ohio is lost to him. We have been a favoured nation and I trust a kind Providence will long continue to us as a nation the blessing of our Republican system.

"Mr. Kendall is now with me, he reached here last friday, had an attack of his old complaint, but please to say to his family he is well over it, and that we will endeavour to give him good health or his return journey.



The Sevier or Xavier Coat of Arms used by the Xaviers in France through the Centuries. Procured for the Author by Mrs. Sarah W. N. Leonard of Baltimore, great grand daughter of Gov. John Sevier.

"My whole household join me in kind salutations and congratulations for the Republican triumphs over the whole Union, for we have no doubt of New York. She will be faithful to the Republican cause and give the great Keystone State the real fraternal embrace. Remember he that continueth steadfast to the end is to receive the reward, of 'well done, thou good and faithful servant.' I hope Congress at the next Session will pass the bill to divorce the government from all Banks, without specie paying details; this is the entering wedge and leaves all details to a separate bill and at once secures purity of legislation to Congress by freeing it from all Bank influence, and leaving Banks to their own resources to Bank upon. In haste,

"Your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren
President U. S.

"P. S. I write this by candle light and I hope you may be able to read it.

"Andrew Jackson.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

(*Private*)

"Hermitage, December 4th, 1838.

"My dear Sir:

"Your letters have been duly received and should have been promptly answered, but my son being absent, I had to expose myself in attending to my domestic concerns, caught cold which has laid me up for several days.

"I have read with concern the corruptions practised at our late elections in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, by the opposition, and am gratified at the firm virtue and patriotism of the people who have so nobly resisted the temptation offered to bribe them with money to become apostates from principle and sell their liberty for a mess of pottage. I rejoice at their virtue and the republican success and am not the least daunted at the result in New-York. The noble stand in New Jersey by Republicans against usurpation of the Governor and the majority of his council, is doing much good everywhere and if carried out will prostrate the Federalists and their conservative allies. What feelings of compunction must Rives and Richie have. I have, when I read that Swartout is a defaulter, reason to exclaim O tempora O mores. I had great confidence in his honesty, but when men change their principles, arrange themselves against the Government that feed, or, when in office, becomes speculators, they ought forthwith to be turned out of office, and I trust you will profit by this hint, and Judge Grundy will be a good councillor on this occasion. Please say to the Judge I have recd his letter, will write him soon, that Major Donelson has just returned and today

shew me his letter with the enclosures and will write him. I have said to the Major to reply that I had no agency in the prosecution of Randolph, that I have to this old age complied with my mothers advice, 'to indict no man for assault and battery or sue him for slander;' and to fine or imprison Randolph would be no gratification, and not being prosecutor nor having any agency in it, I cannot enter a *nole prosequi*. But I say to you should he be found guilty, my wish is that you extend to him a pardon, and the remission of the fine, which would be the better mode to close this prosecution. It would be no gratification to me to hear that he was punished by fine and imprisonment, but letting terminate in a pardon might have a good effect upon society. I hope he will be pardoned and fine released, and Major Donelson I have instructed so to write in reply to Judge Grundy. A *nole prosequi* cannot be entered only by leave of the court on application of the prosecuting attorney, and on the ground that he is unable to prosecute further for want of proof to sustain the prosecution. This would amount to a declaration that the defdt was not guilty of the charge.

"I am happy to hear that the Major is about to form such agreeable union with such a family; be pleased to offer to him and his amiable lady my sincere congratulations on this joyous occasion.

Please say to Judge Fulton with my respects I will write him soon, and to Mr. Blair with my respects to his family, that I have rec'd his letters and will write him. A. Jackson and Sarah, with Major A. J. Donelson join me in kind salutations and good wishes to you and your sons; and I add, *fear not*, altho New York has proved truant, still the people, the working people, the great bone and muscle of the Republic, will sustain you, and will pass a law this session, if unincumbered, with the specie clause in its detail. This done and the opposition is dead and the President and Secretary of the Treasury can manage the specie part of the business. May God bless and prosper your course. Be firm in it, and alls well.

Yr sincere friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"Martin Van Buren,
President U. States.

JACKSON TO VAN BUREN.

"Hermitage, March 4th, 1839.

"My dear Sir:

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your kind and much esteemed favour of the 17th, ultimo. I assure my dear Sir, that I am well apprised of your situation, and never expect your reply to any letter I write you, until your leisure may permit, which I am aware that seldom occurs.

"I have been an attentive observer of the passing political scenes at the Capital, and if my judgment and experience do not

fail me, you may rest assured that the opposition has done themselves great injury in the manner in which they have appointed the investigating committee, and particularly by having that notorious scamp, Wise, upon it who has prejudged, and charged the Secretary of the Treasury with impeachable offenses. The Secretary of the Treasury has nothing to fear, nor has the administration, the truth will out, that there are more of the opposition concerned in this defalcation of Swartwout than the public is aware of, and I fear some of the subordinate officers and heads of Bureaus, have been concerned with him in the gambling in stocks. If possible Swartwout and Price should be both brought back and as severely dealt with as the law would or could inflict. I never have been as much disappointed as I have in Swartwout and Price. The latter was appointed from the entire and united recommendation of the Republican party, and they both ought to be gibbeted. I still think there is upwards of 600,000 of the Merchants bonds left with the opposition Merchants that will be discovered hereafter. I think the time has arrived when public opinion will sustain and require the removal of all public officers who were opposed to the administration, and the time has arrived when the Government owes it to its own safety to remove all those who are opposed to the administration and secretly trying to injure it. Therefore they ought to be removed.

"Although I regret the course that Mr Rives has taken, it was not altogether unexpected. He and Talmage were determined to be at the head of a new party and by January the opposition would come into power, but their fate will be that of all traitors and apostates, and Burr and Whites fate will be theirs. I cannot believe the Virginia Whigs will unite in electing Rives; however much they may rejoice in the treason they will despise the traitor.

"I have noted that part of your letter that relates to your Southern tour and Col. Polks views thereon. I am unable to say how far the view of Col. Polk may be correct, as my course have been always to put by enemies at defiance, and pursue my own course. If my health permits I will meet you at Memphis, if that should be your rout, and escort you to the Hermitage, stopping at such intermediate points as may be convenient. Unless indeed, Colonel Polks ideas should be upon consultation believed to be best, which at present I cannot well see the force of, when a visit to me at the Hermitage surely could not be used to disadvantage the cause. It is true, the next August elections are of the highest importance to our state, but if we could get suitable candidates out for Congress we would carry every district in the State, but in this Congressional District we have as yet got no candidate. Mr. Burton, since the withdrawal of Carroll, has been called upon by the principle republicans in Davidson to let his name be run for congress. If he accepts the call he will beat Bell easy; if he does not it is at present doubtful whether Bell will be opposed. *Shameful tho true.* I still hope Burton may yield to the call.

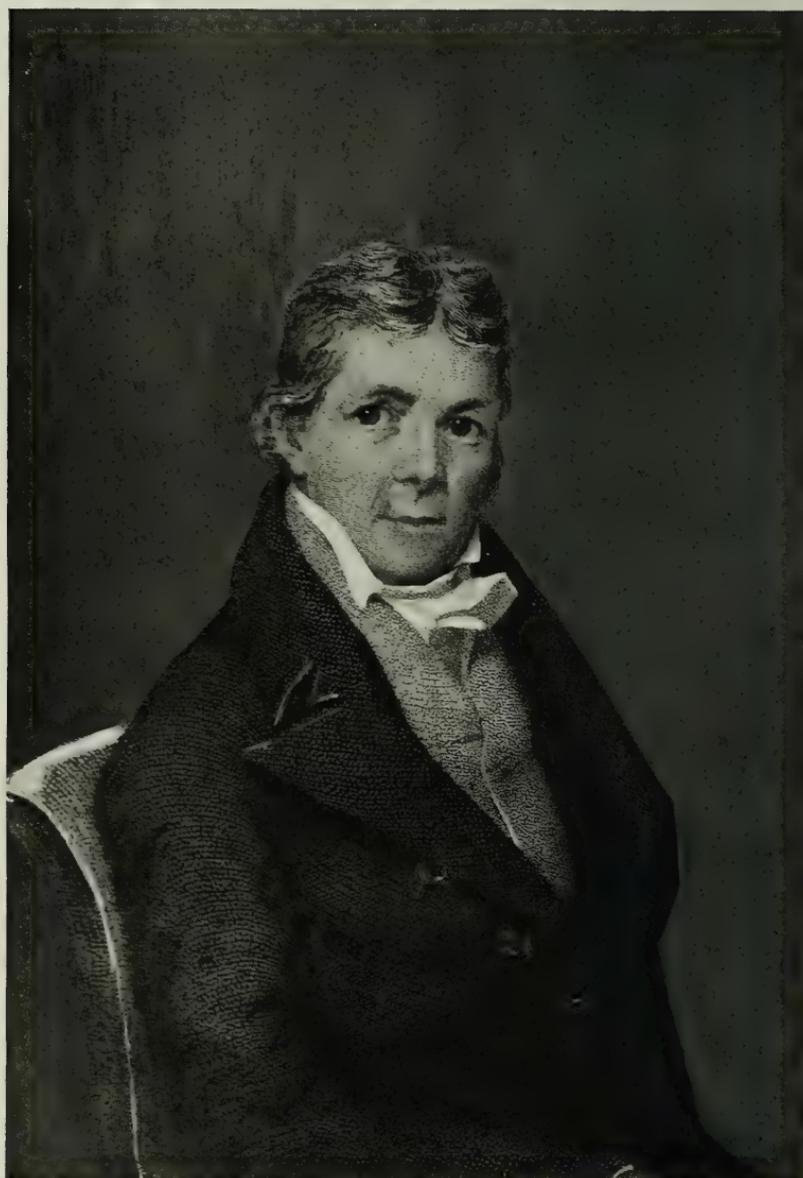
"We are now experiencing as cold weather as any we have had this winter. My son and Major A. J. Donelson are both in the Mississippi state, preparing Cotton farms. My little family are visited with scarlet fever. All unite with me in kind salutation to you and yours.

"I am happy to hear that Major Forsythe and Mr. Poinsett will accompany you, present me kindly to them and their families, and say to them we will hail them welcome with you and yours at the Hermitage.

"Believe me, yr friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"The President United States.



JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE, 1773-1833.

Congressman 1799-1813, 1815-1817, 1819-1825, 1827-1829; United States Senator 1825-1827; Minister to Russia May, 1830 to September 1830.

CHAPTER 20.

Letters beginning in 1833 to and from Andrew Jackson.

GEN. WILLIAM CARROLL TO JACKSON.

"Nashville, August 9. 1833.

"My dear Sir:

"A few days ago I made you a communication on the subject of the watch word and countersign of the British army on the morning of the 8th. of January 1815. I regret that I could not be more explicit, but after a lapse of so many years, without the aid of written documents, I find it difficult to remember any of the particulars.

"Our election is over, and we have received information of the result from almost every county in the State, and I believe that I may venture the opinion that Major Eaton has not lost any strength, indeed his more sanguine friends say that he has gained. That however will be better known in a few days, as measures will be taken to ascertain precisely how the matter stands. The state of feeling which the late election has ingenerated between Grundy and Foster and their immediate friends renders it certain that no coalition can be formed between those gentlemen. This will be favorable to Eaton as no unkind feelings exists against him, and the weak party will ultimately give him its support. We shall have a very different state of things to what we had at the last Session. Then the necessity did not positively exist to make an election, but now it must take place to effect which the friends of some one of the candidates must give him up, and I know that some of the supporters of Foster have come to the determination to quit him the moment his chance is doubtful, and go for Eaton. To secure his success however it is absolutely necessary that he should be here, and I would advise him to set out immediately and pass leisurely through East Tennessee. It will stimulate those who are now his friends and make new ones. I will most cheerfully give to Major Eaton my support. In doing so I am actuated by two considerations, First, I believe that you desire his election, knowing from long experience that you can in all respects confide in him; Second, it is proper that his own State should give some unequivocal proof of its approbation of the conduct of one, against whom so much unjust slander has been levelled. I request that you will be kind enough to write me on this subject, and if you deem it proper, ex-

press your wish for the success of Major Eaton. You may rest positively assured that it will be used only under any restrictions you may think proper to impose. Indeed the only use that I would think of making of it would be to show it confidentially to a few of the members with whom I might believe it would have influence.

"From the returns already received I have no doubt we shall have a convention. This I regret, for I incline to the belief that the opinions of the people at this time are not favorable to the formation of a sound constitution. And indeed we have got along very happily for almost forty years under the present constitution, which could be amended in some particulars, but in amending its present defects, we have no surety that it will not receive some fatal stabs in its most important parts. A few of us who feel a deep interest in the formation of a constitution which will alike insure energy to the government and liberty to the people, have come to the conclusion that it will tend greatly towards securing those ends, that you should be a member of the convention. This may start you at the first view, but I beg you to think of it. A time can be selected for the meeting of the convention when you could with convenience visit Tennessee, and which perhaps you will be disposed to do independent of this consideration. It will not be necessary to require of you either much time or labor. It is the weight of your name and authority which we want, and I do honestly believe that you will have it in your power to render a most signal service to your State, one which will go down to posterity among the most brilliant of your public acts. There is time enough for reflection on this subject and I entreat you not to decide hastily against it.

"On Friday night last our old friend and fellow soldier General William White was taken ill with fever, and on Tuesday he breathed his last. I have no doubt you have heard of the death of General William Arnold. He was a strange man, full of great plans that could never be realized, and at the time of his death was endeavoring to procure a large grant in the Province of Texas with about as much probability of success as if his application had been made for lands in the moon. Yet such was the infatuation of the people of Tennessee that previous to his departure he had sold in small portions, in the expected grant, to the amount of sixty or seventy thousand dollars for notes payable in one two and three years the principal part of which is good.

"As it seems to be understood that Mr. Stephenson is to be sent to England, I have thought it probable that the friends of the administration had begun to think of a suitable successor as Speaker. I have heard Judge Wayne of Georgia spoken of and also Richard M. Johnson. I presume that either would do tolerably well; but it would seem to me to promote the interest of the Administration better to select a gentleman from some one of the large

States. If you have any views on this subject that I can aid in effecting, it will afford me pleasure to contribute my mite on learning what they are.

"Wishing you good health, I am most respectfully and

"Sincerely, your friend,

"Wm. Carroll.

"His Excellency

"Andrew Jackson,

"Washington City."

JACKSON TO HUGH LAWSON WHITE.

"June 1st. 1831.

"My dear friend:

"This moment Major F. W. Armstrong's letter of the 22d. instant has reached me—in which he details a conversation had with you agreeably to my request to him and which he concludes in the following language 'that if I did believe it necessary either for myself or the country notwithstanding his (your) objections he (you) would accept.

"In my letter to you of the 29th of April last, I went into the subject on each point, both as to my private wishes and feelings as well as the public feeling, so that I need not advert to either only to add that your appointment has been hailed everywhere by the nation as a happy one. And as to myself that nothing would be more grateful.

"I trust you know me too well to require any assurance that no consideration of a mere personal nature could induce me to ask at the hands of my friends anything which it would be injurious to them to grant, much less could I do so from one placed in such peculiar and unhappy circumstances as you are. In my letter to you of the — I stated my conviction that your appointment was under the circumstances of vital importance to the public interest and that it would moreover be particularly gratifying to myself. All subsequent reflection and information have but served to fortify those opinions: and I assure you my dear Sir, that if you could have been sensible of the deep interest taken in the matter in every part of the Union you could not have hesitated. There has not been an instance since the establishment of the Government where an appointment has been hailed with more satisfaction by the people than yours.

"Wishing to reply by the return mail and not desiring to foreclose you by your declaration thro our mutual friend Majr. A. from a more deliberate acceptance under your own hand, I have thought it my duty as your sincere friend thus to write you and to keep ever thing silent and confidential until I receive your answer.

"Yr friend,

"A. J."

GEN. JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

“(Private)”

“Cosas Creek near Florence.

“9th July 1831.

“Dear Genl:

“I am indebted to you for several letters since I wrote you, for which I offer you my thanks, for was it not for the information you kindly give me, I would be entirely ignorant of the passing events at Washington, for we cannot rely upon any thing scarcely which we see in the newspapers. I see that my friend Eaton is acting himself, now that he is not shackled with office, this is what I expected of him, it is right, and just what every honest independent man, who will take the trouble to think for himself, will approve of. At suitable seasons I expect he will go the whole hog round—but he ought not to press it too fast, times and circumstances will offer when all will come on by accident as it were—but he should always be prepared. Duff deserves it well, but it wont do now, they are so much in the habit of crying out War, Pestilence, and famine, that they would turn their batteries against you, and although it has in reality, nothing to do with you, or you with the transaction, yet they would play it in that way, and many persons who dont understand the thing, and will not take the trouble to understand them, will fall into their wake, and believe, or pretend to believe, that you are concerned in the affair, which no doubt is not the fact—therefore perhaps better for E. to let Duff pass on for the present, and untill he feels more safe and secure, when a surprise will set harder on him than at present when he expects it—but there is a time coming when he deserves punishment from Eatons hands. I see that Mr. Ingham has followed in the foot steps of his great file leader, and cries out, *War, bloodshed, death and raw head and bloody bones*—and calls on the people to witness. Mr. Ingram is now a private man the people has no more to do with him, than with any other person, yet they will use it in that way, and try to turn it against you if possible therefore if possible to let things rest for the present, and until a more convenient season. I am glad to learn that Carrol will not offer for the senate, and that Grundy will not have his opposition, for both being friendly to you would produce a division in the ranks of your friends which would (be) very disagreeable at this time. I think that Grundy will continue to do well—we learn here that Judge White has accepted the Secty of Warship—but have not seen it announced officially, I hope it is so—many persons have spoken of Eaton to fill his place, if the East Tennesseans will unite in his support, I have not heard a word from there, it would certainly be a good thing for you, to get a friend so strong to fill the place of one of your strongest friends withdrawn from the Cabinet for surely you will feel the loss of Messrs. Livingston and White in

the Senate let who will fill their places, I would be much gratified to see Eaton in Whites place, but it is too soon yet to propose such a thing.

"I have been on the look out about the settlement of the Chickasaw Indians West, I correspond with their Agent Reynolds freely and frequently, he is a fine fellow, and seems to understand them and their wants better than they do themselves—they had a whole weeks counsel at his house, (the Agency) early this summer, I did not go to it, believing it best to let them try their own resources first, and when they fail, they will more cheerfully call in aid. Reynolds shew me the memorial or a copy of it, which they sent to you asking your protection against the laws of the States, this woule seem strange after what you said to them yourself at Franklin last summer, particularly with such men as George and Levy Colbert, who understands all those things as well as any other men what ever—they are trying to raise a simpaty for their situation. Reynolds is now gone to Mobile for money to pay their annuity, when he comes home he will advise me of a proper time, when I will visit them, and wee if an thing can be done.

"I have lately received the enclosed letter from the principal Chiefs of the two eastern districts of the Choctaw Nation, informing that a mistake was made in transcribing the treaty made with them last summer, in the names of two of the persons to whom reservations were allowed—from their Statement it would seem reasonable, that the names should be correctef, but how, or by whom, I dont know. I have said to them, that if you and the secretary of War, did not feel authorised to alter or correct, that I thought you would ask Congress to do it, but that they ought to address the facts to you, in their official character as Chiefs of the Nation—the letter will shew you the nature of the mistake.

"On the receipt of your letter kindly offering me your Machine for hulling Cottonseed preparatory to making Oil, I wrote to Mr. Steel enquiring of him if the machine could be transported in a waggon, from the Hermitage to this place—he sent me word verbally that he thought it could be put into a waggon, that the weight was not too great, but that it would be somewhat top heavy &c—I am determined to try it at all events, and if it cant come in a waggon I will bring it by water next winter after the waters rise. I have the best gearing to drive it, that could be made, at our factory on Sweet water creek, with a large water wheel, and a drum wheel all in compleat operation, with plenty of house room to contain the machine—so that I can make the necessary experiment without incurring any cost in preparing the power to drive it. And if I find available business, I can arrange it at home or keep it there as may be most adviseable after trying it. My best impressions are, that if it succeeds well, I will continue to hull the seed at Sweetwater, and then haul the kernal home to my mill here (only about three miles and a good road) and make them into oil however this I can determine after making a trial, and if I suc-

ceed I will pay you the cost of the machine—we will not have seed to use or experiment with, untill we begin to Gin the present growing Crop, which will be nearly Christmas, and by that time I will have all ready to make the trial.

“Our Crops at present promise to be very good, they are not as early as usual at this season of the year, but they look very promising indeed, both corn and Cotton is growing as fine, and fast as I ever saw them. Wheat crops are light, but Rye and Oats very fine—so that we have abundant reason to rejoice and feel thankful.

“I believe I wrote you last spring that Col. Maunsel White of New Orleans had sold A. J. Hutchings crop of cotton raised last season for nine and three fourths cents, owing to its being down earlier than usual, and before the market was glutted. My own crop did not get down so soon, nor untill the market was full and the price fallen, the consequence was that it lay there in store untill about the last of May, when he sold it for ten cents, the price of the very best Mississippi cotton at the time—but it was certainly the handsomest crop that ever was sent from this place.

Our family are all enjoying health, and all unite with me, in tendering our love to you.

“dear Genl. Your friend
“Jno. Coffee

“Genl. Andrew Jackson

ALFRED BALCH TO JACKSON

“Louisville Ky. 21st. July 1831

“My Dear Sir,

“In passing from Washington to this place, I enjoyed the opportunity of seeing many persons from all parts of the country and more especially from Virginia, thro which state, I travelled for four hundred miles. I am entirely satisfied that the old Dominion remains true to our cause, the secret efforts of Govr. Floyd to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, I feel my self bound by my regard for your personal interests to say, that those who are most attached to you are the most distressed at the late events at Washington. Those scenes however will not be re-acted. Great efforts have been made, to induce the people to believe that there exists at Washington ‘a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself.’ This is always the resort of cunning and unprincipled adversaries. It is my most decided opinion that Major Lewis should set up an establishment for himself—should until the close of the next session of congress disconnect himself from you and see you only in a ceremonious manner. It is also my opinion that Mr. Kendall should attend only to the duties of his office and let you wholly alone and that Dr. Jones should be exclusively employed in sorting letters. Let me not be misunderstood. I interfere with no mans friendships or emoluments. Let these gentlemen serve the country. But, let them also suppress the

clamour made by the public and particularly by thousands of your own *jealous* friends, by leaving you for a season. I pray My Dear Genl, most earnestly and affectionately that this course may be instantly adopted. In passing thro the Presidents house and noting the state of matters there, I perceived the want of a presiding Lady in the establishment. The presence of ladies will prevent intrusions, to which I perceive that you are exceedingly liable. It is true Mr. Jefferson had no females with him but it must be recollected that Washington was a small place when he was in office and that for every *politician* then we have 20 now.

"As Woodbury has but little of the *Suaviter in modo*, Barry must take a new position next winter so that he will be able to see our friends in Congress and gratify their vanity by saying pleasant things to them and giving them every now and then a Bite. The shortest road to the heart of half mankind is down their throats. All experience proves this remark to be true.

"The battle next winter will be hot enough. It becomes us to prepare for it by putting our friends in Congress in *training*. Calhoun is one of the worst of enemies. He is as restless as a guilty mans soul. His personal attentions are given to all the ignorant and enthusiastic. It is high time that his views should be developed and his real character understood by our friends. He is a spy in our camp and is worse than our open and decided enemies. The time will soon come when we shall make him wish he had never been born.

"Our true policy now is to effect a union of action of all the *true* hearted, throughout the country and this will be best effected by a union of our *real* friends in Congress, next winter. Let us clear our decks for action, prepare our friends at Head quarters to move in a solid column and there will not be the slightest danger. The policy of Calhoun is to create interruptions amongst ourselves. The game of McClean and Clay is to foment them. We must counteract these tactics and no longer suffer the glory of the measures of the admn to be obscured by the clouds of our petty discontents. One great object of Calhoun in publishing his "Book" was to call off the attention of the people from the masterly negotiations of the admn with foreign powers and when an arrangement is made with France, he will play the same game. Next winter he will have some new plot—attempt some new scheme, in which his cold-blooded selfishness will predominate over his regard (if any he has) for the interests of the country. Mark it! You will see this prophecy verified as sure as you live.

"When Eaton and his wife arrive I shall take such steps as will be most judicious. I cannot believe that this poor fellows difficulties will again interrupt the public. It is impossible for me to suppose that Donelson and his wife will be absent from you more than 5 or 6 weeks longer. After I see him I will write you. M-comb and his wife sent a message by me to him and her which will

have a prevailing influence upon their minds. In a word I go for you and the cause of Liberty and the country, with all my heart and soul my mind and strength.

"I must beg that the communication which I laid before you be handed over immediately to the Atto Genl with a notice to McComb so that he may deliver his documents. The settlement of this matter, whether one way or the other is of much importance to me and one of your best friends in Tennessee. Delicacy will not permit me to state, standing as I do in my present relation towards you, the causes why an immediate decision is so necessary.

"Very sincerely yours

"Alfred Balch.

"P. S. Please give my best regards to Trist, whose single heartedness and perfectly pure motives in all that he does entitle him to the confidence of all men of honor.

"Also to Earl the very soul of goodness and honor. Please tell him that I shall write him in a few days after I reach home.

ANDREW JACKSON TO —

"(Private)

"Washington Septbr. 18th. 1831.

"My Dr. Sir:

"Our mutual friend Major Eaton has just shook me by the hand, and he and Mrs. E. are to be off for Tennessee to morrow at 7 o'clock A. M. he has just given to the world his reply to the conspirators. I send it enclosed. I think it an able document, and as far as it has reached, and we have heard from, there appears amongst political friends and foes but one opinion, and that is condemnation to the conspirators, Calhoun, Ingham, Branch, Berrien, Duff Green & Co. All things appear well at present. But my Dr Sir the opposition is constant in their abuse, and it is painful when every exertion is made by my administration for the honor and prosperity of our country, that we should be the objects of daily and continued slanders and abuse, and purely because when solicited by the people I have permitted my name to be held before the people for the next term of the presidency? How disgusting this to a virtuous mind, and how I long for retirement to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage, for I assure you the depravity of human nature which is daily unfolding itself by the slanders of the wrecked part of the opposition have truly disgusted me. I therefore wish how soon I may be able with honor to resign the trust committed to me to another, and a better hand. Nothing reconciles me to my situation but the assurance of some virtuous men, that it is *now* necessary for the preservation of the Union that I should permit my name to be continued for the next canvass for the presidency. This, with the determination never to be driven by my enemies, or to succumb to them, continues me here beyond the 4th. of March 1833 even if elected again. On the 3rd. of March 1833, I hope to be able to file a receipt in full against the national debt. This will close my ambition.'

"Mr. Livingston has not yet returned from New York, this I regret, as we have lost at least ten days in preparing to make a speedy demand on Naples for satisfaction of our claims, and a renewal of our demand upon Spain in the spirit of claiming nothing but what is right or permitting nothing that is wrong, which I trust will produce justice by her to be extended to us; if we fail in this, then, to refer it to Congress for their action

(rest of leaf gone)

"P. S. When you read the appeal give me your ideas of its merits. Keep me advised of the movements in Europe. War over its whole surface appear to me inevitable. Present me to Mr. Vaughn and Mr. Randolph if with you.

SAMUEL F. BRADFORD TO MAJ. W. B. LEWIS.

Philada. Feby. 28th. 1832.

"Dear Sir,

"Your letter of 16th Inst. was duly received. From that time to the present I have been too unwell to answer it. I, *now*, do it with a feeble hand.

In reply to your queries, I will frankly state my recollections of the circumstances to which you refer.

"About the 20th. of March 1830, I was passing down the Pennsylvania Avenue and overtook Gen. Overton, who was going to the House of Representatives. After some minutes of general Conversation, he abruptly said. "Bradford there must be a change in the Cabinet or we cannot get on." "Change! What change, Sir, do you mean!" "I mean, Sir, that Major Eaton must be removed." He added, "one hundred members of Congress will go home at least dissatisfied with the President, if it is not done, and many of his best friends will become his enemies." My reply was "if the whole Congress were in a body to press Andrew Jackson to this act they would not succeed without shewing better cause than as yet is known. "Well, Sir," said he, "it will be tried, for there is to be a meeting for that express purpose and very soon." The conversation then turned on other topics until we reached the Capitol.

"As this conversation took place accidentally, in the open street, and in common parlance without any requisition of secrecy, I as the friend of Major Eaton thought it my duty to communicate it immediately to Major Barry that we might take measures to counteract or ward off the intended blow at our mutual friend. Accordingly I visited Major Barry within an hour after I had left Gen. Overton and communicated the conversation. He appeared not in the least surprised, but calmly said "Gen. Overton made the same or nearly the same communication to me and I told him that as his information had so important a bearing on the interests of my particular friend, who was also one of the Cabinet, I should consider it my duty immediately to see the President on the subject." He added "I went directly to the President and informed

him of the whole matter and I think you had better do the same as it will prove to him that the affair is becoming public and enable him to meet the event with his usual firmness and decision."

"I parted with Major Barry and went to the President's dwelling and fortunately found him at home and alone. After I had made my communication, he instantly raised himself to the full height of his noble stature and with eyes lighted up with feeling and determination he uttered these words "Let them come on, let the whole hundred come on, I would resign the Presidency or lose my life sooner than I would desert my friend Eaton or be forced to do an act that my conscience may disapprove. I shall send for Gen. Overton tomorrow and sift the affair to the bottom."

"With great respect,

"Your friend

"Saml. F. Bradford.

"Major W. B. Lewis
Washington."

D. BURFORD TO JACKSON.

"Nashville Sepr. 10th. 1832.

"Dear Sir:

"Reports are circulated here, of the truth or incorrectness of which I desire to be informed. It is said that you entertain a preference for the election of Mr. Grundy to the Senate of the United States. I speak my own and the sentiments of my constituents when I say that entire confidence is reposed in the purity and correctness of the past acts of your administration, a confidence which would induce me in all cases where I consistently can, to pursue a course which may have a tendency to advance and sustain it.

"Mr. Grundy's and Mr. Foster's names are before the Legislature for the appointment; and a wish is entertained by some that Major Eaton's name should likewise be presented, but it is said Mr. Grundy is preferred by you and also, that whatever were the relations between you and Major Eaton heretofore, that they are not such at this time as should induce *your friends* to desire his services. Anxious to decide correctly between the pretensions of the different candidates and believing a correct knowledge of facts necessary to be able to do so; if consistent with your views of propriety I would solicit a reply from you. I beg to be excused for the trouble, and hope you will properly appreciate the motives which have induced me to trouble you with this communication.

"Very respectfully, I am,
your Most obt, Servt,

D. Burford

"Gen. A. Jackson
Hermitage."

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

"Nashville, May 6th. 1833.

"(Confidential)

"Dear Sir,

Upon my arrival in Tennessee, I discovered, that Mr. Foster's most popular friends were up as Candidates in almost all the Counties in the State. Appearances were so formidable, altho I knew I had the strength with the people, that I hesitated some time whether, I would engage actively in a controversy such as I foresaw it must be. My friends became very urgent that Candidates on my side should be put up in opposition, I assented, so that with the exception of four or five, perhaps 6 or 7 Counties, Candidates are pitted between us. He has in general the most popular Candidates but my popularity is superior to his. In this County Yonger and Wm. E. Anderson are his Candidates, Horton and Hickman are mine. Balch runs at large but will get no votes of account.

"I am charged with Nullification &c. You know how this is and that it is wholly untrue. I have therefore written the inclosed to you beleving there would be no impropriety in your answering it fully. How far I should use your answer, I wish left to my discretion. I shall be able perhaps to do without publishing it but in case of emergency, I should like to be permitted to do that.

"I anticipate a very warm and doubtfull contest. Foster I think had greatly the advantage, matters at this time are very equally balanced, perhaps my chance not quite equal, but I have great faith in the people.

The Armstrongs, McLemore, Donelsons &c, are supporting my friends, that is, Horton and Hickman. In Knox County, I am told there are none but Foster Candidates.

"Yrs with great respect

Felix Grundy.

"Gen. Jackson
President of U. States
Washington City."

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

"Nashville, Augst. 7th. 1833.

"Dear Sir,

"The excitement growing out of the recent election has, in a good degree subsided, and things begin to look calm.

"Gen. Wm. White died of fever, last night.

"The last mail brought correct intelligence of various elections, which has changed the aspect of things very much to Mr. Fosters disadvantage, he cannot be elected, without some accidental occurrence. My own strength will be equal to my expectations in West Tenn. The East part of the State not heard from.

"Polk has demolished Bradford literally, Polk, Bell, Johnson, Peyton and Inge are certainly elected. The rumor is, that Forester has beaten Isaachs, and that Crockett is elected over Fitzgerald. The last I will not beleive until the proof is full and complete.

"Yr friend

"Felix Grundy

"Gen. Jackson
President of United States
Washington City."

GEN. WILLIAM CARROLL TO JACKSON.

"Nashville December 3. 1833.

"My dear Sir:

"The General Assembly adjourned on yesterday after a Session of eleven weeks.

"The Senatorial election has been so long over that it seems scarsely proper to refer to it now. It may not be amiss however to state some of the circumstances which accompanied its progress, and which prove what little reliance can be placed in some people who profess to be governed by principles of honor and truth. At the Session of eighteen hundred and thirty one a few individuals actuated not by the most laudable motives brought out Foster to defeat Mr. Grundy, but it was soon discovered that the Legislature were not disposed to fill the appointment so long before it became vacant. At the commencement of the called Session of eighteen hundred and thirty two, a vigorous effort was made by the friends of Grundy and Foster, and it was soon discovered, even by the partizans of the latter that the former would be elected. Under a full persuasion of this truth they applied to and urged Major Eaton to suffer his name to be run with a full assurance that after balloting a few times for Foster they would unite upon Eaton which would unquestionably elect him. Upon this assurance he suffered his name to be used and the result at that Session shewed how little faith was due to their promises. At the recent Session the same inducements were held out to him without the slightest intention of ever complying with their intimations or promises. I am informed by a gentleman in whose word I can confide that Judge Anderson promised on the morning of Mr. Grundys election that if obliged to vote between Grundy and Eaton he would support the former. Indeed in the whole course of my acquaintance I know of no one in the stability of whose political friendship or sound principles on public measures I have less confidence than in Judge A. He is actuated by a restless ambition, is subject to the control of weak men, and as poor Darby was in the habit of saying of those he disliked, he is wholly deficient in moral *stamina*.

"Judge Anderson and a few others were indiscreet enough early in the Session to prepare resolutions to nominate Judge Hugh L. White for the next President. The under current was in motion

for a few days, but subsided and I had believed that the friends of the measure had discreetly abandoned it. In that however I was mistaken. Ten days ago the measure was brought forward with increased energy, and persuasion and intreaty employed to insure its success. A few of us however took grounds against it and its friends had the mortification to find that they were placed in a small minority and reluctantly gave up their object. In the course which I took on the subject I was actuated by no unkind feeling towards Judge White, but I considered it too early to bring the matter forward, and it seemed to me that delicacy should prevent Tennessee from taking the lead in the manifestation of her wishes. We have now the President, and by the ordinary course of events we have no right to expect a selection of another of our citizens in the next fifty years. Such a movement too in my humble judgement would in some degree have added to the embarrassment of the Administration, and produced distrust among its friends. In due time doubtless some course will be taken by the friends of the different aspirants to unite parties, and when that is the case it will be more becoming in Tennessee to follow than to lead.

"We passed a resolution approving of your course in relation to the removal of the deposits from the United States bank which I shall forward to you in a few days.

"I have nothing to say about Judge making, but you will permit me to observe that the impression which prevails that Lacy will be appointed is very unacceptable to our *Bar*. I heard a conversation among several Lawyers a short time since, and among the objections to Lacy was that of his relationship to Nathl. A. Mc. Nairy, who it was thought he would retain as clerk notwithstanding (as they alleged) his incapacity. This they did believe would not be done by any other person whose name is before you.

"If nothing prevents it, I intend early in the spring to pay you a visit.

"I shall be happy to hear from you when you have leisure to write a line.

"Wishing you health and success, I am, dear Sir,

"Sincerely your friend

"Wm. Carroll.

"His Excellency
Andrew Jackson."
Washington City."

MAJOR H. LEE TO JACKSON.

"Paris, December 27th, 1833.

"My dear General,

"When you reflect on my sincere respect and admiration for you, you may conceive the pain it causes me to say that I think you have treated me with neglect and injustice.

"The printed notice, which you will find at the foot of this page, has recently come into my possession. It is from the U. S. Telegraph of the 13th. March 1830, and bears an official authorised stamp. It says to the world that in nominating me for the inconsiderable appointment of Algerine Consul, you acted on the assurance of others, and not from any opinion or good will of your own and it protests in your name against your being held accountable for those "considerations" which had moved the Senate to reject the nomination. It makes you admit that you were very probably wrong in giving me the appointment, and the Senate in all probability right in taking it away and it expresses on your part at least perfect indifference in regard to me and my fate. Its meaning in short is. "You may send Major Lee to the devil so that you let me alone." If this interpretation of the paragraph be erroneous, pray have the goodness to correct it.

"*Major Lee knows the account given in the Telegraph did not emanate from me and that I had shield(ed) his reputation from the shafts of calumny cast upon him by his relations Rose & Robeson.

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

"In your letter to me by Comre Porter in the June following, you observed. "I need not say to you the mortification I experienced on your rejection by the Senate. When you return to your country you will be advised by whom, aided by all the opposition, this has been brought about. Your fellow citizens in the County of Westmoreland have addressed me upon this subject, which from their number and respectability is honourable to you and consoling to me." *This is preserved.*

"It is impossible for me to reconcile this language with that of the authorized announcement in the official paper. But separated by a wide ocean from the theatre on which you were acting, I will not trust to my own imperfect judgment, and I beg the favour of you therefore to teach me how they can be made to agree.

"I had a conversation with Mr. Van Buren in London on my rejection. It was introduced by himself, and though he did not acquaint me with character of the official notice, he informed me in substance that there had been some idea of publishing the testimonials in my favour (which, had it been done and had the address of my generous fellow countrymen been included, could not have failed to revive my gasping reputation) but that it was discovered it would paint* Mr. Livingston('s) cheek with shame, and it was out of tenderness for him forborne.

"Again, this authorized paragraph, evidently gave the lead which Phil Barbour followed, and which so incensed and mortified me, that I mentioned my disgust at it in a letter to you, and made it the occasion of renouncing all claims to the patronage of "an administration which had given me a mark of its confidence."

"*not true—(these two words are inserted at this point in Jackson's hand). But I was wrong in blaming Mr. Barbour; he saw the President withdrawing in a formal notification, from all



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1767-1848.

United States Senator from Massachusetts 1803-1808; Minister to Russia 1809-1814; Minister to England 1815-1817; President of the United States 1825-1829; Member of Congress 1831-1848. Copyright by Bureau of National Literature, Inc., New York.

concern or accountability about my nomination, and as a courtier if not as a politician, he was right to disclaim having had any concern in it himself. Further, this official notice, proved that I was totally mistaken in supposing I owed the appointment (contemptible as it really was when compared with the weight of my recommendations) to the favour or confidence of the administration; for it expressly and earnestly assures the world I owed it solely to "the conspicuous public men" who advised it. My renunciation therefore was made on a grievous misapprehension of facts, and if it was taken literally, and could be fairly considered binding, may now that I am better informed, be fairly revoked. Accordingly I do hereby expressly revoke it, and I request that you will consider me as standing in the position in which I was placed by your letter of which an extract is above cited.

"Encouraged by the kind and emphatical language of that letter, and by it alone, I requested in reply to it, to be made the bearer of the treaty which was to receive the ratification of the Porte. My request which could hardly be thought presumptuous was however worse than vain. It was treated with the contempt of silence. Months succeed months, seasons followed seasons, years have rolled away, but that silence continues unvaried. The trifling employment was given to another, upon whom a higher honour was accumulated, and who had been thrust into the place made vacant by my official murder before my mangled body was buried.

"Who is this Mr. Livingston out of tenderness for whose blushes you suffered a proceeding to be withheld, and truth to be suppressed which could not have failed to prove "honourable to me and consoling to my friends"? He is known to have committed an act which in reference to a case of less magnitude and less atrocity, you have yourself in a solemn sentence declared unfits the perpetrator "to associate with the sons of chivalry and honour." He is also known to have poached in the ample field of the *Code Napoleon*, and there to have collected a clever system of Laws which he sold to the State of Louisiana. He did not run away when he had you to back him in the plains of N. Orleans. He is further known to have procured by certain wearisome and vapid speeches in Congress, that sort of reputation which dilated dulness is sure to acquire at Washington. You are aware that he first advised you to nominate me, ate his letter of advice as a dog eats his vomit, and then voted for the rejection of the nomination which he had persuaded you to make. For this double injury and barefaced dishonour he could have had no reason, as he told Mr. Levitt Harris here that I had "fallen a victim to an intrigue of Tazewell's." This is the man whom you have selected as a specimen of American *integrity* and sent to salute the chivalry of Gaul. This is the man whom you have surfeited with office; whom you have allowed while he held the most important station in your gift at home, with an indecent voracity to keep another open for himself abroad, to

bestow a subordinate but not a dependent one in the dower of his daughter; and with an odious nepotism to engraft upon his brother in law two incompatible employments. It is a pity you did not complete the work of favouritism by making Livingston Secretary of the Treasury. It would have been a capital consummation for an old defaulter.* And it would have shewn to advantage the intrepidity of your confidence in setting the fox to take care of the goose. At present this modest Livingston concern in Europe, represented by the trinity of the father, the son in law, and the brother in law, holds four distinct appointments, with more than **15,000 dollars of salary, and about as much of outfit, two of them when they ought to be in the United States, figuring in France to prove in spite of all high sounding declaration, that we will *either ask what is not right or take what is wrong*; and the third amusing himself in Italy when he is paid for being in Holland. One would suppose that our constitution required as many offices as possible to be centered in the same family, especially when it could be proved that the head of it had run off with a large sum of public money, and could also be proved that those persons, who like myself, had supposed time and circumstances had been able to improve his character, were mistaken. But this is no business of mine more than of any other citizen of the United States. I will confess however when I recollected how much you were mortified at my rejection, that the mission to Naples was a case in which the Senate if inclined could not have interfered; that I had asked for just such employment and was at Paris; that Davezac was already in full pay and duty in Holland, and to get to Naples had to come first to Paris. I thought it strange that you did not take the occasion of shewing some slight feeling of favour to me, and of your disposition to rescue me from the effect of the Senate's proceeding, which you described in your letter of June 1830, as "worse than the Spanish inquisition."

"While I was musing on this unpleasant subject I was greeted in the course of last summer with the unexpected intelligence that Robinson, the person who next to Livingston and in proportion to his means, had been most infamously concerned in the rejection of my nomination, was taken into pay and favour.

Having been by this time somewhat inured to slight and mortification by your indifference to my application from Mahon, and its aggravation by my postponement to Davezac, I was able with the assistance of that contempt which the character of Robinson inspires, to hear of this act of disregard for my feelings without

*"Would the Major have gone without salary. D. got no addition.
(sic)

***The records prove this to be false.

"(The starred notes are in Jackson's hand)

much of other sentiment than disdain. I began to reflect on the treatment I had experienced from the day of your first inauguration, and this natural process the notice in the Telegraph, which I have lately received, disposed me to continue. Seeing how my friends had acted towards me, I asked myself how my enemies would have behave. This was the course of my reflections.* "In case Mr. Adams had been elected instead of Gen. Jackson, and I had submitted to him the strong body of recommendations which I handed to Gen. Jackson, there cannot be a doubt, that with the desire he and Mr. Clay would have felt to detach from General Jackson a supporter, or to banish a foe of themselves, to gratify the powerful persons who recommended me, and to make a show of magnanimity in forgetting an enemy in a disposition to respect the memory of a revolutionary officer, he would have sent my name, for so in considerable an appointment, to the Senate. Had it been rejected, even without his connivance, there can be as little doubt that with indecent haste, and as if he had my successor ready provided, he would have supplied the vacancy by a fresh nomination. Further, supposing his disregard for my feelings to be uncommonly savage, he would have promptly announced in his official journal that it was "gratifying to know that the president" had not been personally concerned in my nomination, had acted on the *assurances* of others altogether, and was therefore not answerable for the considerations which had induced the Senate to reject me. Had I been assured by Mr. Adams that he was greatly mortified at my miscarriage, and by such appearances of interest and sympathy had been decoyed to ask merely to be sent as the bearer of a treaty, for the temporary object of obtaining its ratification; in case Mr. Adam's enmity had been remarkably cold and malignant, he would have received my request with silent derision. On the supposition that there was art as well as fury in his hatred, that he remembered my exertions in favour of his rival and was maliciously determined on vengeance, he would have completed the work of injury with insult, and by distinguishing with patronage the persons chiefly instrumental in my down fall, would have forced me to see, in their exaltation and favour, the depths of my own calamity and disgrace." Such is the way I reflected my bitterest enemy would have acted; and I will leave it to you to say if he could have done worse.

"In the meantime I have received from yourself directly, as well as through Major Lewis, assurances of the continuance of your private friendship. But I have reflected what the public would think, and have been apprehensive they would infer that I

*I never buy support, and from the above expose, altho all my acts of friendship was pure, I did not until now know that yours were all mercenary.

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

held a place neither in your recollection nor favour. They would it seems to me naturally observe that through the wilderness of conjecture you had opened a trace, from which no traveller could wander, that you had blazed it on one side with honours to Livingston, and notched it on the other with favour to Robinson,* and in the centre had marked it with a long furrow of neglect to me. They would say, "who can doubt it leads to scornful indifference; who can hesitate to believe that the President has ratified and riveted the Senate's *veto*." The letters of several of my friends shew that this reflection was not unnatural.

"While I was thus ruminating on the sad aspect of my feelings and fortune, I received in July last a letter from Major Lewis in which he said—"The General requests me to say he thinks you had better come home, and that he hopes it will be in his power still to do something for you notwithstanding the Senate's *veto*." This I felt as the unkindest cut of all. To compare small things with great, it was like George the 4th. when he heard Napoleon was dying at St. Helena in consequence of his cruelty, sending him word that his gracious Majesty regretted much to learn that General Bonaparte was indisposed! Of course before the royal sorrow could reach its pretended object, the betrayed and insulted victim was dead. It seemed to say, "Now that I have refused to do anything for you in Europe,* when I might have done it without neglecting anybody else, and without being obstructed by the opposition of the Senate, I advise you to leave your work in Paris and take a voyage across the Atlantic, in hope that should an opportunity offer I may do something for you in America." The precise date of it had nothing to soothe me. It told me you had gratified my highest and lowest enemies, and then thought, by the involuntary suggestion of contrast, about me; and for fear I should "stink in the nostrils" of Livingston the peculator, required me to cross the sea and endure the effluvia of the beast Robinson.

"Under all previous mortifications I had remained silent because without self-abasement I could not allude to a subject which you had neglected to notice; but this strange message removed all restraint of the kind, and I wrote to**Major Lewis in reply expressing surprise, and with some warmth of feeling, the sense I entertained of the treatment I had been subjected to. He thought my letter might give you pain, and considering it was not written

***I never heard of this letter.

**This is not true there was no time I could do any thing for him in Europe. To have sent him to Naples he must went to London. (sic)

*Robinson never was appointed by me. He shews just such a front as the confidential letters recd. in Tennessee now unfolds.

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

for the purpose, declined shewing it to you. This I am glad of, for you are the last man living to whom I would wish to give pain, as you are the last man living from whom I expected to receive it. I substitute therefore this letter for that and to confirm the responsibility if there be any in speaking the truth, to myself alone, address it directly to yourself.

"To escape from the conviction that I have been subjected by you to ill treatment, I have sometimes thought you might have doubted my capacity for such appointments as you would have been willing to offer me. But I have been hedged in by the certainty that you could not consider me inferior to Mr. Vail or Mr. Niles, or Mr. Daniel, whose only claim to be a successor to Pinkney consists in the stern fact and the modest dignity of his refusal, or to that other darling whom you fished up from the desk of a dead miser, and the bottom of the Philadelphia bar, to place in the seat which was once filled by Alexander Hamilton! But scarcely had this admirable son of a venerable sire been enclasped in your official embraces, before the Globe of the 19th. November announced to the world, what the world knew very well before, *"that he was totally unfit for the station to which he had been elevated."* I had "authority" as well as example therefore for supposing, without referring to your first Cabinet, that no fastidiousness on the score of talents had averted your eyes from me.*

"Major Lewis thinks I have been remarkably well treated; assures me that you told Robinson in his presence that "Dr. Rose for the part he took in defeating my nomination deserved to have a millstone tied around his neck and thrown into the middle of the Potowmac, and that those who were concerned with him deserved no better treatment." Now as the word *those* must have included Robinson himself, your conduct and language to this person, seem almost as irreconcilable as your language and conduct to me. "You have behaved Sir so infamously to Major Lee that you richly deserve to be drowned like a sheep-killing dog, and therefore I shall consent to your being employed as a clerk in the War office, though I know you are neither fit nor wanting for the place, and although by so doing, I shall aggravate the injury you did to Major Lee of whom I call myself the friend."

"Major Lewis, who seems to be of opinion that it was very natural as you pronounced Robinson fit for the gallows, that you ought to honour him with place and pay, further assures me, that if I have appeared to be neglected it was only by inadvertance,

*Duane's capacity was vouched for by as touring talents
as Major Lees. (sic)

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

and in appearance, not in reality;* and that you speak of me "in the most affectionate terms." He forgets that neglect and the likeness of neglect are one and the same thing, neglect being not positive injury but the likeness of it; and that continued inadvertence is advertence. If a man who is accounted your friend treads on your toes on one occasion, you may well suppose it to be an inadvertence; but if on all occasions he treads on your toes and is at the same time particularly attentive to your particular enemies, I defy you to imagine that he does it unintentionally.

"As to the "affectionate terms," they both gratify and flatter me. But still as actions are more significant than words, if you will make me Minister at Paris or London or even an inferior place, you may withhold the affectionate terms, and may even say in the presence of Major Lewis or the immortal Robinson, that I deserve to have a millstone tied around my neck and thrown into the middle of the Potowmac, more especially if you will make my nephew Secretary of Legation, and pay my brother handsomely for staying at one place and going to another at the same time.

"Take away from Livingston his offices, lopp off the odious nepotism which shoots in foul suckers around him, write him an encouraging and emphatical letter, and then keep him for three or four years on cool neglect, and a strict regimen of "affectionate terms" blistering him all the while with attention and favour either lavishly conferred or quietly bestowed on his principal enemies; and then ask him how he relishes your course of treatment. If he will tell you he is greatly pleased, I will swear that I am highly delighted at the manner in which I have dealt with.

"To come to the point. I think you ought to have done something for me if you could, that at any rate as you could have sent me to Naples, *you should in justice if not in kindness have done so, and that your neglect, gives me now a stronger right to expect that you will do something for me, even than your letter by Comre Porter did. I know it may be said there is a stain on my reputation which may create obstructions that I alone am accountable for, and that you are not bound to encounter. But this was known to you before you gave me the appointment from which I was ejected, and before you wrote me the letter by Comre Porter reprobating any reference to that as an act of cruelty and injustice, not inferior to the atrocities of the Spanish inquisition. Besides the character of Mr. Jefferson, whose persevering attempt of 14 years upon the

"*His name I could not return to the Senate as his moral
(sic)
character had been made the cause of rejection.

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

"*Naples he could not have been sent to without going before the Senate.

"(The starred note is in Jackson's hand)

wife of his friend exceeds my transgression in moral guilt, let who will compare them, is the object of your especial homage; and you have endowed Livingston with half the Republic, whose conduct was such as to exclude him according to your own promulgated rule, from association with the sons of chivalry and honour. I cannot think therefore you are entitled to abandon me, though a secret enemy or a lukewarm friend might endeavor to prevail on you to do so. Mr. Niles it seems has lately been nuzling about Washington for the Consulate here. He told me Mr. Blair said there was a thought of sending me to Egypt as Charge d' affaires, Major Lewis writes me as executive agent only. I suppose it probable that the Egyptian expedition in any shape is very unlikely to happen and that Mr. Niles was kind enough to mention it to me, with a view to keeping my eyes off of the Paris Consulate. As you yourself referred to the subject of doing something for me, I hope there is no indelicacy in my answering that I should be pleased to go to Egypt as Charge d' affaires, but should prefer being Consul here (if Mr. Brent does not come out) to being sent to Egypt as executive agent only. It may be great presumption in me to compete with Mr. Niles who is backed by Mr. Rives, though I am not yet perfectly convinced that your friends ought to be postponed to the friends of persons who were once your enemies. My qualifications of good for any thing are equal to those of Niles, and he lost his office by its natural death; I was ejected from mine most violently. Yet I shall not be disappointed if I am put aside for Mr. Niles.

"Mr. Rives was among the persons who recommended my appointment to Algiers. He will probably suppose me fit for the mission to Egypt or the Consulate here; and as two Livingstons would be too much for one age, it may be presumed that with the Westmoreland address, which has been so closely *preserved* he would support my nomination in either case. Seeing that you were not disposed to ratify their former injustice, the Senate would hardly think it worth while again to interfere in a matter of such little consequence. Mr. Niles told me he had conversed with an opposition Senator on the subject who said he should not vote against me. He did not mention the name, nor did I enquire it.

"Before finishing this letter allow me to say that I think as I long have done of your character, your achievements, your inflexible patriotism and devoted sense of duty; I remember your silver locks and the garlands of martial and civic honour with which they are justly crowned, my enthusiasm as a citizen disposes me to keep buried in silence my discontents as a man, but for the thought that it is you by whom I have been unjustly neglected. Could I dislike or despise you I should be comparatively easy.

"Should this representation also be neglected, should a studied and ostentatious indifference be again observed, a sense of injury may at last overpower the sentiments which I have so ardently cherished, and I shall fall like a tree, which after standing long

against the whetted axe, trembles to and fro in the uncertain air; feels the last stroke; quivers through all its branches; and is hurled to the ground.

"If I thought the truth would in this case offend you, my feelings are so deeply and rightfully concerned that I should not suppress it. But you cannot expect me to be dumb, to be torpid, while a hand which has often in friendship been extended to me is infixing the bolts of private malice and of public scorn, deeper and deeper, into my prostrate character and excruciated feelings. You can scarcely wish while you are kindling around me a circle of fire, and making every word I ever uttered in your vindication or praise, fuel to exasperate the heat and inflame the torment, that I should remain as silent as you were upon receiving my letter from Mahon.

"In what I have said about Robinson let me not be understood to deprecate in itself your bounty to him. That he has abused and begged you at the same time I know; but he can never be made an object of more than contempt to me. A brute by instinct though a man in form, he is naturally to be avoided by rational beings. But where gentlemen have a taste for caressing such animals, I have no taste for interfering with their amusement. He is said to be poor, his family are not like himself in all human probability; and therefore if the ignominy which his adoption reflects on my neglect be removed, I shall be glad to hear that both he and Dr. Rose have employment. If I could entertain other sentiments in such a case, particularly as my wife has the misfortune to be related to these persons, and as the mother of Dr. Rose is poor, and being his mother is not fortunate; I should furnish an instance of meanness which has not yet been discovered in the wide compass of human nature; not even in the conduct of the man upon whom you have showered the torrent of your favour, nor in the character of the person upon whom you have shed the dews of your forgiveness.

"I remain dear General still your
 "attached friend,
 "H. Lee.

"To
 The President of the
 United States.

"RICHARD RUSH TO JACKSON.

"London September 26. 1836

"Dear Sir:

"I write by this conveyance to the Secretary of State, imparting to him for your information all that I have to say as yet on the public object you were pleased to charge me with. I need not therefore trouble you with that topic now, simply remarking that I shall follow it up with a diligence and care that will be always heightened by the desire I feel to justify your confidence.

"I crossed the sea with Mr. Eaton and family, who added much to the pleasantness of a good passage in a fine ship. The former I had known and respected as a public man, but it was during a sea-voyage that his solid, unostentatious worth unfolded itself in ways I had not before known; and if the accident of having been with him under such circumstances should gain me a portion of his friendship, I shall think myself fortunate. His wife and daughters were the life of the cabin, rendering many an hour that would have been tedious, cheerful and springtly. They are all well and still here, finding difficulty hitherto in getting to Spain by a conveyance suitable for them all.

"Of the recent political movements in that country, greatly important as they seem to be, or the ministerial changes in France, not less so perhaps, I dare not trust myself to speak at this juncture, although you kindly gave me permission to write to you. Your lights for judging of them all will be far better than mine. To my limited view it does not seem that the Carlist party in Spain is likely to be beaten very soon; indeed with the majority of the people out of the towns siding with it, and the priests too, which would seem the case by the best accounts I can get at in this quarter, I do not well see how this party is to be effectually kept under, notwithstanding its antiquated and arbitrary principles.

"England is tranquil just now and prosperous, crops on the whole good, commerce flourishing, and the orders for manufactures in many of the great towns and manufacturing districts said to be active and abundant. May her government not fail to do us justice for that most unwarrantable seizure of our slaves at New Providence.

"I wait with solicitude the issue of our fall elections, especially in Pennsylvania. I see the clearest proof to my mind in the daily London papers that the agents of the bank are at work against us in them, in the hope of strengthening their bad cause by an attempted show of opinion in its favor here; an additional motive why that whole party should be overset with all its dangerous plans and policy. My son writes me that Mr. Van Buren has written a long and excellent letter on several of the great questions of the day, which however has not yet reached this country but may be expected daily.

"Hoping that this may find you in good health, and asking my compliments to the ladies of your family, Major Donalson and Col. Earle, I remain, dear Sir, with the highest respect and cordial attachment

"Your obliged friend and servt

"Richard Rush.

"General Jackson
President of the United States.

R. B. TANEY TO JACKSON.

"Baltimore Oct. 15. 1836.

*"Private.**"My Dear Sir:*

"I received your letter this morning and sincerely rejoice to find that you propose giving to your countrymen a parting address. I concur entirely in your suggestion that it should be the last act of your political life not form a part of your annual message. The topics which you propose to introduce in it, ought not to be mixed up with the ordinary and every day business of the Government, which necessarily forms a part of the annual message. Your Farewell address should be exclusively devoted to those great and enduring principles upon which our institutions are founded, and without which the blessings of freedom cannot be preserved. It will be an invaluable legacy to your countrymen, it will be received with the most affectionate confidence and gratitude and its influence will be felt in future ages as well as in the present. I repeat that I sincerely rejoice to find that you have thought of it, and trust that you will carry it into execution. Any services that I can render will be given with real pleasure. I set out tomorrow morning to hold a circuit Court at Dover in Delaware, and shall I presume be absent about a week. But the subject of your address will now be constantly in my mind, and if you determine to deliver it at the close of your political life, it will give me more time to deliberate on it, and to make suggestions as to its form and substance more worthy of your consideration.

And as I hope you will determine to adopt that course I propose to prepare my notions on the subject and bring them with (me) when I come to the Supreme Court in the beginning of January. I shall then have frequent opportunities of seeing you and of learning your wishes in all the details of this most interesting matter. If however you prefer having my suggestions at an earlier day have the goodness to let me know. The Circuit Court for Maryland will commence in the beginning of November and will last perhaps two or three weeks. But I shall be out of Court during the whole of December. Yet if necessary I will find time to attend to your wishes during the session of the Circuit Court.

"Allow me to congratulate you on the auspicious results of the Pennsylvania Elections. At the present time and under present circumstances the elections of that State were more important to the cause of freedom than they have ever been before or can ever perhaps be again. They furnish a proud evidence of the spirit, the independence and the purity of the freemen of that State, and give a new assurance that they will never barter their liberties for money nor shrink before the frowns of the moneyed aristocracy. The same spirit will I doubt not be found to prevail in the great

Knoxville 12 January 1804

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of December ultimo, with the inclosed copy of an article of amendment proposed by Congress to be added to the constitution of the United States respecting the election of President and Vice President, to be laid before the legislature of Tennessee, which will with much pleasure be complied with at their next meeting in February, and I entertain no doubt they will readily approve the measure and I tender you assurances of my very high respect and consideration

Thomas Jefferson esquire
President of the U States

John Sevier

majority of the people of the United States, and congratulating you on the bright prospects of our country which you so largely contributed to produce.

"I am Dear Sir
with the Highest respect
Your friend and obt. St.

"R. B. Taney.

"Andrew Jackson
"President of the United States
"Washington."

R. B. TANEY TO JACKSON.

"Baltimore Oct. 27. 1836.

"My Dear Sir:

"I received your letter on my return from Delaware and my suggestions on the subject of your Farewell address shall certainly be ready by the 1st. of January.

"It is with the sincerest pleasure that I continue to witness the success of your measure. The Treasury order in relation to payments for the public lands has I doubt not saved the west from a scene of Bankruptcy and ruin which was rapidly preparing for them. And its beneficial effects have also been felt in the Atlantic States, for it induced their banks to adopt a more cautious policy sooner than they would otherwise have done, and they are by that means better able at this time to meet the calls which must come upon the. I am convinced that the pressure now complained of would have been far more severe if that order had not been issued.

"The situation of the money market in England and the precautionary measures adopted there would no doubt be felt in some degree in this country under any circumstances. But a great pressure must sooner or later have taken place here even if the money concerns of England had continued perfectly easy. The main cause of the evil here is unquestionably the sudden and exorbitant increase of the paper currency and this evil had its origin and foundation in the immense increase of its issues by the Banks of the U. States, in the last months of its existence, and which produced as such a course on their part always has done and always will do, a corresponding expansion by the State Banks. The necessary consequence of these over issues and excessive extension of credit and of Bank accommodations was to create a rage for wild and mad speculations, which in the nature of things, unless checked in some way or other, must grow worse and worse and extend wider and wider, until it will bear no further expansion, and then the bubble bursts and ruin follows. I firmly believe that the Bank of the U. States has designedly contributed as far as it could to produce this state of things for the purpose of influencing the approaching election of... President, and I am convinced that it will now be found adding with all its might to the existing pressure by demanding specie from the State Banks wherever it has the power

to do so. It has not yet abandoned its designs, nor delayed its efforts to obtain the control of the General Government. The Deposite Bill of the last session which was so earnestly supported by the friends of the Bank, has certainly added a good deal to the present distress in the money market. The greater part of the surplus revenue had been loaned to merchants in the commercial cities, and the mere transfer of it from the Banks which had loaned it out, to other Banks in the same city withdrew it at once from the hands that had borrowed it, and for a time indeed necessarily withdrew it from commercial operations. For the Banks to which it was transferred would not in a single day or a single week discount upon the whole amount thus received, especially as a large portion of what they have received must soon be again transferred to the several states who may chuse to deposite it with other agents. Indeed it is the mercantile community, who had been the borrowers of the greater part of the surplus, that suffer most from this Deposite Law. The newspapers under their influence were the most clamorous for the measure and they are now reaping its bitter fruits. However it is but a repetition of the folly they committed in 1833—'4—in which they were the principal sufferers from their own efforts to create a panic. Then they attempted to throw the blame of the pressure on the removal of the Deposites from the Bank of the U. States—and now they attempt to throw it on the Treasury order in relation to the public land. There is no more foundation for the one, than there was for the other. In both cases they are the chief authors of their own difficulties, and they are obviously as a class more easily led astray by their political leaders than any other class of our citizens. The currency will however be always liable to these ruinous fluctuations while it continues to be of paper and nothing will cure the evil but the success of your great plan of restoring the Constitutional currency of Gold and Silver. I had hoped that the State Governments would have seen their true interests and have entered more promptly and effectually upon the work of reformation. But I now fear that their general co-operation will hardly be obtained from the influence exercised in some of them by the paper making corporations and speculators; and that it will become necessary for Congress to take some measures which may effectually prevent the issues of small notes. The currency will not be entirely stable until no note under twenty dollars can be issued and for my own part I should prefer to go up gradually to fifty.

"We rejoice to learn from your last letter that Mrs. Donelson is so much better—and that Major Donelson and Mr. and Mrs. Jackson are again with you. Mrs. Taney and the girls unite with me in offering our best wishes to you and to them.

"And I am Dear Sir

with the Highest respect
most truly your friend

"R. B. Taney.

"To

"Andrew Jackson

"President of the United States.

"Washington."

REV. A. D. CAMPBELL TO JACKSON.

"Washington 15th. March 1837.

"Dear Friend:

"A few minutes ago I arrived at this place in order to see you, but with great regret I found you left this in the morning.

"Information came to us at Pittsburgh yesterday that you would not be here till this evening, in this way I failed seeing you; which to me is a matter of great regret. Whether we shall ever meet again, is only known to an all Wise God. Mrs. Campbell's health is very delicate. Enclosed you will find a note which you can peruse, and act in a way which your sense of duty will dictate. Give my respects to Capt. Donaldson, tell him I sympathize with him in his afflictions. Remember me to you.

"I am Your friend

"A. D. Campbell.

"(Endorsed:)

From the Revd. A. D. Campbell

—When health permits to be answered—My funds are very low—I returned with barely \$90.in our pocketts. Bacon for the family and corn and oats for the stock to buy. The new roof of my house just rebuilt, leaking and to be repaired. I carried \$5000 when I went to Washington, it took of my Cotton crop \$2250 with my salary to bring me home, the burning of my house and furniture has left me poor.

A. J.

ANDREW JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage April 18th. 1837.

"My dear Sir,

"Your friendly, and welcome letter of the 6th. instant, reached me yesterday, it gave us all much pleasure, as it informed us that you and your amiable wife, and daughter, were in the enjoyment of that choicest blessing,—good health. May you and them long continue to enjoy that greatest of earthly blessings.

"I do hope that there are no troubles which can present themselves that the Globe cannot easily surmount, altho we may sincerely regret when any of our friends become apostates from their long professed principles and republican actions. We who take "principle for our guide, and public good our end", cannot hesitate upon our course, that is to persue our principles and expose the apostate be he whom he may, and particularly, one, in whose re-

publican principles we so much confined, and from his profession, we had so great right to confide,—and for whom so much had been done, as for Mr. Andrew Stevenson,—he, if the facts stated of him be true, it is a duty you owe your country to expose, and lay his apostasy bare and naked before the public. Should Mr. Stevenson not come *boldly* out and deny Mr. Bates' statement, then he is a fit subject to be exposed by the Globe and by every true republican.

“The present is an important crisis in our national affairs, the attempt by Biddle and the Barings, to take into their keeping the management of the currency, both in England and America, is too alarming to every true republican and under these circumstances, if Stevenson has attempted by his declarations and conversation to encourage this system of fraud upon the American people, which leads directly to the recharter of the United States Bank and the destruction of our republican institutions, he ought, and must be exposed openly and fearlessly; therefore, I cannot but approve the course the Globe has taken in this matter and only hope that Mr. Stevenson, for his own sake, and the honor of his country, has been misrepresented by Mr. Bates the partner of the Barings. But if in this, we should be mistaken, then it is your duty as a faithful sentinel to expose the apostate with all your powers, and make him loath himself for the apostacy—this is the only way by which you can reform him, and deter others from such a course—particularly at this time when the whole money power is called into action to destroy our government by the corrupting means of the paper system. *I say, lay on, temporise not, it is always injurious.*

“I trust by this, you have all seen the value of the Treasury order to the safety of the Revenue—all the people I mean the speculators and borrowers, in Mississippi and Alabama are broke. Their Bank paper at New Orleans and Nashville as I am informed are from ten to 15 per cent below par and going down. Negroes at Sheriffs sale that cost 1800 and 1000 a short time since. I am informed are now selling at 300 women and 500 for men. Would it not prostrate the Executive Government to be selling their domain for such trash. I have been conversing with David Craighead Esqr—Senator in our State Legislature, who has just returned from Arkansas and Mississippi—he says that the Treasury order was a great godsend to the country, that nothing but this saved the country from total Bankruptcy and of course the Banks. It is very doubtful whether some of the Banks will not fail—if the House of Hill, of Nashville, and Ducks of N. Orleans go, several of the Banks must go with them. The Banks at Nashville the other day advanced to Hill 319,000 when the best endorsed paper by any other could not obtain a discount for 2500. This is a handsome comment upon the system of Banking. I have done my duty to my country and my God, have given my opinion freely as to the Treasury order, and in truth can say as far as I am informed and believe, that with the great body of the people the Treasury order

is the most popular, as well as the most just, (it keeps our coin at home) of any of my official acts. I thought it absolutely necessary at the time, and its continuation imperious now, for the safety of the revenue, and prosperity of the present administration. This you are at liberty to say to all concerned—the gamblers and speculators in and out of Congress, unite with the opposition to deny it. *None else* you may rely on it.

“My health is slowly improving but it varies with our late variable weather. We have had it as hot as in May, and again very cold with frost and ice. A frost on yesterday which has cut down the corn, killed our early potatoes, and I think all the fruit, and I am now suffering with a sore throat and severe cough with a return of the old complaint in the side. But my dear Sir how grateful I am to you and your amiable lady for your kind solicitude for my health. Say to Mrs. Blair, I found my cattle poor but otherwise a fine Stock, and I intend to rear for her a real short horned, but before I can give it, you and she must come to see us, with your dear Elisa and your sons if with you.

“Our dear little ones have been unwell with bad colds. Rachel is constantly talking about you all—she says, she knows Mrs. Blair will not forget her and Andrew, because she cut off a lock of each of their hair, and she is shure she never will forget Mrs. Blair because she looks at the shawl every day that Mrs. Blair gave her. My whole Household cordially unite with me in kind salutations to you and yours and prayers for your wellfare and happiness and believe me your sincere friend,

“Andrew Jackson.

“F. P. Blair Esqr.

“P. S. I wish you to write me often and I pray you to have the journals of the proceedings of Wise and Goodlows (?) committees sent on to me, if not already forwarded. Proceed with the Globe in your old fearless manner, and you will succeed, but no temporising or you are all lost, rely on this.

“Say to Governor Woodbury, with my kind regards accompanied with that of all my family, that I have recd his letter with the enclosure, for which I thank him, and the first day I am able, will write him—present me kindly to the president, Mr. Butler, M. Forsythe, Mr. Kendall and Mr. Poinset and their families .A.J. “N. B. I have presented your kind regards to Mary Donelson and read your note to her. The Major and children desire to be presented to you all in the kindest manner.

ANDREW JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

“Hermitage April 24th. 1837.

“My Dear Sir,

“Your letter of the 10th. instant is just recd—your former letter came safely to hand and was replied to in full by me to which I refer you. The Treasury order will be found in the end to have saved the deposit Banks and the revenue. It may be before this

reaches you that the Mississippi Banks may have suspended specie payments. If Hill of Nashville, and Duks of New orleans *fails*, the Nashville Banks goes with them—great exertions are making by the Nashville Banks to save there Houses—it is said upwards of million has been advanced to them by their Banks, when no one else can get a single discount—this is enough to shew the corruption of the paper system, and if the administration acts wisely and retains in force the Treasury order—the people, the real working classes, *the great bone and sinew of this union, will* it, and drive from circulation all notes under 20 if not under 50.

“I have done my duty—my only anxiety now is for the success of the present administration—but if it listens to Biddle and his satellites—becomes alarmed, and under the panic endeavoured to be raised by Biddle and his corrupt mercenary merchants, who are endeavouring to deprive the country of its specie and adopt the paper system as a currency in open violation of the constitution and the destruction of the labour of the country, it will fall. If the administration follows the wishes of the people—introducing with all its energy and power the constitutional currency, gold and silver coin, it will succeed and our country be prosperous. If it does not, it will be hurled from the confidence of the people, and lost. Remember the panic I passed thro, the present will pass away as soon as all the over traders, gamblers in stocks, and lands, are broke. Hundreds are yet to fail, remember what I told you about the time I issued the Treasury order. Some of our senators and their connections are yet, I fear, to fail. The Banks cannot save them. Negroes are down in Alabama and Mississippi from \$1000, to \$400 and 300, this at sheriffs sale. It is my opinion that 50 million would scarcely relieve these two states and no person here will receive their notes and the woodcutters will not let the steam boats have their wood for their notes. You will now see the real virtue of the treasury order. It is the only safety for the revenue and the only thing that can save the Banks.

“I have no copy of my nomination of the minister to Texas, but the President can furnish it or perhaps Mr. Forsyth may have a copy, his clerk copied it.

“All my household join me in prayers for the happiness of you and yours, write me often—and if you know the conclusion about the treasury order, give me the result confidentially—and whether the E. counsel are divided, and if so how yours

“Andrew Jackson.

“F. P. Blair Esqr.”

ANDREW JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

“Hermitage June 5th. 1837.

“My dear Sir:

“It has been some time since I wrote you and since I heard from you or any of the heads of Departments. I began to fear that you were all struck dumb by the present panic & pressure but my fears were disapated by the receipt of a letter from Mr. Van Buren which evinces firmness and good spirits

“An undeviating firm course, no temporising, and all will be well.

“You know I hate the paper system, and believe all Banks to be corruptly administered, there whole object to make money and like the aristocratic merchants if money can be made alls well, regardless of the injury to the people or the Government.

“The Government ought to seperate itself from all Banks, unless those of Deposit, & Exchange—and as all have forfeighted their charters, I hope none will be legalised to issue paper under \$50, or at least \$20.

“I am quite unwell today, but as I was writing to Mr. Van Buren in answer to his, I take my pen to say to you, write & give me your opinion of the measure in view to be recommended to the called session of Congress.

“The Whigs will make a dead set for a charter of Biddles, or a national Bank and I am told our friend Major Lewis whilst in Nashville was urging the necessity, but in my presence, altho the subject was named, he was silent. It is a misfortune to an administration, to have its officers operating against it silently, they do more injury this way, than openly.

“Sarah, Andrew & the children with Col. Earle all join me in kind regards to you & yr family are all well but the old Lady is with Sarah awaiting the troubling of the waters. I will in a few days send you my review of Judge Whites testimony, if the Editor of the Union keeps sober long enough. We are distrayed for the want of a sober talented Editor, & our public men appear, somehow, to be paralised. The rest of my life is retirement & ease, still I cannot in times like these, be silent, I must speak. Write soon & believe me

“Yr friend

“Andrew Jackson.

‘Francis P. Blair Esqr.

“P. S. Say to Mrs. Blair that Rachel still recollects her.

The boy grows finely, if you see Mrs. Forsyth say so to her with all our regards.

“P. S. We have been in a gloom until 8 days past about our crops, nothing like this spring have I ever seen, our cotton seed lay seven weeks without vegetating, many has plowed it up & planted corn. Our corn did not grow, had the appearance of dying—although we had a fine season & from Frost turned very warm. Our cotton came up & I have never before seen such a growth. In 8 days came up & has 4 leaves & corn growing finely and good prospects of plenty of corn & oats and gives us all cheering countenances.

A. J.”

RICHARD RUSH TO ANDREW JACKSON.

"London August 12, 1837.

"Dear Sir:

"The Earl of Clarendon, an amiable and excellent nobleman, and possessing an accomplished and enlightened mind, endeared himself to me when I was formerly in this country, by his constant liberality and good will towards ours on occasions when either could be manifested, although, I must add, that he is of the conservative or tory party in England—without however taking any active part in politics. During my present visit, I find the same feelings in him towards our country, and experience renewals of the personal kindness I formerly had from him. He has a high respect for your character, and has been not an inattentive observer of American events during your administration; which, I am sorry but forced to say, is not very frequently the case with persons of his peculiar position and rank in English society. In my intercourse with him, we have often spoken of you. He is now not far from 80, yet walks all about his country estate, where I have been to see him, and enjoys his friends at table and otherwise as if he were 40—as I hope, my dear Sir, you may long be able to do. His philosophic nature and principles lead him to be opposed to duelling, and he has adopted the opinion that you will prevent it in the United States. The plan he has in view is contained on the paper I enclose. I have ventured to intimate my fears to him as to its practicability in the present state of the world, and above all whilst the state of manners in Europe keeps the custom up; but I feel sure that you will receive kindly whatever comes with such good intentions and from so pure a source. I have also enclosed his letter to me, as in part explanatory of his opinions. It is not his wish that his plan should be published, but I take pleasure in transmitting it, if for no other reason than that it enables me to write to you again so soon after my letter of last month.

"The English elections are nearly over, with a gain, as far as yet known, to the conservative strength.

"But this and ever thing else abroad, must now be lost sight of with Americans in the peculiar interest of our own public affairs. At this foreign point, I hear so much and exclusively of the bank's power, and its English connexions and our travelling whigs join in making such a clamor about what it is to do when the extra session of congress assembles in September, that sometimes I am a little uneasy; but will never seriously believe, unless unhappily I should see it come to pass, that our country will consent to bow its neck to so stock-jobbing a race. I long to be back again for the mere sake of contributing my mite towards the resolute contest that must be waged against it in every shape and form.

"Sincerely hoping that this may find you in good health, I remain, dear Sir, with the highest respect, and constant renewals of attachment.

"Most faithfully yours

"General Jackson."

"Richard Rush.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER TO JACKSON.

"New York March 16th. 1839.

"My dear Sir:

"I cannot allow the accompanying official letter to go without some recognition of the ancient, and I trust, perpetual ties which have heretofore connected us.

"You may be very sure, that I am alive to every thing that concerns your happiness; and that nothing gives me more pleasure than to hear of your good health & personal comfort. It has been to me & to my family, as well as to many thousands of your friends, a very great source of gratification, that in your retirement, you have felt it your privilege & duty to take upon you the sacred relations you have recently assumed. Believe me, that it made my heart beat with joy, to receive the intelligence of this step. I hope it will be the means, not only of great good to yourself, but of good also to the world.

"I have not time to add more than that my family, or rather those at home, my eldest boy being in Europe, are all well; and to present my kind remembrances to your whole household, and also to Major Donelson.

"I am as always, faithfully

"Your friend

"B. F. Butler.

"General Andrew Jackson

"Nashville."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage June 5th. 1839.

"My dear Sir:

"I have recd. your letters of the 20th. and 26th. of May last, and hasten to reply. I rejoice in your good spirits, and the pleasing prospects in Virginia. The cause of republicanism is gaining everywhere and we look to the elections in August next in Tennessee with pleasing anticipations of victory. The election of the Governor and a majority to Congress, with a republican majority in the Legislature. The cause of the people will triumph, modern Whiggery is on the decline and will soon die the death of the wicked.

"I hope as you have recd. my letter, my deposition has reached the clerks office safe. Major A. J. Donelsons is with it and I hope you will find it in due form, regular and full answers to all the interrogations.

"I sincerely thank you for the correction of that unwarrantable statement on oath of Old Ringgold. There never was more gross falsehoods than he has stated. Governor had my deposition taken. But as it did not suit him and give the negative to all which it appears Ringgold has deposed to, Mr. Butler writes me the Governor would not produce it. What a set of villians we were surrounded with in Washington—fair exteriors with daggers in

their hearts, no wonder then that the confiding Barry fell a victim to their treachery and dishonesty. Even Mayo, that the Secretary of War and myself kept literally from starving, under the appearance of friendship, purloined my confidential letter, handed it to Adams to do me an injury. This will recoil upon these confederate scamps heads, I hope. Say to my friend Key to spare them not as the receiver of stolen goods is as bad as the thief.

"I have conveyed to Major Donelson your message. The Major when he gets through the engagements on hand with his colts will sell out and break up his training establishment, having run his stock in to credit, will breed to sell.

"Please present my respects to Major Noland and say to him I have received his letter, have had my pen in hand to answer it but company has interfered to prevent it and the late affliction in my head renders me at least half my time unable to write. I will write him soon, the little ones with Sarah and Andrew send their kind regard to him.

"We look forward with pleasing anticipations of seeing you and your dear wife and daughter at the Hermitage next September when me and my Household can congratulate you on the success of the Republican cause, and your sure prospects of election as printer to the House of Representatives, and a good Democrat as Speaker. My whole household unite in kind salutations to you and yours.

"With our kind regards to the president and all the heads of Departments, with best wishes for their triumph over their calumniators, I remain your friend.

"Andrew Jackson.

"F. P. Blair Esqr.

"P. S. Read and dispose of the confidential note enclosed and aid as far as you can the object desired. I have heretofore wrote the president and Secretary of War upon this subject and have wrote Judge Grundy today

"A. J."

JACKSON TO GEN'L. SAMUEL J. HAYS.

"Hermitage, Decbr. 20th. 1839.

'My dear Saml:

"I am happy to hear from Mr. Chester's old Moses that you had entirely recovered your health and strength, before you went down to your place and hope Mrs. Hays and children are well. We now enjoy health here but myself and mine is checkered as usual, but the present invitations of the citizens of New Orleans, and those of the State of Mississippi, with the great solicitude of our friends elsewhere, has induced me to make the effort to be at New Orleans on the 8th. of January. For this purpose I will be at Memphis on the 2nd. of Januray next, where, if it was convenient for you and Doctor Saml. Donelson to meet me, it would give me pleasure to see you. Perhaps it would be convenient for you to go down to New Orleans with us. I would be pleased to see the Dr.

on a little business. Please see the three Memphis Donelsons, and give my regards to them and Mr. John Donelson's family. Present Mr and Mrs. Jackson's kind respects with mine to Mrs. Hays and kiss your dear children for me and believe me your affectionate uncle.

“Andrew Jackson.

“Major Genl. Saml. J. Hays
 ———, the morning
 ———P. O. Shelby County,
 “Western District, Tennessee.”

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

“Hermitage, January 5th. 1841.

“My dear Sir:

“I am happy to see, from the columns of the Globe, that you have returned from the Havana and are again seated in your arm chair, noticing with an attentive eye the movements of the great leaders of the combined opposition. The attack made by Mr. Webster on the president and secretary of the treasury, displays a want of candor and fair dealing. Unworthy of an honorable mind. But this throwing of an anker a head to shield the contemplated extravagance and folly of the succeeding administration, is well developed by the well timed and appropriate reply of Mr. Wright. Mr. Webster by this reply is displayed to the world either devoid of financial information or perversely wicked, whose aim is to deceive the people, and blind them to the contemplated adoption of a national bank, high tariff, and public debt, the secret measures of Mr. Webster and his party. Mr. Wright has fully exposed him.

“Col. Benton's Log Cabin bill is an excellent move. It places Clay in a position that he must vote for the bill, or expose his hypocrisy in all his speeches he made during the late canvas for the presidency. His speech at Nashville ought to be brought to his view in which he concluded, by the emphatic appeal to the congregated assembly, “Yes,” said he, “fellow citizens the battle is now between the Log Cabins and the palaces” Mr. Clay betook himself to the “palaces” and the Log Cabin men to Mr. Fosters old field there to eat their homely fare, and the canopy their covering, and I have no doubt when the vote is taken on Col. Benton's bill, he will forsake the cabin boys and betake himself to the palaces, leaving the cabin boys to shift for themselves. We will see. Present me to Col. Benton. This movement of his will compel these demagogues to vote for his bill or destroy them in the south and west. Let Benton's speech be published and widely circulated with the yeas and nays upon it.

“I hope you will be elected by this congress as public printer. This will be an important matter to the democracy and a heart-rendering disappointment to the Whigs. This I hope will be done.

“Write me and let me know whether there are any defections in the democratic ranks in congress, whether we have not still a

majority in both Houses. Present my kind regards with that of Andrew and lady to Mrs. Blair and your household, receive the same for yourself and believe me your friend.

“Andrew Jackson.

“F. P. Blair, Esqr.

“P. S. My Nephew Col. A. J. Hutchings of whom I enquired about in my letter to you has got home, but very low. I hope your daughter will receive much benefit by the change of climate Where is your sons and how are they?

“A. J.”

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

“Hermitage, February 19th, 1841.

“My Dear Sir:

“On the receipt of your last letter on the subject of the so called session of Congress, not being able to go to Nashville, I solicited an interview with Governor Polk, who with Genl. Armstrong, visited me on yesterday, when we discussed the matter fully, and took a view of this subject with all its bearings and consequences. The Governor has the subject under consideration and in due time will conclude. But I assure you, under all the circumstances of the case, taking into view our situation here, the various aspirants for the Senate, the division of the Democratic members of the Legislatures on this subject, makes caution and enquiry necessary, for if division in the Democratic ranks should take place on the subject of a choice for Senator, the whigs might succeed in electing the Senator which would be unfortunate. At last election it was with great difficulty we could bring about harmony amongst the republican members to elect General Anderson. There would be no difficulty in the Governor determining on a call of the Legislature if it could be ascertained that the Legislature would unite upon our present Senators and elect them, but there are at least a half a dozen of aspirants looking to the Senators place and a division in our ranks at present might be fatal to the Democracy of Tennessee at present, when it is believed that the republican cause is gaining daily, and against our next regular election, we will be able to get a triumphant majority in our State Legislature. The unnecessary call of an extra session by Harrison will, if properly managed by our speakers, open the eyes of the deluded people and prostrate the Whigs who have been crying out retrenchment and reform, and before Harrison gets into the chair of State are crying out for an extra session which will cost the people half a million and the call of State Legislature half a million more. This with other causes which I pass over makes the Governor deliberate and enquire but when he comes to decide, after the call of the extra session he will decide upon the subject rightly. You will please to say to General Anderson and Mr. Nicholson that I have seen the Governor, who has the subject of a call of the Legislature under serious consideration when the proclamation of the president elect

is made for a call session of Congress, will be ready to act upon the subject: that there are many important consideration necessary to be here taken into view before the Governor can come to a final conclusion on this matter. Please with my complements to these gentlemen say to them I should have wrote each of them but I am not able. I have not been out of my house since I wrote you last.

"Please give me information how the Senate will stand next Congress on the repeal of the subtreasury Bank question and of the distribution land bill. I hope your friend in Congress will elect you printer. This is all important for in two years we will a large majority in the House of Representatives. I have just seen the entry of General Harrison in your city. He is playing the part of the Ohio blacksmith. How disgraceful to this Union. I always knew he had no common sense and the signs are ominous of his fate, and the breaking of the cord bearing the flags of the States may be ominous of the dissolution of this glorious union under his administration. Was there ever such a spectacle as the president elect roaming over the country speaking to the people, abusing the president in power. *Never* and from this Harrison came before his inauguration, we have nothing to expect of him but the height of folly and madness throughout his term. I pray to God that He may preserve our glorious union under Harrison's weakness, vanity and folly.

"We are looking forward to the rise of Congress when we shall have the pleasure of seeing you and family at the Hermitage. I and my household kindly salute you and yours and rejoice to hear that your dear daughter is regaining her health and that your sons are doing well. With my best wishes for your health and happiness

"Sincerely your friend.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Francis P. Blair, Esqr."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage, April 19, 1841.

"My dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 4th. instant giving me the information of the death of the president is before me.

"I anticipated this result from the causes you have named—he had not sufficient energy to drive from him the office hunters, and he was obliged to take stimulants to keep up the system: this with fatigue brought on the complaint which carried him hence. A kind and over ruling providence has interfered to prolong our glorious Union and happy republican system which General Harrison and his cabinet was preparing to destroy unde the dictation of that profligate demagogue, Henry Clay; their plans of a national bank a national debt, high protective tariff and assumption of state debts etc, etc., all prepared for the action of the called session of Congress by the death of Harrison. is blown sky high, for surely Tyler with his speeches in the senate and representative hall never

can approve a bill chartering a national Bank, or for assuming the State debts. He is a true State rights man, by profession and against a national debt. He cannot without abandoning all these professions of republican principles sanction by approval any these measures, and I therefore conclude that this act of an overruling providence was to preserve and perpetuate our happy system of republicanism and stay the corruptions of this combined clique who has got into power by deluding the people by the grossest slanders, corruptions and vilest idolatry of coons and hard cider. "The Lord liveth, let our Nation rejoice".

"I wrote you I think on the 4th. of March advising you amongst other things, that I had just received a letter from your lovely daughter at Havana saying she was to meet you and Mrs. Blair at the Hermitage in May next; in yours of the 4th. April you have not said whether you have received it. Will we have the pleasure to see you at the Hermitage and when.

"I have seen with indignation the cause of Clay and his Federal tools in the senate with regard to you and Rives as Printers to the senate. They have passed a vote of dismissal but that vote cannot set aside your contract and Blackstone says "there is no wrong but there is a remedy," and altho the senate cannot be sued, their agent who the senate by law has authorized to make contract with you, I should suppose can; or the court could enjoin the Secretary of the Senate from giving the printing under your contract to any others until it appeared you had neglected to comply with your contract. Be ready to perform your duty, continue to demand the printing from the secretary of the Senate, and if he fails to deliver, try your injunction, and a mandamas, the injunction to prohibit him from paying to other and a mandamus to hand over the printing to you agreeable to your written contract. Consider of this and take council. If Blackstone is good authority there must be a remedy and a power somewhere to compel the parties to the contract to fulfill it.

"Write me what you think will be Tyler's course—will he stick to a strict construction of the constitution or will he sell himself to Baal, or rather take that unprincipled swaggering demagogue, Clay, for his guide and worship him.

"My whole household join me in kind salutations and good wishes to you and yours.

"Your friend, sincerely,
"Andrew Jackson.

"Francis P. Blair, Esq."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage, May 31st, 1841.

"My dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 16th. is this instant before me and in a few more days you will be able to tell whether the court will be under the influence of the powers that be and yield to the usurpa-

tion of the Senate to rescind contracts entered into under positive enactments by Congress. Should it, will it not be a good cause for an impeachment should we have hereafter a pure and enlightened Senate, advise me of the court's decision.

"The concealment by Tyler of the principles upon which he will administer the government, has astonished many others, not myself. He went off from my administration on the pretext of the proclamation and afterwards acknowledged to Major Donelson that he had taken up a hasty conclusion without understanding it, that since he had read and understood it he could find nothing in it to condemn. Mr. Calhoun was then his guide. Mr. Webster and Clay now, hence he keeps dark, uses dubious language that he may take a course that arouses terms and the prospect of self aggrandizement may present.

Mr. Tyler cannot approve a Bank bill without perjuring himself; he has declared that no power except under the constitutional grant authorizes congress to incorporate a national bank. He has solemnly sworn to preserve protect and defend the constitution; the veto power given the president is the only power he is invested with to protect and defend it. How then can a President under such a solemn obligation approve a law creating a bank without wilful and corrupt perjury, who like Mr. Tyler, has so often declared that there is no constitutional powers in congress to pass such a law. Congress meets this day and Mr. Tyler will have to announce his principles.' But my opinion is he will be silent as to a National Bank, and leave that to his secretary. We will see. Should he keep Webster in his cabinet Webster will have all the mischief brought upon the country that the profligacy of Clay and Webster can suggest and a willing majority can execute. For myself I will trust in a kind providence and the virtue of the great body of the yeomanry of the country to preserve and perpetuate our republican institutions and our glorious Union.

"The appointment of such men as _____ with Poindexter, with the wholesale proscription is destroying the present administration and I hope our friends in the senate will take a stand against their confirmation. And I also hope that our friends in congress will make a call upon the heads of Departments and enquire where they have found legal authority to appoint a commission to examine into the conduct of those engaged on the public-works, and out of what funds this commission has been paid etc,etc. Our friends have a fine field to operate in and to expose the reform party. I hope they will embrace it. I cannot expect you to have much leisure during the sitting of congress. But it will offer me much pleasure to hear from you. I still hope to see you this fall should congress adjourn, but if it does all the business contemplated it will not adjourn before next month.

"My whole household joins me in warm and kind tokens to you

and yours, with sincere congratulations on the restoration of Miss Betsy's health, to whom present all affectionately, and believe me sincerely your friend,

"Andrew Jackson.

"P. S.

"Present us to Mr. Kendall and his family, to my friends Doctor Linn and Benton and theirs. We look up to these Senators for an ample defense of the democracy and hope their speeches may be well circulated. Please to inform me confidentially what my friend Wm. B. Lewis is about. Can it be that it is immaterial to him who rules? If so then I have had around me a treacherous set in him and some others.

"A. J."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage, July 17th, 1841.

"My dear Sir:

"I have been lately suddenly and surely attacked. From a state of health unusually good I sat down to breakfast and as I was raising the fork to my mouth I was struck, like as it was, a thunderbolt thro my left breast and shoulders, I did not fall, but a second shock brought me to my feet when I regained my breath. The lancet was applied but no blood could be obtained until my right arm was immersed in very hot water, suffice it to say for 8 hours I suffered more pain than thro all my life. I am mending slowly, frequent returns of pain and this is the first day since taken that I have attempted to write. What is remarkable, my nerve is as firm and steady as they ever were and had I strength I could write as usual, but I am much debilitated in body and a perfect skeleton.

"I see you keep a steady eye on that worthless demagogue Henry Clay. He will boldly push himself into difficulties and surely try to sneak out of them, and then complain in the very face of the Senate who heard him, that you have done him injustice. When Hall lies so boldly in open day, what must the world think of his veracity.

"I see that little apostate, Archer has attempted to make an attack upon Jefferson and myself. This is contrary to what his continued friendly intercourse with me as long as he and myself remain in the city spending with me at my house many friendly evenings of social intercourse. I had no idea before that he was a hypocrite, his conduct now proves it. Had I have given him a foreign mission I would have been spared of his ruthless epithets. Mr. Archer is a man of small caliber, not quite mediocrity in talent and has shown himself devoid of those magnanimous and honorable feelings that old time gentlemen possess.

"Clay will not get his bank bill passed. Tyler will veto it and him and Tyler will be at daggers points and the heterogeneous mass of unprincipled men with which the modern whig party is composed, will burst asunder as tho they were drove by the four winds

of heaven, and there will surely be a wreck left behind. I have thus much written to convince you I am still in the land of the living. With a tender of the kind regards of myself and all my household to you and yours, I remain your friend. Write me, and present us kindly to Mr. Kendall and family.

“Andrew Jackson.

“Francis P. Blair, Esqr.”

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

“Hermitage, August 12th, 1841.

“Francis P. Blair, Esqr.

“My dear Sir:

“I have just received yours of the 2nd. instant acknowledging mine, etc. I wrote my friend Doctor Linn the day I wrote you. Whilst I was confined and unable to write the debt of gratitude I owed him remaining by me, un-expressed to him, lay heavy on my mind and the first moment that I could hold the pen, feeble as I was, I wrote him which was mailed with the one to you and which I hope he has received. Please, with my kind regards, enquire if he received it. It was of the same date with yours or perhaps the day previous. So long as my pulse beats, the gratitude I owe Doctor Linn will warm my bosom for his disinterested friendship in my defense.

“I fear Governor Polk is beaten entirely by the apathy of the Democracy. He fought the battle unaided I may say, and he fought it well and is entitled to the thanks of the Democracy. It is believed that we have a small majority in the general assembly, but as yet not positively ascertained. If we have I hope the democracy will with a united voice send him to the senate; he deserves this much of the confidence of the Republicans.

“I am happy to hear that it is believed in Washington as I also believe, that Tyler will veto the Bank bill and the distribution Land bill. If principle does not induce him, policy will.

“I am happy to learn that Mr. Calhoun is got right. God send that he may continue so. If he looks at the Tariff bill prepared by McClain under my view he will find there the principle of a protecting tariff repudiated, and if he remembers Clay's speech excusing himself for the compromise, he will find that there Clay proclaimed that it was to preserve the principle of protection, which I intended to destroy in the bill before the House of Representatives and the Senate's bill (the compromise was taken up by Letcher in the House and moved as an amendment to the House of Representatives bill). If Mr. Calhoun remains firm, I am sure I will not throw the least shade over him—*to err is human, to forgive is divine.*

“You say nothing about your visit to us this summer, I fear you will not be able to come. We would be delighted to see you and the family at the Hermitage. My little family all unite with me in our kind wishes for you and your family's welfare.

"I am gaining my strength very slowly. I have a bad cough and throw up a great deal of flume daily.

"Present me to Benton, Woodbury and to my friend Doctor Linn and their families, to Mr. Kendall and his, to Buchanan, Alen, and to Mr. Fulton and his family. I cannot write to them. I am too feeble to write much. Tho last not least in my view is Colonel King and Wm. Walker and to my republican friends in the House of Representatives from this State. Your friend.

"Andrew Jackson.

"P. S. Our republican friends in the Senate have fought the battle well. Woodbury has answered deceptions well. My thanks to him for his speeches.

"A. J."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage (1841?)

"My dear Sir:

"I perceive that Mr. Rives has been elected Senator by the Legislature of Virginia. Can he submit to the degradation, on the terms offered, to accept it? We will see. Should he accept, then indeed he can submit to and do any thing for office. I think we may exclaim, *o tempora omores*.

"I see from the Globe, that Mr. Clay's suple tool, Mangum, is performing Clay's dirty work for him. Mangum, thought he could lie with impunity and slander me to the great gratification of his master, and that he would pass without exposure. But he was mistaken. How his vanity must have been cowered, by making the acknowledgment he was compelled to make and how glaring his hypocrisy in his disclaimer, when every one who heard or has read his remarks must see that it was me he was attacking and slandering. Behold 'I too was in the capital', as much as to say, I was there for the purpose of over-aweing Congress into the measure. What will become of our government with such men in the senate, regardless of truth or justice, and that imbecile in the Executive chair, a mere puppet for Clay, Webster and their unprincipled clique like to wield as they please. May God protect us from a dissolution of the Union in the four years to come, when I trust the government will be restored to honest men, who will take principle for their guide, the public good the end and pure Democratic rule again established and our happy republican system perpetuated. This will be the case if our glorious union remains.

"Let me hear from you soon. Give me the strength of the Democracy in both houses now, and the prospects in the next Congress. Can the present congress elect you printer again, if so, it will be a great point gained for the republican cause. I do not believe Clay and all the Whig and Federal power can repeal the sub-treasury law. Give our kind regard to the President, congratulate my friend Woodbury on his election to the Senate where he can rebuke Clay for his unwarrantable attacks upon him and his reports, give my kind regards to Colonel Benton for his exer-

tions to have passed the log cabin law which has been the means of exposing so much the hypocrisy of Clay and Webster and their corrupt coadjutors. Present me to my friend Kendall and say to him I would be happy to hear from him and how his health is. And last tho not least, present me and my whole household to your amiable family and may you triumph over all your enemies, be again elected printer to the next congress and continue to lash the apostates and hypocrites, until they reform themselves, and become honest men is the prayer of your friend."

"Andrew Jackson."

"Francis P. Blair, Esqr.—

P. S. When I directed General Armstrong to forward the Extra. Globe, I wished the congressional that I might have it bound as a book and hand down to my little grand-children. Send it to me and I will the first opportunity send you the amount for it. Hope to see you and your family early in the spring. I have been confined to my house since the 29th. of December, except once I got to Nashville to see Colonel Harris' Edition of the Nashville Union, who had been severely wounded by a set of the most cowardly cold blooded assassins that I ever heard of or disgraced a country. If they get their deserts they will be inmates to a penitentiary for years. Harris is out of danger and will be soon again in the Editorial chair.

"A. J."

JACKSON TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

"Hermitage Novbr. 22d, 1843.

"My dear Mr. Blair:

"Your letter of the 11th instant is received and I am happy at last that the mortgages has reached you.

"Not having the same intimate acquaintance with Mr. Rives that I had with you, I did not know but the delay of these papers might raise in his mind distrust that all was not as it should be. I knew, let me be called off at any time your debt and his was well secured, but I wanted Mr. Rives to be in possession of those papers that he might also know it.

"At last we are enjoying the second day of sunshine, which is the first we have had together in a month, it has tempted me almost to go to Nashville, but I am deterred by a severe attack of diarea. I have brought your election to the mind of Major A. J. Donelson who is one of the delegates who has promised that he will converse with all the democratic members of congress that will be there. I write to Colonel C. Johnson who is faithful and true, *on all points*. I hope they are all so. I write to my friend Judge Wilkins, who I am sure will use all his influence in your behalf. If the Whigs and apostate democrats could defeat your election, it would be a perfect jubilee to them. Therefore it is that every democrat should unite upon, and sustain your election, and I trust it will be the case. As soon as I see Major Donelson after the convention ad-

journals I will write you again. I will, if my strength holds out write to our mutual friend, Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, but my pen today will be employed to our delegation at Nashville.

"My dear Blair I can say to you confidentially, unless relieved from some of my afflictions under which I now labour, I cannot remain long here. If providence will spare me to hear of your election, and to see the result of the vote in congress on the subject of the fine imposed by Judge Hall, I will be thankfull. I hope some friend will press it to a final vote. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson unite with me in kind salutations to you my dear Mrs. Blair and daughter. Yr friend Sincerely

"Andrew Jackson.

"Note—I enclose the letter to Judge Wilkins to you that you may seal and hand it to him so that he will be sure to get it. You will see by it how feeble I am "A. J.

"Private

"P. S. I am delighted to hear of your fair prospects for a priom (sic!) (meaning "scion"?) out of Emmits son (?). Taladega has improved much, so much that my friend Major Wm. Armstrong and Governor Butler of South Carolina has taken her and a two year old filly to Arkansas, with a two year old stud by Mermon, half brother of Taladega. They are three fine animals. From my confinement and the inattention of my old groom Dunwodie, and to meet a pressing demand against my son growing out of a swinging act of S. Donelson in the case of his assumed debt to Mrs. Eleason, I parted with them.

"I have grappled with every debt Andrew owes and I trust will be able to meet them.

"My last years crop of cotton from the Hermitage was shipped to England by my friend Colonel White with the most friendly view was unfortunate; it sold for the precise sum it would have brought at New Orleans and the expense of freight, insurance, commissions and loss of upwards of 3000 lbs. in weight, swallowed the whole *almost* of the proceeds. This has shortened our funds. Our crop of cotton both here and below is good, but the continued rains has prevented us from getting it out, and of course much of the underbowles have rotted. It may be unless cotton rises, that we may be pressed in meeting all our engagements. I therefore request you to consult Mr. Rives and with candour of a friend say to me, whether, on receiving the interest, you can, without injury, postpone the instalment due next May, for one year. If you can our means will meet every debt Andrew owes and I am responsible for leaving your debt as the only incumbrance on us or our property. The question I ask, have you use for this instalment, if you have it shall be forthcoming; if you have it to loan then it will be an obligation to pay interest on the instalment for another year, when the product of our farms will be well able to meet half the debt with the accruing interest.

"Note—that this indulgence is only asked if it can be done without injury or inconvenience to you, not else and it depends upon the price of cotton and whether we can house our crops, whether it will be necessary. I have a family of ten likely and valuable Negroes I can spare *here* without injury, and my inquire is, looking a head, that if necessary we will meet this debt punctually, grateful to you and Mr. Rives for your liberality and kindness in making us the loan, for which we will forever be grateful.

"A. J.

"A. J. Jr. is just returned from below, the crops good but incessant rains has prevented there, like here, from getting the cotton housed."

CATRON TO JACKSON.

"November 13, 1844.

"My dear Sir:

"I put off until Tuesday to call and see you before I left for the East. The weather proved very bad yesterday and I concluded to go up to day and cross over to the Stage road. To day the weather is no better and I am disappointed to my deep regret. I staid closely at home for two weeks past, owing to younger friends being excited about the Election Contest, and do not leave for Frankfort until the latest day. The court sets on Monday, go to night by the Stage.

"I congratulate you on the almost certain success in the late struggle. Some difficulties would not have been overcome as I believe, but for your energetic aid. Mr. Tyler's withdrawal for one: Nor could a Tennessee Candidate have been presented but for the position of yourself, past and present. The matter is a curiosity. White was put up for the purpose of breaking down the Jackson party, and especially in Tennessee. On Colonel Polk, as a young and rising man especially, ruin was declared to be certain, if he stood up with his party; and so intended by those who brought forth Judge White. I speak not from *conjecture*. For eight or nine years he by energy and industry maintained his fixed principles, until his character rose to an eminence not dreamed of by his opponents, and secured to him the nomination, now crowned with Success, in all probability. It is a reward for firmness and integrity that will *warn* the young politicians of the United States against intrigues intended to ruin their party friends.

"The past contest has had some distressing circumstances in it; especially that of excessive betting. It was impossible to keep it down in my own family of young men; but the old men of the other side run into the excess, and set the example.

"I shall do myself the pleasure to write to you during the Winter.

"May Heaven preserve you until my return.

"J. Catron.

"To General Jackson

"Wednesday, November 13th. 1844."

CHAPTER 21.

Oration of Stephen A. Douglas at the inauguration of Mills' equestrian statue of General Jackson in Washington, Jan. 8, 1853; oration of L. J. Sigur, Esq., Jan. 9, 1856, at New Orleans, at the inauguration of Mills' equestrian statue of General Jackson; origin of the statue and the monument at Chalmette; oration of W. O. Hart of the Louisiana Historical Society at the eighty-third anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.

(From the "Washington Union" of January 9, 1853.)

"At an early hour yesterday it was perceptible that the citizens of Washington were intent on something beyond the ordinary routine of business. The sky was clear, the air soft and bland, like that of the Indian summer, and not like that of mid-winter. The occasional boom of a gun, and the pavements thronged with persons moving toward Lafayette Square, would have indicated to an utter stranger that some interesting ceremony engaged the public attention. That ceremony was the inauguration of a statue of Andrew Jackson, which the gratitude of the people, whom he had served with more than Roman devotion in the field and in the cabinet, had erected to commemorate his heroism, his genius, and his virtues. The day chosen was fit and appropriate, being the anniversary of the closing struggle of the second war of Independence—the anniversary of the day when our citizen soldiery, animated by the example of Andrew Jackson, and directed by his skill, overthrew the most formidable army which ever invaded our shores.

"The procession was formed in front of the City Hall, under the direction of George W. Hughes, Esq., of Maryland, late a colonel in the United States Army, distinguished for his eminent services in the Mexican War, who was appointed by the Managing Committee of the Monument Association chief marshal of the day. By the direction of Colonel Hughes and his aide and assistant marshals, the procession moved in imposing numbers and admirable order to Pennsylvania avenue, and thence toward Lafayette Square. Every available position along the route was filled with ladies and gentlemen—the balconies, and in many instances the house-tops, being filled with spectators. Ringgold's celebrated battery of flying artillery, under the command of Major Taylor, led the column, and attracted marked attention by its precise movements, and by the glorious reminiscences which it



LEVI WOODBURY, 1789-1857.
From National Portrait Gallery of 1856: Secretary of the Navy, May 23, 1831 to July 1, 1834; Thirteenth Secretary of the Treasury, July 1, 1834, to 1841; Governor of New Hampshire 1823-1824; United States Senator 1825-1831; United States Senator 1841-1845; Judge Supreme Court of the United States 1845-1851.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLASS, 1813-1861.
Defeated as a candidate for President in 1860, when Lincoln, John C. Breckinridge and John Bell were also candidates and Lincoln was elected. From National Portrait Gallery. Member of Congress from Illinois 1843-1847; United States Senator 1847-1861.

awakened. Then came a company of United States marines, commanded by Lieutenant Henderson; the Washington Light Infantry, Captain Tate; the National Greys, Captain Bacon; the Continental Guards, Captain Wilson; the Walker Sharpshooters, Captain Bradford; the German Yagers, Captain Swartzman; and the Boone Riflemen, Captain Bright—all under the direction of Colonel William Hickey, Lieutenant Colonel Riley, Major Keyworth, and Adjutant Tait. The civil procession, consisting of the city officers, members of Congress, the Democratic Associations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, with delegations from Baltimore followed. Conspicuous positions were allotted to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and his staff, to the artist whose untutored genius had produced the statue, and the Committee of Management charged with its erection. Proceeding up Pennsylvania avenue, the procession entered the grounds of the Executive Mansion, passing around the semi-circle in front, and saluting the President, who was attended by the members of his cabinet and distinguished officers of the army and navy. The military, led by Ringgold's battery, then moved around Lafayette Square, entering it from the northern gate—the civic procession moving down the avenue, and entering through the southern gate.

"Rev. Clement C. Butler, Chaplain to the Senate, opened the ceremonies by an eloquent and appropriate prayer. Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, the orator of the occasion, was then introduced to the multitude, and riveted its attention while he delivered, in the happiest manner, the able, graphic, stirring address we publish to-day, which cannot fail to command the attention and applause of every reader by the happy spirit in which it was conceived, by its admirable sketch of the civil and military services of Andrew Jackson, by its freedom from party illusions, by the patriotic sentiments it contains, and by the stirring language in which it was announced.

"When the orator had concluded, amidst the shouts of the thousands who surrounded him, Clark Mills Esq., was introduced. He had no words to express his feelings, and in lieu of words he pointed to the veiled statue; the veil was instantly withdrawn, and Jackson on his steed, as if in full action, full of life and energy, was revealed. That was his speech, and none could have been more appropriate. Without instruction, without instruments or appliances, with but little encouragement, and against the remonstrances and hinderances of men of art and men of science, he had labored for years, and by a simple gesture he pointed to the result of his labors. The scene was most picturesque. The speaker's stand was filled with eminent men—the President and his cabinet, Gen. Scott and his staff, distinguished Senators and Representatives—while at least twenty thousand of the people occupied the square and the neighboring house tops. The bands played a salute, and Taylor's battery answered with the guns which had done such

good service against the enemies of the country. The Rev. Mr. Gallagher, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, closed the ceremonies in a most appropriate manner. Then the various military companies fired off amidst the cheers and the music of their bands, many citizens lingering in admiration of the matchless work which the hands of a man of the people had fashioned.

"Thanks to Colonel Hughes and to his aids and assistants, everything was so well ordered that no untoward accident happened. The streets and the square were crowded, yet every movement was so organized and arranged that no collision occurred, and the imposing ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the statue were concluded as befitted the occasion.

ORATION

"All nations have marked the period of their highest civilization and greatest development by monuments to their illustrious men. The hero, the statesman, the benefactor of the age, thus passes on to succeeding generations, and carries with him the glories of his time and the memory of the people associated with his achievements. Trajan, on his historic column, illustrated to successive generations the brilliant achievements in the field and wise acts in council, which imparted lustre and immortality to his reign. Constantine, from his storied arch, for centuries has proclaimed religious toleration to the humble Christian, and proudly recounted the glorious deeds of his life and times. The sculptured marble, above the urns that hold their sacred ashes, delineates the animated scenes in which that fame was won, and command the admiration, if not the homage, of the world. The best of emperors, Marcus Aurelius, looks from his fiery steed on the realm he exalted—a group in monumental bronze the noblest in all intiquity. It yet survives the ruin of his country, in sublime majesty perpetuating the glories of the man and the gratitude of the Roman people, amidst a degradation to which it now imparts a hope of regeneration. The statue before you is the work of a man exalted by his enthusiasm for the glorious deeds and wise acts of a hero and statesman. It is the work of a young, untaught American. I cannot call him an artist. He never studied nor copied. He never saw an Equestrian Statue, not even a model. It is the work of inborn genius, aroused to energy by the triumphant spirit of liberty which throbs in the great heart of our continent—which creates the power of great conceptions, the aspiration and the will, the mental faculty and the manual skill, to eternize the actors who ennoble the country, by giving their forms and expressions to imperishable materials.

"Proudly may we compare to the Equestrian Statues of Europe that noble Roman figure, which preserves the form and features of our hero, and that colossal war-horse in bronze which will bear him in glory through future ages! I have seen delineations of the Equestrian Statutes of Peter the Great, of Frederick the

Great, and of the Duke of Wellington, which are esteemed, I believe, the best specimens of that description of sculpture that modern Europe has been able to contribute to her collection of works of art. The horse of the great Czar is supported in its rampart position by the aid of an unsightly contrivance. Between its legs a serpent, by a bend in the body, connects with the tail of the steed, and is fastened to the pedestal. That of the great Prussian monarch, which is designed to appear in motion has one fore foot and another behind fixed to the pedestal; a third is maintained in an elevated position by means of a prop, which is introduced to give stability to the statue by sustaining the weight, while but one is left free to give the semblance of life and movement. The rearing steed of the Duke of Wellington, like that of Peter the Great, maintains its rampant position by the hind legs and tail being riveted to the massive pedestal. What a wonderful triumph has our untaught contryman achieved over those renowned trophies of European art in the hot and fiery charger before you, leaping "so proudly as if he disdained the ground," self-poised and self-sustained on the single point whence he derives his motion! No props, no serpents, no unnatural contrivances, are here. Nature, which has taught the impetuous steed to poise his weight and gather his strength to spring into the air, has given the genius which fashioned this group the power to impart grace and energy to the finely-balanced attitude, which makes the weight, that others prop and hold up by rivets, furnish to the work its strength and stability.

"But the real power of the noblest monument consists in the moral grandeur of the recollections it recalls. The exquisite beauty of the statue of Nero, by its contrast with the monster it brings to mind, makes the heart recoil as from the shining folds of a polished serpent. How different the beholder in the presence of the august form before us! The image of the resistless hero, who drove the last invader from our shores, turns back our thoughts to the eager boy who shed his stripling blood in the Revolution, and to the resolute sage who withstood the corruption and phrenzy of his times, and to the patriot statesman whose life and deeds mark a most eventful era in our national history.

"Let me glance at some of the events in his glorious career, and close with a view of him in his retirement at the Hermitage.

"In the year 1765 a small vessel arrived in the harbor of Charleston with a number of Irish emigrants on board, who had fled from tyranny and persecution in the old world to find peace and freedom in the new. Among them was a family by the name of Jackson, consisting of Andrew and his wife, and their two sons, Hugh and Robert. They immediately proceeded to the upper country, and selected for their new home a lonely spot in the valley of the Waxhaw. Two years after, Andrew Jackson, whose illustrious deeds have filled the world with his renown, was born. The father died a few months after the birth of the son, who was to

inherit his name and render it immortal. Nobly did the widowed mother perform her duty to those fatherless children. The earlier years of our hero's boyhood were spent in the peaceful abode of Waxhaw Academy. He was there when the Revolution burst upon the world. The war-cry, from the bloody fields of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill, aroused the people of all the colonies to a just sense of their wrongs, and inspired them with the firm resolve to assert and vindicate their rights. The disastrous campaign which succeeded the first brilliant achievements—the heroic movements of Washington at Trenton—the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge—the glorious victory at Saratoga—excited, in alternation, the fears and hopes of the people, and roused their patriotism to the highest point. When the tide of desolation rolled over the scattered settlements of the Carolinas, the whole population, old and young, proved themselves worthy of freedom by the spirit in which they met the ruthless oppressor. Hugh, the elder brother of Andrew Jackson, fell in his first battle at Stono. Robert became a martyr to liberty, and lost his life from wounds received while in captivity. The mother descended to the grave, a victim to grief and suffering, in ceaseless efforts to rescue and save her sons. Andrew was thus left alone in the world at a tender age, without father or mother, brother or sister, friend or fortune to assist him. All was gone save the high qualities with which God had endowed him, and the noble precepts which a pious and sainted mother had infused into his young heart. He had already, at the age of fourteen, become a soldier of the Revolution—had borne the fatigues and privations of the march with his musket on his shoulder—had displayed the coolness, intrepidity, and fortitude of the veteran in his first engagements with the enemy—had endured the sufferings of a cruel captivity; and, for his manly refusal to perform menial services while a prisoner, he had received a wound from the sword of a British officer, the scar of which he carried with him to his grave.

“The enemy repulsed, the young hero returned to his studies to prepare himself for the practice of the law, which he had selected as a profession.

“In the meantime the noble work of political regeneration was pressed forward—the union of the colonies confirmed by the Articles of Confederation—the independence of the American States acknowledged by the powers of Europe—the laws and institutions of the several States revised and moulded in conformity with the inalienable rights of man—the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty established in the State Constitutions—and, growing out of, and resting upon these, was the organization of the Federal Government under that wonderful instrument, the Constitution of the United States. America then stood forth a power on earth, with the immortal Washington at its head. At peace with the nations of the Old World—with a wise foreign policy, admirably adapted to our condition and relative

position—with a wide-spread and rapidly increasing commerce—what more natural than that the energies of the people should be directed to the settlement and development of that vast and fertile wilderness in the valley of the Mississippi, and that the Father of his Country should exert all rightful authority for their protection in so laudable an enterprise? The several States claiming title to those expansive regions, animated by a patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit, had voluntarily executed deeds of cession and relinquishment, in order to create a common fund in the hands of the Federal Government, with which to discharge the debts of the Revolution. The ordinance of 1787, establishing Territorial Governments, and providing for the erection of not less than three nor more than five States, had opened to immigration and settlement the country northwest of the river Ohio; while the extension of the main provisions of that act to the country south of that river had created a civil government for the people of the Southwest Territory. The tide of immigration had commenced rolling westward, and was rushing across the Alleghanies through every pass and gorge in the mountains. The bold adventurer, rejoicing in danger and novelty—the unfortunate, who hoped to regain his lost position—the poor emigrant, with his wife and children, all that he could claim as his own on earth—could be seen wending their way, by the Buffalo paths and Indian trails, to what seemed to them a promised land. The Carolinians had descended the French Broad, had stretched along the Holston, and penetrated the valley of the Cumberland. These early pioneers were a peculiar people—hardy, daring, impatient of restraint, and simple in their habits of life. Imbued with an exalted sentiment of personal liberty and a keen perception of individual rights, they were ever ready with their lives to repel aggressions or redress wrongs. Beneath these qualities were clearly discernible all the elements of political organization, of social development, and of a pure, unadulterated religious reverence. Foremost among the people, giving tone to their counsels, and taking the lead in all important movements, was Andrew Jackson. If Indian ravages upon the scattered settlements were to be arrested—if the savage perpetrators were to be punished—if daring outlaws were to be brought to justice—if the lonely immigrant in the wilderness was to be rescued from the tomahawk or starvation—Jackson always led the gallant band. Attorney General of the Territory, by the appointment of Washington—member of the Convention which laid the foundations of the State Government—major-general of the militia intrusted with the defense of the inhabitants against the tomahawk and scalping knife—a member of the House of Representatives, and a Senator in the Congress of the United States—Judge of the Supreme Court of his State—the genius of Jackson was everywhere indelibly impressed on the character of the people and the laws and institutions of his own beloved Tennessee.

“Amicable relations being established with the Indian tribes,

symmetry and consistency imparted to their political and social organizations, the people of Tennessee naturally turned their attention to the development and enjoyment of all those advantages with which soil, climate, and Nature, in its luxuriance and magnificence, had surrounded them. Now, Jackson felt himself at liberty to gratify an inclination he had long cherished, of withdrawing from the cares and toils of official positions, and retiring to his farm, rejoicing in the society of his devoted and beloved wife, and surrounded by all the comforts and enjoyments his tastes could suggest or his heart desire. He carried into retirement, and displayed in the management of his farm, and his intercourse with his fellow-citizens, the same high qualities which had stamped invincibility upon his character and success upon his movements. His hospitable mansion was a home to the stranger and the pioneer—his name was upon every tongue, and his praises were heard wherever his influence was felt. Becoming a silent partner in a mercantile establishment, he soon discovered the misfortune of his associate, by which the firm was reduced to bankruptcy. Instantly recognizing the moral obligation to discharge the last farthing of indebtedness, he disposed of his lands, his stock, his home—all the proceeds of his toils—and became the humble tenant of a rude log-cabin, in preference to the humiliation of pecuniary vassalage.

“Such a man can always rise above misfortune. By the force of his character, and the judicious application of his vast mental resources, he soon recovered from his pecuniary embarrassments, and became a flourishing and even wealthy farmer. From his retirement he viewed with indignation the long series of British aggressions on the commerce and flag of his native country. He was an ardent supporter of the principles of Jefferson and Madison, and especially of all those measures calculated to maintain the rights of his country and redress the wrongs of his countrymen on the high seas. Had he succeeded in his aspirations to the command which was unfortunately assigned to Winchester, who can doubt, at this day, that the series of disasters on the northern frontier, which filled the country with humiliation, and clothed so many families in mourning, would have been averted? The terrible massacre at the river Raisin, succeeding the disgraceful surrender of Detroit by Hull, encouraged Tecumseh and the Prophet to almost superhuman efforts for the accomplishment of their grand design of an alliance between the British and all the savage tribes, from the Gulf of Mexico to the northern lakes, for the purpose of exterminating with the sword and the tomahawk the white race in the Mississippi valley, and of restoring all that vast and fertile region—the heart of the American continent—to its aboriginal proprietors, and of consecrating it to perpetual barbarism under the protection of the British Government. The arrangements were already perfected so far as the northwestern country was concerned. Immediately after the massacre, Tecum-

seh, who possessed genius equal to any conception and a force of character commensurate with the magnitude of his plans, started south, in fulfilment of his mission, going from tribe to tribe, electrifying them by the power of his eloquence, and driving them to madness by horrible pictures of monstrous wrongs perpetrated by the American people. The Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Choc-taws, and the Seminoles, were the principal tribes yet to be added to this savage alliance. The British, through the Spaniards in the Floridas, with whom they were also in alliance, had prepared the minds of the southern tribes for the favorable reception of Tecumseh. The mission proving successful, savage war, with all its horrors and tortures, burst upon the defenseless settlements like a thunderbolt. What tongue can describe or pencil paint the revolting scene at Fort Mimms, or wherever else the infuriated savage could find the objects of his vengeance? Neither age nor sex was spared. All were doomed to instant destruction, or reserved for a slower process, by being subjected to brutalities and barbarities worse than sudden death. Amid the universal alarm and consternation all eyes were turned to Jackson—every voice proclaimed him the chosen leader to arrest the sweeping torrent of desolation.

“Who can describe the wild and frightful scenes of that unparalleled Indian campaign—the heroism of the leader—the celerity of his movements—the fatigues of the march—the privations of the men—the impetuosity of the charge—every skirmish a victory; every battle a triumph—the barbarian alliance dissolved—the savage tribes dispersed and pursued in every direction, and finally, reduced to submission in the brief period of six months?

“The importance of these decisive and overwhelming achievements can hardly be realized. The British allies of the Confederate savages, in pursuance of the plan of campaign as agreed upon with Tecumseh and the Prophet, were hovering around the Gulf coast; arming and drilling the Indians in the Floridas, meditating a descent upon Fort Bowyer and Mobile, preparatory to the concentration of the confederated forces upon New Orleans and Louisiana. Concurrent events in Europe were favorable to the success of the mighty scheme. The abdication of Napoleon and his flight to Elba had restored the hereditary monarchs to the thrones of their ancestors, and enabled Great Britain to withdraw her veteran troops from the continent, and hurl them upon the defenseless shores of the Gulf of Mexico, in concert with their savage allies. The destruction of the barbarian league by Jackson, and the submission of the scattered tribes, had broken the force of the impending blow, and opened the way for a trial of strength, single handed, between the soldiers of freedom and veterans in the cause of oppression. At the critical moment, and as if by the hand of an overruling Providence, Jackson was appointed major general in the army, and assigned to the command of the Southern division. Time will not allow me to more than

glance at the most striking events in the campaign. The British were occupying the Spanish forts at Pensacola, stimulating the Indians to a renewal of hostilities, and preparing for a descent upon Fort Bowyer and Mobile, and ultimately upon New Orleans, as the chief point of attack. Jackson's remonstrances with the Spanish Governor against harboring the enemy in what was professedly neutral territory being disregarded—his application to his own Government for permission to vindicate the violated laws of neutrality remaining unanswered—the absence of instructions on points of vital importance at a time when inaction was ruin—who does not remember with what resistless energy he threw his protecting arm around Mobile, provided for Lawrence's heroic defense of Fort Bowyer, planted his little army in front of Pensacola, and when his messenger was fired upon by the orders of the Governor, stormed the batteries, entered the town, hauled down the British flag, drove the enemy into the sea, and had the Spanish Governor at his feet, imploring mercy and forgiveness for the past, and faithfully promising a religious observance of the laws of neutrality in the future? Who can describe the rapidity of his movements for the defense of New Orleans—the magic effect of his presence in suppressing treasonable purposes—infusing confidence into the hearts of the desponding—his sleepless vigilance in watching the movements of the enemy within and without his camp—and his capacity for creating elements of defense where none had been provided? Who can forget his glorious victories on the 23rd of December and the 8th of January? Who has not admired the self-sacrificing courage of the hero, who, to save the city and prevent the dismemberment of the Republic, assumed the awful responsibility of superseding, the civil authorities in the hour of extreme danger, in order, immediately, afterwards to lend his patriot arm to the maintenance of the supremacy of the law? Who can paint the moral grandeur of the scene where the victorious soldier—the benefactor of the nation and the saviour of the city—fresh from the theatre of his glory, with his triumphant army around him, stands calmly before the judge, whose dignity he had recently offended, in the performance of an imperative duty, and meekly submits to an ignominious sentence and a heavy pecuniary penalty? Behold him quieting the murmurs of the indignant multitude, and extending his protection to the trembling judge, and bidding him proceed with his sentence. Follow him as he leaves the court, receiving the homage, the thanks, the prayers of a grateful people, mingled with resentments and imprecations upon the judge! Hear him, in tones of eloquence and power, enjoining upon them strict obedience to the civil as the paramount authority, since the necessity which caused its suspension had ceased to exist, and his conduct requires no other vindication.

“With the battle of the 8th of January the war is closed; New Orleans is saved; Louisiana remains a part of the American con-

federacy; the idea of a barbarian empire is exploded; the Mississippi valley is reserved for the abode of civilization and Christianity; the proposition of the British commissioners at Ghent, that an unalterable boundary should be established for the Indians, from Cleveland, through the mouth of the Kentucky river, to the Gulf of Mexico, is rendered impossible; the British scheme of erecting an impassible barrier to the growth and extension of our great Republic is abandoned. These are some of the results of Jackson's wonderful Indian and Southern campaigns, which terminated with his glorious achievements at New Orleans. Had the Indian war resulted adversely, the torch would have blazed from the lake to the gulf—New Orleans must have inevitably fallen without a struggle, and the greater portion of the Mississippi valley passed under the possessions of the British barbarian league. Twelve States and four organized Territories have since been erected out of the country which was thus to have been dedicated to barbarism under British protection! The tide of emigration, carrying with it all the elements of political progress, social development, and industrial enterprise, continues to roll westward until it mingles with the waves of the Pacific. With the return of peace the business of the country revives, credit is restored, energy and enterprise pervade every department of industry, and the country leaps forth upon the swelling tide of prosperity in its career of greatness.

"Jackson was not permitted long to enjoy the social endearments and quiet repose of the Hermitage. At the instigation of Spanish officials and British emissaries, the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the Seminoles were again spreading desolation and carnage over our southern borders. Jackson was ordered to repair to the scene of slaughter, with instructions to drive back and chastise the savage invaders, and with authority, if necessary for that purpose, to pursue them into the Floridas. You have not forgotten with what terrible energy he hurled his forces upon the enemy's headquarters at St. Marks—demolished their works—seized and executed the British incendiaries who instigated the massacres—pursued the fugitive savages—disregarded the protests and threats of the Spanish Governor—descended on Pensacola—pursued the terrified Governor, with the murderers under his protection, to Fort Carlos, and planted the stars and stripes upon its battlements. By the swiftness of his movements, the power of his example, and the terror of his name, he reduced the savage tribes, humbled the Spanish authorities, and expelled the British emissaries.

"He was thus enabled to terminate the war, provide security and repose to our frontier settlements, and return the same year to the shades of the Hermitage. This campaign laid the foundation for the acquisition of the Floridas, and the dispersion of the innumerable hordes of bandits and pirates who infested the coast, committing depredations upon our settlements and commerce, and finding shelter in the bayous and everglades. Upon the rat-

ification of the Florida treaty, Jackson was appointed by the President commissioner to receive the ceded provinces, and Governor of the new territory, endowed with all the civil and judicial as well as military authority which the Spanish Governors had wielded. Clothed with almost unlimited power, he exercised with a firm hand and unyielding nerve whatever authority was necessary for the protection of society and the suppression of violence. Exhausted by duty and exposure, his physical system sunk under the effects of the climate, and he was borne upon a litter through the wilderness to his beloved home on the banks of the Cumberland.

"He declined the mission to Mexico, tendered by President Monroe, and would gladly have remained in retirement, had not the affection of Tennessee placed him in the Senate of the United States, and the grateful voice of the people called him to preside over the destinies of the Republic. Jackson came into the Presidency with his political principles well matured and immutably fixed. The exalted sentiments of personal freedom and sacred regard for individual rights which he had conceived in the turbulent times of the Revolution, and which had been so clearly discernible in all the vicissitudes of his eventful career, it was now his mission to carry into the practical administration of the Government, and impress upon the public policy of the country. Time will not permit, even were the occasion appropriate, a detailed exposition of the leading measures and great acts of his brilliant administration. Nor, indeed, can it be necessary. The great and striking events of that animated period remain fresh in the memory, and vivid before the mental vision. He met each question as it arose with a directness and frankness in harmony with his previous life. He seemed to solve the most intricate problem of statesmanship by intuition. He perceived truth in its totality, without the tedious process of analysis, and was able to see the remotest consequences of an act while the wisest around him could only perceive its immediate results.

"The high qualities which, on a different theatre, had sustained him in every emergency—enabled him to rise superior to all resistance—never failed him in his civil administration. Calm, patient, and even deferential in counsel, when his opinion was matured and his resolution formed, he threw all the fiery energy of his nature into its execution. The history of his civil career, like that of his military campaigns, consists of a rapid succession of terrific conflicts and brilliant achievements, in which he never lost a battle or failed in a skirmish. His state papers will stand forth, so long as the history of this Republic shall be read, as imperishable monuments to his statesmanship. While the present generation offers up the homage of grateful hearts for patriotic services to the noble spirits who were engaged in those fiery conflicts, time must determine and history record the relative merits of the respective systems of political policy.

"At the expiration of General Jackson's second Presidential

term he retired forever from public life, and repaired to the shades of the Hermitage. He continued to feel an abiding interest in public affairs without the least desire to re-enter the political arena. He had the satisfaction of seeing the line of policy, in support of which his mighty energies had been so long exerted, receive the sanction of the nation. He had the consolation of knowing that his official conduct had been approved by the constituted authorities of his country, in obedience to the voice of the people, on every point in which it had been seriously called in question. He felt that his work was done—his mission fulfilled. The remainder of his days were spent in the society of his family, in improving his farm, and dispensing a generous, unbounded hospitality. In the social circle, and around the domestic hearth, he was as simple as a child, remarkable for his amiability and his capacity for making all happy around him. Much of his time was occupied in conversations and meditations upon religious subjects. He who never feared the face of man was not ashamed to confess his fear of God and his faith in the Redeemer. In the fullness of hope he serenely approached the end of his earthly career, and died in the triumphant consciousness of immortality beyond the grave. His death produced a profound impression upon the hearts and minds of men. The voice of partisan strife was hushed, while a continent was clad in mourning and bathed in tears. All felt that a great man had fallen. Yet there was consolation in the consciousness that the lustre of his name, the fame of his great deeds, and the results of his patriotic services, would be preserved through all time—a rich inheritance to the devotees of freedom. He still lives in the bright pages of history, in the marks of his genius upon the institutions of his country, and by the impress of his character upon that of his countrymen. He lives in his own great example and by his heroic achievements. He lives in the spirit of the age—the genius of progress which is to ennoble and exalt humanity, and preserve and perpetuate liberty.”

ORIGIN OF THE NEW ORLEANS EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF
JACKSON AND OF THE CHALMETTE MONUMENT.

A public meeting was held at the St. Louis Exchange, New Orleans, on January 11, 1851, with Mayor Crossman presiding, having for its object the erection in New Orleans of a memorial to General Andrew Jackson, who died June 8, 1845, and also to build a battle monument at Chalmette to commemorate Jackson's victory over the British January 8, 1815. A commission was appointed which created an organization known as "The Jackson Monument Association." In 1852, the Legislature of Louisiana incorporated this commission, and on February 26, 1852, passed an act providing for the construction of an eques-

trian statue of General Jackson, to be located opposite the St. Louis Cathedral, in Jackson Square, and also to erect a battle monument at Chalmette. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the statue and five thousand dollars for the monument, and another act was passed empowering the governor to buy a piece of ground on the line of Jackson's old entrenchments of January 8, 1815, for the erection of a monument.

Pursuant to this act, the State of Louisiana bought from Pierre Bachelot for five thousand dollars the tract of land in the Parish of St. Bernard, known as the Chalmette plain on which the monument now stands. Newton Richards became the contractor, and proceeded with the work of erecting the monument until the shaft was fifty six feet high, when the work was abandoned for the want of funds. The Civil War came on which demoralized everything in Louisiana and all the other Southern States, and the continuation of the work was delayed until the monument was finally finished by the United States Congress which began operations in 1908.

By act No. 84 of the year 1888, the Legislature of Louisiana tendered the monument and ground on which it was located to the United States on condition that in five years Congress would make a suitable appropriation for the completion and preservation of the monument. But Congress took no action on this tender, and by Act No. 8, of 1894, the Legislature of Louisiana transferred the monument and ground to the United States Daughters of 1778 and 1812. By Act No. 41 of 1902 the Legislature again tendered to the United States the monument and ground with a condition similar to the first tender, but this tender also produced no results.

In January, 1906, Mrs. W. O. Hart, then Vice President of the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812, and afterwards President of that organization, went to Washington, and through General Adolph Meyer, then a member of Congress from the First Louisiana District, was given a hearing before the Committee on Library of the House of Representatives, to which the bill had been referred, and was also accorded an interview with Theodore Roosevelt, then President, who promised to sign the bill if it passed Congress.

The Library Committee was very much interested in the subject, and asked that plans and specifications be prepared and sent

on, which was done, they being prepared by Mr. A. F. Theard, an engineer of New Orleans. In the course of a few months, the bill was reported favorably, making an appropriation of twenty five thousand dollars, and accepting the cession tendered by the State of Louisiana. Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, then speaker of the house, refused to allow the bill to come up, so it went over to the short session beginning in December, 1906. During the recess, work was started among the friends of Mr. Cannon, who was a candidate for re-election in 1906. Mrs. John A Logan, widow of the union general of that name, and a resident of Illinois, was brought to New Orleans, visited the battle field, and personally solicited the assistance of Mr. Cannon. Through the influence of John C. Richberg, now deceased, an eminent lawyer of Chicago, and Hon Frank O. Lowden, subsequently governor of Illinois, Mr. Cannon agreed to allow the bill to come up, which he did on the morning of March 3, 1907. When it was called up, Mr. Mann, of Illinois, objected, and the bill went over until the afternoon, when at the personal request of Judge Robert C. Davey, then a member of Congress from the Second Louisiana District, and a personal friend of Mr. Mann, that gentleman withdrew his objection and the bill was passed in time to enable the President to sign it before the adjournment of Congress. The bill confided the care and custody of the monument and the grounds to the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812.

In June, 1907, the act of transfer of the State of Louisiana signed by Governor N. C. Blanchard, was, at his request, taken to Washington, by Mr. W. O. Hart now Treasurer of the Louisiana Historical Society, and Vice Chairman of the general committee, having in charge the magnificent celebration of the unveiling of the monument on January 8, 9 and 10, 1915. This celebration also commemorated the completion of one hundred years of peace between the United Kingdom of Great Britian and Ireland and the United States.

The monument when completed under the supervision of Mr. Theard in 1909 was 100 feet high, but was not formally unveiled until, as above stated, January 8, 1915. In this unveiling, representatives of the President of the United States and the King of England took part. As the monument was unveiled, there arose to the top the flag of the United States of 1815, fifteen stripes and fifteen stars, presented for the occasion by the Ken-

tucky Society of Louisiana, and also the flag of Great Britain, presented by the British Consul General in New Orleans, Mr. Hunt.

It is rare that so conspicuous an honor and one that will go down with the passing years, ever came to husband and wife as that which came to Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Hart, of New Orleans, connected with the Chalmette movement.

For years devoted to the Louisiana Historical Society, one of its active officers and recognized as a learned historical authority, Mr. Hart has lived to see accomplished the efforts and dreams of himself and wife and their coadjutors, the completion of the Chalmette battle monument, and has lived to execute the highly honorable mission of carrying as the representative of the State of Louisiana the deed of transfer of the State to the Government of the United States, of Chalmette monument and grounds, and having the transfer accepted by the President of the United States.

The separate honor to Mrs. Hart is one that was never vouchsafed before to an American woman. She went to Washington on a seemingly hopeless mission, to galvanize a dead enterprise into life and complete the monument on Chalmette plain that will for centuries testify to a marvelous victory by untrained citizen soldiers, lead by Andrew Jackson. Her name and fame will live long with Chalmette and her husband's along with hers. Through her efforts Congress appropriated \$25,000.00 by which the partially built monument was brought to completion.

LETTER FROM FRANKLIN PIERCE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, Jan. 31, 1856.

"L. Heyliger, Esq., Secretary of the

"Jackson Monument Association,

"New Orleans, La.

"Sir:

"I received your letter of the 21st, instant addressed to me in behalf of Messrs Joseph Walker, A. D. Crossman, J. B. Plauche, Jos. Genois, James H. Caldwell, Charles Gayerre, and P. Seuzeneau, Commissioner of the Jackson Monument Association, and inviting me to attend the approaching inauguration of Clark Mills equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, in the city of New Orleans on Saturday, the 9th of February next. It is particularly fitting that such a monument to one among the most illustrious men of our own or any other country be erected in the City which by his genius and courage and that of the gallant men

was preserved from capture and rapine by foreign foes, and in view of the very battlefield, rendered illustrious by one of the most glorious victories which mark the successive stages in the progress of our national greatness and strength.

"So long as the mighty Mississippi shall continue to flow on to the sea, and bear upon its bosom the continual tribute of commercial and agricultural wealth; so long as the vast and fertile valley which it washes shall be the seat of powerful states and of thronging millions of men, so long will future generations make their pilgrimage of patriotism to the plains of Chalmette, and there, with grateful and admiring hearts dwell on the immortal memory of Jackson.

"The people of the State of Louisiana and of New Orleans especially, do well therefore to testify their gratitude for services which gave security to their hearths and homes, and their veneration for the memory of the hero in the erection of such a monument in sight of the very field of fame which witness the crowning triumph of his military achievements.

"But let us not speak of the victory won there as a mere local event in repelling invasion from the valley of the Mississippi. the whole Union was delivered and a thrill of exultant joy touched the hearts of the entire American people from the remotest mountains of the west to the farthest headlands of the east. With what emotions the grave defenders were received by the old and by the young; by the strong men and fair women of the Crescent C as they came from the field signalled by a victory which has no parallel, you will find it more easy to remember to express.

"While the pulse is stirred at the thought of such a page in our history's annals, it becomes us none the less to reflect on the civil virtues which threw a still brighter radiance, if possible, around the name of Jackson; and to remember that his fame as a soldier was equalled, if not surpassed, by his fame as a statesman. The lofty courage, the devoted patriotism, the stern integrity, the sagacious comprehension which distinguished him in war was subsequently so preeminently conspicuous in peace as to secure for him a place in the hearts of his countrymen, second only to that of the great founder and father of the Republic.

"Nothing would give me more sincere gratification than to unite with you personally in celebrating such an occasion; but the obligations of public duty render it impossible and compel me to content myself with expressing my cordial sympathy with your object, and thus, in heart, co-operating with you in doing merited honor to the hero of New Orleans.

"I am, with the highest consideration, your obliged fellow citizen,

"Franklin Pierce."

INAUGURATION
Of the Equestrian Statue of
Gen. Andrew Jackson,
Saturday, February 9, 1856.

“In order to prevent confusion and to insure the prompt formation of the procession named in the program of ceremonies for the inauguration of the equestrian statue of Gen. Andrew Jackson, on Saturday, the 9th instant;

The GRAND MARSHAL directs the following formation of the Procession:

“1st. The Legion of Louisiana forming the leading Military Escort under the direction of Gen. H. W. Palfrey, will take their position on Chartres Street, the left resting on Canal.

“2nd. The First Division composed of
 Jackson Monument Association
 Clark Mills, Artist,
 Newton Richards, Designer and Architect of Pedestal,
 Orator of the Day,
 Governor of the State and Staff,
 Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public
 Accounts, State Treasurer, Superintendent of Public
 Education, Attorney General, Surveyor General,
 Members of the Senate and House of Representatives,
 Mayor of the City and Recorders,
 Members of the Common Council,
 City Officers,
 Veterans of 1814-1815,
 Major Gen. Twiggs, U. S. A. and Staff,
 Officers of the Army and Navy of the United States,
 Major Gen. J. L. Lewis and Staff,
 Officers of the Militia,
 Collector of the Port, Naval Officer, Surveyor of the Customs
 and Postmaster,
 Invited guests and distinguished strangers,
 Foreign Consuls,
 Judges of the Supreme Court,
 Judges of the United States Courts,
 Judges of the District Court and District Attorney,
 Clerks of the District Court,
 Justices of the Peace of the State,
 will meet at the City Hall at half past ten o'clock and be formed on St. Charles Street in the order named and escorted from thence by the Grand Marshal and Assistants to their proper position.

“3rd. The Second Division composed of the
 Free Masons,
 Grand Lodge and subordinate lodges,
 and the fire department with banners under the direction of Assistant Marshall, Geo. W. Shaw, will form on the south side of Canal Street in the order named, the right of the Free Masons

resting on the corner of Camp Street with their rear towards the river; and the right of the fire department resting on the corner of Camp Street, and their left towards Rampart Street.

“The Third Division composed of the

Screwmen’s Benevolent Association,
Directors, Teachers, and Male pupils of the public schools,
U. S. Receiver and Register of the Land Office,
The Superintendent and Officers of the Mint,
U. S. Navy and Pension Agent,
Recorder of Mortgages and Register of Conveyances,
Clergy,
Members of the Bar—Members of the Medical Society,
Academy of Science,
Administrators of the University of Louisiana,
Law Faculty of the University of Louisiana,
Medical Faculty of the University of Louisiana,
Notaries Public,
Mechanics Society,
Association of Steamboat and Steamship Engineers,
New Orleans Typographical Union,
New England Society,

under the direction of Assistant Marshal, Captain Charles L. C. Dupuy, of Gen. Palfrey’s Staff, will form on the center of Canal Street, the right resting on a line with the right of the Second Division in the order named.

“The Fourth Division, composed of

Keystone Society,
Charitable Societies,
Howard Association,
French Benevolent Society,
German Society,
St. Joseph’s Society,
Shamrock Benevolent Society,
Portuguese Benevolent Society,
Spanish Benevolent Society,
Italian Benevolent Society,
Board of Underwriters,
Chamber of Commerce,
Board of Health,
Administrators of the Charity Hospital,
United Laborer’s Benevolent Association,
Incorporated Institutions and Other Societies,
Sons of Temperance,
Harbor Master, Port Wardens,

under the direction of Assistant Marshal Major Robert Ellis, of Brigade Staff, will form in the order named on the north side of Canal Street, the right resting on the corner of Chartres.

The Fifth Division composed of

Captains of vessels and steamboats,
 And Strangers and Citizens generally,
 under the direction of the Assistant Marshal Major H. T. Sherman, of Major General Lewis' Staff will form in the order named on the side-walk west of Camp Street, the right on Canal Street.

"The rear Military Escort, composed of the Volunteers of the First Brigade under the Command of Col. Henry Forno will be held on Lafayette Square for orders.

"All persons desirous of participating in the ceremonies of the day are requested to join the procession as none but ladies will be admitted into Jackson Square until the whole of the procession has marched into the Square. The Marshals of the Different Societies will respond to the Assistant Marshals of Divisions as soon as they arrive on the ground.

"Masters of vessels and Steamboats, and proprietors of Public Buildings are invited to display their flags on the day of the inauguration.

"Drays, omnibusses, and other vehicles are requested to avoid as much as possible the streets on which the procession is to form and move from the hours from ten and a half to twelve and a half.

"E. L. Tracy, Grand Marshal."

"Yesterday, the 9th, of February, 1856, will long be remembered by the citizens of New Orleans and the 'strangers within their gates'. It will be looked upon as a bright spot in the city's annals, and be forever associated in the minds of all with the cherished memories which cluster around the Eighth of January, 1815, and the hero of that auspicious day.

"Than Gen. Andrew Jackson no man has ever earned for himself a dearer or more enduring place in the popular regard of our Southern people, and with the equestrian statue, the inauguration of which was witnessed amid so much pomp and circumstance, is but the substantial embodiment of a peoples' gratitude, expressed in bronze and granite.

"As if to do honor to the occasion 'the glorious king of day' arose in the East rejoicingly, and the radiance of his early beams was welcomed by thunderous salvos of the 'loud mouthed cannon,'

"Heaven and earth seemed to smile prophetic approval on the coming ceremonies; and humanity, awakening to the inspiration of cheering omens, arose, determined to fix a new holiday on its patriotic calender.

"While the artillery is booming, gay banners are thrown out from mast and balcony, and they flutter, as if in unison, with the thrill which stirs the public pulse.

"Thousands of brave men—the citizens soldiers of New Orleans—are preparing, as the sun careers in brightness up the heavens, to take their part in the day's ceremonial. Uniforms, which have of late been lying idle, are brushed and brightened, and when put on they enkindle martial memories in the breasts they cover.

'One crowded hour of glorious life

Is worth an age without a name'

seems to be whispered in each ear, and the citizen soldier is ready to go wherever duty or honor calls.

"But beside these there are other bands of stout and brave men—the Firemen of the city, the Screwmen, and the various benevolent organizations—all of whom are to fill places in the line of procession and take part in the inauguration. Bands of music are also beginning to sound the clarion and fill the fife and ere 10 o'clock arrives the whole city is astir. And never before did New Orleans appear so populous. Every street is full to overflowing. Manly and gentle forms jostle each other everywhere, and thousands of new acquaintances are formed on accidental introductions. Poetry and patriotism meet, and perchance they may hereafter harmonize 'like perfect music with immortal verse'. Nor must we forget the children who are crowding toward Canal street as the great center of attraction. Their merry voices are heard and their laughing eyes are seen at every point; for not uninterested spectators are they, and some of them, after half a century shall have elapsed, will look back to the inauguration of the Jackson monument as making a cherished era in their lives.

"As 11 o'clock approached, the various military companies, the civic dignitaries, the benevolent societies and other bodies who, had been invited to join in the procession, began to form into line on Canal street, under the orders of Gen Tracy, the Grand Marshal of the day. This line, if extended out would make from two and a half to three miles in length, but before it had formed in its entirety the first portion of it commenced its march toward Jackson Square, where the monument had been erected.

These movements were effected in strict accordance with the published programme, the Louisiana Legion forming the leading military escort under the command of General Palfrey.

"Following the Legion were the Jackson Monument Association; the artist, Clark Mills; Mr. Richards, the designer and architect of the pedestal; the Orator of the day; the Governor of the State and Staff, and in proper order, the various State, military, civic and other bodies who had been invited to participate in the day's pageant.

"At twenty minutes before 12 the first portion of the procession entered the ancient Place d'Armes—now Jackson Square—the name having been changed in honor of the Hero of New Orleans, after it had been decided to erect in its centre an equestrian monument to his memory.

"On entering the square it was found that great numbers of ladies were already present, and by their gay and animated appearance they made up for the want of flowers among the shrubbery, rendering the whole place beautiful even without the auxiliary aids usually rendered by Flora's lovely sisterhood.

"The statue, which stands in the center of the square, was

veiled with a slight canvas covering, and to the right, looking towards the river, there was a canopy of flags, and a platform from which the inaugural oration was to be delivered.

"Still poured into the square the living tide—company after company, society after society—with music, banners and all the imposing appointments of a grand civic and military show. At length it was filled till it could hold no more, and the streets all around and the vast space extending from the square to the river, were crowded with one dense mass of interested spectators. But this was not all. The balconies of the palatial Fontalba Buildings, which ornament two sides of the square, were transformed on the occasion into picture galleries, from which creole beauty shone forth in all its charms. On these vast galleries and on those of the public buildings which extend along Chartres street, several thousands of fair women and brave men had taken their stand-points and while observing were themselves observed. Even the cupola of the old City Hall and the tower of the Cathedral of St. Louis were not without their fair visitants, who, from dizzy heights, looked down on the vast sea of humanity beneath, and watched the day's doings with most commanding vision.

"The view of the square and the surrounding was truly brilliant. Bright skies were above, bright eyes were around, and all the accessories of the occasion were bright and cheering. Here were stalwart forms, not only from this city, but from all parts of the State and our sister States; and every portion of the wide-spread Union contributed its quota to the galaxy of beauty which shone around.

"Among those conspicuous on the square were the veterans of 1814-15, and to them the day was truly a proud one. A monument was about to be inaugurated to the hero of a battlefield on which they were actors, and in that hero and in that battlefield in which they were actors, and in that hero and in that battlefield their dearest memories had long been centered. With them was the tattered banner under which the Louisiana militia fought and conquered on the plains of Chalmette. And well may they be proud of it, for it was wrought in gold by the fair daughters of the Crescent City and presented to them and their associates with a prayer for their success. Even in its shreds it is still looked upon with reverence. May it prove prophetic of future triumphs.

"We noticed among the veterans one, who on the 19th. of November, 1803, assisted in raising the first American flag which ever fluttered above that square. Previously the senioritas of proud Castile had looked love to 'eyes which spoke again', beneath the venerable sycamores which once towered above the Place d'Armed. After that, when years had passed away, this now grey-haired veteran had joined in defending the city from an invading foe. Another decade of years passed away and he participated in the ovation given by the city of New Orleans to the brave Lafayette; and at the end of another score of years he presents himself to take a part in the inauguration of a monument to Jackson.

"There were also the colored veterans, with their inimitable drummer, honored and honoring the occasion by their presence.

"But we must not particularize, else we will run into prolixity. All looked well and acted well their part.

"As soon as the square was filled, the venerable Gen Plauche, in an outburst of enthusiasm, looked toward the monument and exclaimed in French, 'General Jackson, the saviour of Louisiana—saviour of Louisiana'. This was the signal of loud and repeated huzzas which made buildings in the neighborhood ring again.

"At a quarter past 12, the Hon. A. D. Crossman, Chairman of the Association, introduced L. J. Sigur, Esq., the orator of the day, and immediately afterwards that gentleman proceeded to deliver the following eloquent and stirring address:

ORATION OF L. J. SIGUR, ESQ.

"Fellow-Citizens:—Those who saw the 23rd. of January, 1815, say it was as glorious a day of sunshine as the one which now smiles upon this scene. On that day this public place, all the avenues that lead to it, the porticoes of the ancient edifices which flank this venerable Cathedral and the galleries of the private dwellings of moorish aspect which then stood on either side of this square, were crowded with exultant masses of human beings. The little army which had a few days before displayed its valor in the field, stood here and around, in all the pride and pomp and circumstance of glorious war.'

On that yonder spot and at either gate, rose triumphal arches, hung with victorious flags and garlands of bright flowers; beneath them beamed faces and forms of beauty as victorious and as bright. The roar of artillery—the strains of merry music—the shouts of applause, loud and incessant cheers, swelling anthems of praise escaping from the ailes of the old temple there, mingled in one wild and joyful din and proclaimed the emotions of the multitude. The people of New Orleans had assembled here to lift up their hearts to God in fervent thankfulness, and to pay the well-deserved tribute of admiration and gratitude to the hero, who under the direction of an all-kind Providence, had saved them from the insults of a haughty foe, their city from pillage, and the arms of their common country from the dishonor of defeat.

"We have met here to inaugurate a monument of deeper and broader significance than the ceremonies of that day. The feelings of mere gratitude that swayed the feelings of the generation that preceded, cannot affect us, at least to an equal degree. Our fathers had reaped the first and immediate fruits of Gen. Jackson's victory. They celebrated their deliverance from dangers which had reached their very doors, and which they had seen in the face. Besides, looking only to the events which called forth their rejoicings, it was the controlling actor in those events whom they admired, loved and extolled.

"However far reaching our sympathies may be, we can no more

be expected to enter into the fulness of the peculiar sentiments which animated them, than we can confine our view to the same events and the same actor as they appear in 1815. The scene has expanded since that year and new and important events have crowded upon it. The General-in-Chief at New Orleans has led other armies—he has exercised higher command on a vaster field, where all the virtues and all the faculties which adorn humanity were called into action. In fierce civil strife, which involved the existence of principles affecting the destinies of millions, he has been the recognized and beloved leader of millions. The acts of his long and varied life have displayed in daring relief all these features of his character, as a citizen, as a soldier and as a statesman. We have seen him run his full course, steady and irresistible like the great currents of the ocean—one and the same in all these different situations. He now rests in a hallowed grave and the achievements of his long career, commencing with the Revolution and extending almost to our day, have already become a part of our popular traditions.

“To us, therefore, fellow-citizens, the man of bronze who stands behind this curtain, can not be to us a soldier only, the saviour of a city only. It matters little that the artist, obedient to the exigencies of the place and the unities of his art, has cast him in the accoutrements of war and upon the field of battle. The mind of the spectator now and in future times, will leap instantaneously from New Orleans to Emuchfaw, from Emuchfaw to Florida, from Florida to Washington City. The qualities of intellect and character which commanded success at the first places, opened the way to the last and the most eminent—that upon which ‘he has hewn his name there, in immortality to stand as upon a pedestal.’ The prudence and wariness evinced in the preparations for the defense of New Orleans, the politic boldness which suggested the attack on the 23rd. of December 1814, the power of organization which in a few weeks fused the most discordant elements into an effective army, both in this city and a short time before in Alabama, the prompt and clear perception of the proportion between the end and the means which led to the occupation of St Marks, St Augustine and Pensacola, the loftiness of purpose which wins the good and virtuous, the commanding will which subdues the rebellious; do not these noble attributes and gifts constitute the true statesman as well as the successful chieftain? And does not the civil as well as the military career bear the impress of the gifts and attributes?”

“I am aware, fellow citizens, that mankind are reluctant to accord eminence to one man in more than one field of human exertions. But I would do injustice to the hero and the patriot—to yourselves fellow-citizens, and to the convictions of my own mind, if deterred from the faithful discharge of my duties by the fear of encountering the incredulity of some, the lingering prejudices of others, or even the dying echoes of partisan detraction, I should,

hold up to your admiration the triumphant soldier only. Posterity, will I think look upon his military achievements as only a part, and the less important part, of him—a noble torso covered with the scars which the poet has called 'the livery of honor' but after all a torso only. It was in the councils of the nation, at the helm of State, and as the representative and champion of great principles of Government, that he rose to the proportions of an historical character. It was upon that high eminence that he met the giants of his day and overcame them. I discard entirely the idle discussions which have so often been renewed concerning the authorship of the admirable State papers of his Administration. These disputes may be interesting to the literary antiquarian; in any other view they are worse than futile. For the importance thus seemingly given to the literary merits of political documents, has encouraged the production of those high-sounding electioneering manifestoes which of late years have repeatedly exposed us to dissappointment at home and ridicule abroad. It has falsified in the popular mind the standard measure of statesmanship. The statesman, thinks, contrives and acts. The labor of illustrating and enforcing his views, is of a ministerial and subordinate order. That such were the relations of Gen. Jackson to his cabinet—his the head that conceived and the wisdom that directed—theirs the hands that executed—cannot now be fairly questioned. His own character, every feature of it, is stamped upon the whole course of his administration. It was one of startling initiative of bold measures. No personal considerations, no timid councils could induce him to halt, or lure him into circuitous paths. The aim of his companions in the Western wilds was not more true nor the lead from their rifles more direct to the mark than he to his object. He scorned the shifts and expedients so often resorted to by timid politicians to cast upon their successors the difficulties which should receive a solution from themselves. He met every question as it arose, and pressed it to a final and complete settlement. He never shrunk from the exercise of all the powers—and to their full extent—which the constitution and laws conferred upon him, whenever the occasion and the interests of the nation demanded it. I think I may safely assert that these qualities elonged unitedly or even separatedly, to any great degree, to one of the otherwise eminent men who composed his cabinet. It is therefore his mark, not their, which is upon that eventful period. He was a great and commanding figure of the drama; they, his assistants only.

"It is with due respect to the opinions of others, and without the slightest intention to ruffle the political passions which now lie dormant, that I shall allude to some of the measures of Gen. Andrew Jackson's administration. I shall do so, not to discuss those measures, but to illustrate those features of his mind and of his character which constituted him the 'American Statesman' of excellence. I mean gentlemen, the statesmanship which is

the legitimate offspring of our own institutions—which has a family resemblance to them—which never loses sight of those institutions and applies them as the highest standard and the surest test of the value of political acts and measures. No one, however superficial his observation may be, can fail to mark, throughout the political life of Gen. Jackson, that close, constant and spontaneous conformity with the forms and spirit of the government which he administered and that unswerving fidelity to its objects. He seemed the very impersonification of that Government, possessed by its spirit.

“Behold him as the representative of popular sovereignty. Who among his predecessors and successors more industriously provoked the expression of the popular will? Who more sternly and fearlessly enforced it when it was once ascertained? You recollect how broadly and squarely he made the issue—to be or not to be—with the United States Bank, before he became a candidate for a second term. If the pursuit of power had been his game, he might have secured it with much more certainty, if not by conciliating, at least by refraining from attack upon a gigantic moneyed institution, which had become a power in the state. But his object was to ascertain the popular will, and he pursued that object regardless of the consequences upon his own fortunes. A true ‘American Statesman’—he would have scorned to gain or retain power by those concealments of opinion, or even equivocation in matters of public concernment, which subvert the very foundations of our free institutions and present them in the light of mere delusions involved in laborious forms.

“The veto of the bill rechartering the bank had made the issue before the people—that issue had been tried and Gen. Jackson had again been elevated to the Presidency by an increased majority. Behold him now, executing the popular verdict, amid deserting friends or, at the most, timid supporters, against a powerful party, and in the face of threats of personal violence, of civil war and bankruptcy. The removal of the deposits, determined upon and carried out, admits the advice of a majority of his cabinet, while it was justified by acts of malfeasance on the part of the bank, was viewed by Gen. Jackson much more in the light of a measure necessary to wrest from the bank those means of influence which it would have used freely to thwart the popular will on a new application for a recharter. For in the paper which he read to his Cabinet, and which was afterwards published, in which he defends his course and relieves them from all responsibility, he lays little stress upon the fact that the bank has become an unsafe keeper of the public funds; and he rests his vindication upon the ground that the removal was but the beginning of the execution of the national will. The bank was writhing under the veto of 1832, but it is well known that it had not lost all hope of obtaining a recharter even under the administration of Gen. Jackson. It was then brewing that most extraordinary panic

which we all remember, under the pressure of which it expected to increase the number of its friends in Congress. The removal of the deposits curtailed its means for mischief, and ensured the triumph of the popular will.

"It is not my purpose, fellow-citizens, to enter into an elaborate recital of the political acts of Gen. Jackson. The occasion does not call for it. I have selected only a few, in which his character is most prominently displayed. I have alluded to his struggles with the bank for another reason besides those which I have already mentioned. His conduct in those transactions which has been a text for declaration and unjust accusation, far from indicating lust for power, furnishes conclusive evidence of his entire indifference to it. The fearless assumption of responsibility, in questions of great importance, even within the disputed limits of the law, lead oftener to the loss than to the continued possession of power. Such at least, we must infer, is the general opinion of men in power; for that virtue certainly is not a common one in republican governments. But when that assumption of responsibility implies the exercise of a given power, in its entirety and to its utmost limits, it is still more rare and more perilous. Few dare to tread the indistinct line which separates legitimate from arbitrary power—few dare to stand upon the verge of the Tarpeian rock—few are ambitious of its honors. No public man knew better than Gen. Jackson the danger of assuming responsibility. His fame had been nearly wrecked by the invasion of Florida, undertaken with the unofficial or indirect sanction of Mr. Monroe. It could not have been the love of power therefore, which prompted these bold acts; but a stern resolve to do his duty—his whole duty—at all hazards. Such is now the judgment of the great majority of his countrymen. They have absolved him from the charge of ambition, and they justly regard his errors as the excesses of that self-sacrificing patriotism, which was ever ready to peril life, fame and power for their welfare and the honor of their country.

"The threatened opposition of South Carolina to the collection of the revenues, which if carried into effect must have led to a collision, and perhaps to the dissolution of the Union, exhibited the intense nationality of Gen. Jackson. His love of the 'whole country' rose to the full height of the crisis. Whilst in tones of the most impassioned eloquence, which went to the very heart of the nation, he appealed to their patriotism, to the memories of the past and to the hopes of the future, he was prepared for action. It was the authority of his name and of his example, much more than any legislative measure, which allayed the storm and soothed the troubled waters. May God in His mercy raise up, from the midst of the people, some such mighty leader, some such king of the tempest, to lead us through the darkness, and to dispell the storms which are gathering fast around us.

"I have said enough, fellow-citizens, to convince you that Gen. Jackson is not, as he often is represented, a one-sided character,

a local name; but a complete type and a name suggestive of all those great qualities which mark the great among mankind to be shining lights forever. I may now turn to the more softly shaded bowers of private life, to show you this man of high temper, of stern resolve, of irresistible purpose, exercising the sweet and gentle charities, which like the beautiful Arethusa, flowed in an uninterrupted stream, beneath the surface of his public life. His fidelity to his friends has become proverbial—he never forsook them—he never could be induced to harbor suspicion of them. The devoted partner of his bosom he loved with all the tenderness of a first and youthful love—with all the ardor of his impulsive nature. The memory of his mother's suffering and devotion, continued to the last as fresh in his mind as when more than a half century before, she had visited him, a boy and a prisoner of the British at Camden. At the mere mention of her name, the big tear would start from his eye, and roll down his rugged cheeks. A woman's love, that holiest and noblest of human affections—which fashions and exalts human character—inspires, directs and sustains human exertion—hovered, like a good angel over his whole life. What wonder if it produced the usual impressions and smoothed the soldier into the polished and dignified gentleman? His was the simple polish, the genuine courtesy which springs from a genial and kind nature. He disdained to wrap himself up, while alive, with the mere 'pomp and parade'—in the mere outward show of the conventionalities of the world—for the same reason that would not suffer his remains to be deposited in a sarcophagus which had once been the resting place of a Roman Emperor. It was repugnant to his Republican heart.

"I would not have you suppose, fellow-citizens, that it is my intention or desire to rob the man of his humanity and to exhibit him before you as an ideal, unsubstantial perfection—as an impalpable, shapeless and bodiless fiction. He was a real man, of blood and of flesh, of bone and of sinew—a hero of Homer not the fanciful, hazy creation of a dreamy bard. Like all the men who have been called to act great parts in human affairs, he shone by the possession of commanding virtues, not by the absence of faults—by positive not negative qualities. He was the genuine product of the highest type—of our democratic institutions—a great man of the people—one of them in his habits, in his sympathies, in his dislikes, though towering above them. It is for this that his history, although comparatively modern, has sunk already as deep in our hearts as an old legend. It is for this that his countrymen appreciated him so well, and awarded him, while yet he lived, that fame which others have reaped only in a distant posterity.

"It is for this too, fellow-citizens, that we, the people, are here in anxious expectation to hail the plain but beautiful monument destined to perpetuate the form and features of a great leader of the people.

"Thanks to you gentlemen who have carried out this patriotic

work, thanks to the noble artist who has breathed the breath of life into this bronze. New Orleans may now cast away the weeds of her widowhood. The dead soldier who slept at the Hermitage has thrown aside the ceremonies of the tomb, and is now in the midst of us. It is here that he should have been always, on the scene of his early glory, on the banks of the great stream, where like the genius of the Cape, he hurled his storms and thunder at the invader. Here let him stand forever to excite to noble virtue and patriotic deeds; to speak of the glories of the past and to light the way to glories of the future. As long as the Mississippi rolls his flood to the ocean, may the sun light his face to meet the eyes of our latest posterity. Let us rejoice that our children can not enter this square to indulge in their sports, without beholding him. They will ask us 'who is this?' Some of us will answer: 'It is General Jackson; an unprotected orphan, without family, without friends, without fortune, who rose through the force of his own genius, from an humble station to the most exalted station that the nation could bestow.' Another will say 'he was the very soul of honor; during a long life of almost constant conflict in which all the fiercest passions came into play, he never was guilty of a mean or ungenerous act.' Another 'He never withheld his services from his country—he never shrunk from the performance of a duty, public or private, however perilous or painful it might be.' The patriot soldier will say 'He closed a war of disaster in a blaze of glory'. Let us rejoice for ourselves that he will meet our view daily; for a vigorous and original thinker has said: 'Great men taken up in any way are profitable company. We can not look, however imperfectly, without gaining something by him.'

"He is the living light-fountain—which it is good and pleasant to be near—the light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world; and this is not a kindled lamp only, but rather a natural luminary shining by the gifts of heaven—a flowing light-fountain of native original manhood and heroic nobleness, in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them. The breast of the veteran will swell with pride at the sight of his beloved and well-trusted leader. All—all—the young and the old—the men of this and of coming generations, invoking blessing upon the artist who has preserved his manly form and features, will hail in unison the man without fear and without reproach; the bright pattern of American chivalry and American patriotism.

"During the delivery of his address Mr. Sigur was frequently interrupted by applause.

"As soon as he had ended, the covering was taken from the statue, and the bronze horse and his hero rider were revealed to the assembled thousands amid deafening cheers, the loud acclaim of artillery and spirited music from the bands in attendance.

"This done the Hon. A. D. Crossman led forward Mr. Clark Mills, the artist by whom the statue had been executed and introduced him to the spectators.

Mr. Mills delivered the following address:

"Ladies and gentlemen:—The statue before you represents one who, with a handful of men, proved himself the savior of your beautiful city. Gen. Jackson is there represented as he appeared on the morning of the 8th. of January, forty-one years ago. He has advanced to the center of the line, in the act of review; the lines have come to present arms as a salute to their commander, who is acknowledging it by raising his chapeau, according to the military etiquette of that day. His restive horse, anticipating the next move, attempts to dash down the line; the bridle hand of the dauntless hero being turned under, shows that he is restraining the horse, whose open mouth and curved neck indicate that he is feeling the bit. I have thought this explanation necessary, as there are many critics who profess not to understand the conception of the artist.

"Ladies and gentlemen, it will be to my memory indeed a dark day when I shall forget the vast crowd of faces around me; and should this humble effort meet your approbation, my proudest reflection will be consciousness of having perpetuated in imperishable bronze, the form and features of one whose life and character have always been my admiration.

"Mr. Mills was cheered to the close and music followed, well discoursed.

"Gen. Plauche then advanced, and announced that the ceremony was ended, and the commissioners and invited guests on the platform rose to depart, being of course followed by others, the firing of artillery yet continuing.

"The venerable Bernard Marigny then announced his intention of addressing the spectators in French as soon as the firing of the salute was concluded, and accordingly did so at some length and with great spirit, his remarks eliciting applause at many points. They were principally directed to a review of the great event in commemoration of which chiefly the statue had been erected, and to a eulogy on the patriotic feelings which had been excited and rendered of imperishable strength.

"The immense throng now endeavored to get out of the square, down from the thronged roofs and balconies, from the Cathedral steeple, the lamp posts, the masts, the rigging, the piled merchandise on the levee, and every other point that had been seized as affording vantage ground to view the imposing ceremonies, and to get homeward. This, however, was not to be affected rapidly or easily. Many ladies and children suffered not a little in getting through the gates of the square, and after they had got out the dense crowds in the streets effectually prevented anything like rapid progress.

"Numerous wreaths had been prepared for the purpose of

decorating the statue as soon as it should be unveiled, but it had been decided, for sufficient reasons, that it would be wise not to assent to that addition to the ceremony.

"Altogether, we can say, a more brilliant, imposing or enthusiastic ceremony has never been witnessed under any circumstances, anywhere within the limits of the Union. Not less than 60,000 persons were in and around the square during the inauguration, some of whom had traveled hundreds of miles to witness the interesting sight.

"Everything was conducted in a most harmonious and satisfactory manner, and the arrangements generally were calculated to reflect high credit on the Monument Association, and to Gen. Tracy, the Grand Marshal of the day, to whose management the details of the pageant had been intrusted.

"After they had left the square, the Governor, most of the members of the Legislature, and various civic and military functionaries, repaired to the residence of Mr. Kennedy, the U. S. Marshal, and partook of an ample colation which had been generously provided by Mr. K. Subsequently the Governor reviewed and inspected the Legion, the Washington Artillery, the National Guards and the Continental Guards at the Place d'Armes; on leaving, he received a marching salute at the gates, when he was escorted to his quarters.

THE INAUGURATION DINNER.

"After all the ceremonies of the day were over, the Governor of the State and his suite, the gentlemen of the Legislative committee, the members of the Monument Association, the artist of the statue, and other guests, sat down to a splendid dinner, at the St. Charles Hotel, provided by the city authorities.

"The dinner was provided and served in the best style of Messrs. Hall and Hildreth, and some two hundred gentlemen sat down to partake of it. Gen. Lewis, Mayor of the City, assisted by Alderman Lugenbuhl and Col. Stith on the part of the Council, and Gen. Tracy, Grand Marshal of the day, and Gen Palfrey presided.

"After the cloth was removed the regular toasts of the evening: The President of the United States, the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the City, the artist of the statue, Clark Mill, Esq.; the Jackson Monument Commissioners, the memory of Andrew Jackson and his fellow officers; Coffee, Adair, Carroll and Thomas; the veterans of 1814-15; the memory of Washington, the memory of Gov. Walker, the Judiciary of the State, the press and the ladies—were responded to by Gov. Wickliff, Mayor Lewis, Mr. Mills, Jas. H. Caldwell, Esq.; Gen. Palfrey, Mr. Barnett (a veteran of 1814-15); Judge Reynolds, Col. F. A. Lumsden and Col. Stith.

"In reply to the toast in his honor the Governor made a few happy remarks, and closed with a toast complimentary to the Mayor and Council of the city. The Mayor closed with a felicitous compliment to Mr. Mills, who responded briefly and fitly, and

paid a feeling tribute to the Memory of Jackson. Mr. Caldwell's response to the Commissioners comprised a review of the doings of the Board, and a statement that the battle-ground monument was in progress, and needed only the aid of the Legislature to carry it into complete and successful execution.

"To the toast in honor of the surviving veterans of 1814-15, Messrs. Palfrey and Barnett made some eloquent remarks, and the latter wound up by toasting Clark Mills, Esq., who has given us a statue that proves we have native talent worthy of the admiration of the world. Judge Reynolds responding to the Judiciary, gave 'The statue in Jackson Square and the ladies who honored its inauguration with their presence.' Col. Stith was called on to respond to this sentiment and to the regular toast to the ladies and did so in a few happily expressed remarks; and Col. Lumsden, after a few words in reply to the toast to the Press, closed with one to the cause of 'Public Education and the Public Schools.'

"All these sentiments were enthusiastically responded to by the company present, and a good band of music performed appropriate airs between each of them.

"Col. Jno. A. Jacques, of the National Guard, gave 'New Orleans; her children require no monument to remind them of the greatness of Andrew Jackson, and the debt of honor and gratitude which they owe him.'

"Mr. A. W. Smith gave 'The memory of Andrew Jackson, fearless as a soldier, firm as a statesman, and true as a friend.'

"Major Beard gave 'Gov. Wickliff; should the policy set forth in his inaugural message be endorsed by our representatives, the State of Louisiana must flourish commercially, and be regenerated socially.'

"Several other volunteer toasts were given by gentlemen present, but we were obliged to cut short a report to meet the requisitions of the press before the company separated. Those present seemed to enjoy the occasion to the utmost, and passed an evening of the most enthusiastic hilarity.

"And so ended the Day of Inauguration of the Jackson Monument.

—*New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 10th., 1856.

ORATION ON ANDREW JACKSON.

BY MR. W. O. HART, OF NEW ORLEANS, TREASURER OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON THE 83RD. ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Mr. Hart's address is reproduced in full as follows:

"It has been said that there is no man whose place cannot be filled, but sometimes it is very hard to find one to fill it; and so also it is true that every occasion finds a man ready to fill it and while that man may not have been indispensable, yet his absence may have changed the current of events.

"The Battle of New Orleans of January 8th, 1815, may to the superficial mind seemed to have accomplished nothing because fought when the war was over tho not, to the knowledge of those in America (in fact, news travelled so slowly in those days that it was not until the following March that General Jackson was informed of the previous treaty of peace, and so incensed was he at the report of what he believed to be false that he imprisoned the editor who published this item of news.)

"I am not enough of a military man to recount any of the features of that engagement, but it is so well known, that nothing that I might say would add anything to what my hearers already know. What would have been the effect had the battle resulted differently and the enemy invaded our fair city and state, it is impossible to say, but that great loss and damage to life and property would have followed is a foregone conclusion. The result of this battle brings to mind the words of the prophet: 'The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' That in England there were no two opinions as to what the result would be is shown by an extract from a British journal, published in December or January, just before the battle; it was stated 'The British are no doubt by this time in possession of New Orleans * * * the enemy's forces are principally militia who are compelled to serve; this compulsion, however, was far from the truth, because if troops were ever anxious to show their prowess and valor, it was the troops assembled under command of General Jackson.

"It is hard to think of Jackson as anything but as a soldier; as a soldier, his life is indissolubly connected with the history of this country. As a boy, he was a member of the revolutionary army, and suffered cruel imprisonment at the hands of the British; and it is one of the curious train of circumstances that bring people to the front to find that he was recommended to President Madison by Aaron Burr, whom the General subsequently entertained at his palatial home near Nashville, the Hermitage. Burr, in his celebrated trip thru the West and South no doubt heard enough to convince him that Jackson was the popular hero in that part of the country and that with him at the head, the troops would not know defeat.

"Jackson was a man of many occupations; he was a lawyer, judge, planter, merchant, senator and school master; as a lawyer, he first went into what is now Tennessee, sent by the Governor of North Carolina as a prosecuting officer of the far western part of the old north state. As a lawyer and a judge, he was successful, and tho it is said that his opinions did not contain much law, yet they were noted for their strict justice, which nowadays, at least, is by no means synonymous with law. And, as a lawyer, the general was fond of his joke, one of which might have resulted disastrously in a celebrated opponent, tho they afterwards became the best of friends; in those days of old, the lawyer carried his few law books with him from place to place, generally wrapped up in paper or in

saddlebags. Jackson knew that at the trial of a case his opponent would read from a celebrated law book known as Bacon's Abridgement, and during the recess of the court, Jackson abstracted from the bag of his adversary the book and placed in its place in the paper which had wrapped it, a small piece of bacon of about the size and shape of the book, so that when the grave and learned counsel opened the bag to support his argument by reading to the Court from his law book, his dismay and consternation must have been great when he found what he had to offer to the court. A duel was the result, but, fortunately, neither was hurt.

"But of all the occupations of Jackson, the most grotesque seems to be that of the school master; it is said that in course of time, he managed to write his name legibly, but was never able to spell correctly. Mr. Parton, has said that his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, and everything which he who governs a country ought to know was extreme. He did not even believe the world was round—his ignorance was a wall around him, high and impenetrable; he was imprisoned in his ignorance and sometimes raged around his little enclosure like a tiger in his den. Up to the time he was elected President, it is said the only book he had ever read was the Vicar of Wakefield, so that the only theory upon which he could have considered himself competent to be a school master was those he was going to teach knew less than he did tho he knew nothing. It can hardly be thought that he had as little conception of education as some later day politicians, one of whom, it is said, applied for a position on the police force and was rejected on account of his ignorance and when told of this then applied for a position on the school board.

"The administration of Jackson as president has given rise to so many differences of opinion and so many volumes have been written on the subject that all that is necessary to say at this time is that whatever may have been his shortcomings in that regard, all must admit that he was thoroughly American throughout, and that he had no sympathy with those who antagonize the laws of their country.

"Another trait of Jackson's character that must endear him to all, was his chivalrous defense of women. One notable instance of this probably for a time changed the train of events and made as a successor of Jackson, a man who became such thru Jackson's assistance given him because he had sided with Jackson and with certain members of the Cabinet in opposition to those who were attacking the wife of another member.

"It is sad on this eighty-third anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans to find that the United States Mint, erected partly on the spot where Jackson stood when he reviewed his troops marching to the plains of Chalmette in December, 1814, and which for that reason if for no other, would endear it to the people of New Orleans, as been closed and perhaps forever. This, with the uncompleted conditions of the monument around which we stand, which

has been totally neglected, by the United States, shows its indifference to this part of the country. But I go further and say that the Chalmette Monument should not be localized; Jackson belongs not to Louisiana, nor to Tennessee, but to the United States. (It seems, however, that some parts of the country are rather doubtful of his fame, for it was stated in Chicago during the Exposition that Jackson Park, where the great fair was held was the place that the General was named after). And the battle of New Orleans is as much a part of the history of the United States as the Battle of Concord or the surrender of Yorktown.

"The battle of New Orleans showed that the American soldier is ever ready and at short notice to repel the attack of the invader and the time may come, tho I hope it never will, when that fact may have to be emphasized again; and there is nothing that so adds to the patriotism of a people as the perpetuation in marble and stone of the great events.

"Seventy years ago, General Jackson, on this anniversary, was in the city of New Orleans and perhaps someone within the sound of my voice had an opportunity of seeing him, and it must have been a great day to this city when that event took place.

"The eminent members of Congress, who visited our city last week were surprised, it has been said, at the incomplete condition of the monument and that it was being allowed to fall into decay and ruin thru the indifference of the general government until taken in charge by the ladies who now care for it and who, with the limited means at their disposal, have improved and beautified its surroundings. As one of those Congressmen said, 'The Chalmette Battlefield is one of the Nation's most sacred spots; grand old Jackson and his Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen killed a greater number of the enemy with less number of bullets to do it with than has ever been recorded in history. As the monument should be, it would teach foreign nations a lesson in patriotism. This country has an opportunity to teach them that lesson for on that old battlefield, American valor was displayed as much, if not more, than anywhere else in the broad land.'

"Let us hope that the eloquent words of Mr. Lentz may carry conviction to the powers that be and that before many more anniversaries, we may stand around such a completed monument as the occasion deserves and the country owes.

"I had occasion during the month of October to visit the Hermitage, the home of Andrew Jackson, and to see how the place has been preserved and restored by the ladies charged with its care by the State of Tennessee; it, and the Chalmette monument show that whatever woman undertakes to do is well done. One of the features of the Hermitage is Old Alfred, now nearly ninety-five years of age, and the favorite body servant of the General; with his faculties unimpaired, he is a link between the past and

the present; and if anyone has any doubts of the General's greatness he had better not express them in Alfred's presence, for there would be trouble.

"I met at Nashville, the namesake of the General, and the most enthusiastic admirer of another person that I ever saw; with leisure at his command, he is traveling thru the country and expressed his intention of standing by the grave of every president. This is a patriotic thought, and one which all Americans ought to have, and carry out if within their power. As I stood by the grave of Andrew Jackson, near his old home, I knew that, 'After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.' His wife, to whom he was so devotedly attached, died, as we all know, just after his election to the Presidency, and before they had left the Hermitage for Washington, and it is said that from the moment of her death he became a changed man; that the roughness of his speech (and sometimes I am sorry to say he was more than rough) was a thing of the past and in course of time, he became a member of the church he built for her, and which yet stands in active use, attended by a faithful few. So that after all the struggles and trials, and trials and triumph of life, which had brought him all the rewards that could fall to the lot of man, he found repose in the consolation of religion; he found there that peace which the world, cannot give and went back to the church of his mother, from which he had early strayed, not-withstanding her prayers to the contrary. And if those who go before can know what happens on this earth, what a consolation it must have been to that mother when her son in the evening of life sought his Maker.

"I can do no better in closing these few remarks than to quote what was said by Chief Justice Taney at the time of Jackson's death:

"The whole civilized world already knows how bountifully by providence with those high gifts which qualified him to lead both as a soldier and as a statesman but those only who were around him in anxious deliberation when great and mighty interests were at stake, and who were also with him in the retired scenes of domestic life in the midst of his family and friends, can fully appreciate his innate love of justice, his hatred of oppression in every shape it could assume, his magnanimity, his entire freedom from any feelings of personal hostility to his political opponents and his constant and unvarying kindness and gentleness to his friends.

"Another round of applause greeted Mr. Hart as he concluded, and then Mrs. John B. Richardson stepped forward and presented him with a beautiful bouquet in the name of the association of which she is president.

"Mr. Frank L. Richardson was then requested to present the great guest of honor of the day, the venerable octogenarian, "Colonel Frank D. Richardson."



JOHN H. EATON.

Secretary of War in Jackson's Cabinet, March 9, 1829 to June 18, 1831; United States Senator from Tennessee 1818-1829; Governor of Florida 1834-1836; Minister to Spain 1836-1840. See Chapters 13 and 22.

CHAPTER 22.

Appeal to the public in 1831 by Major John H. Eaton in reply to Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien in the Peggy O'Neal Eaton controversy. A carefully prepared defense of his wife, whose character had been made a political issue.

"CANDID APPEAL

To The

"AMERICAN PUBLIC

"In Reply To

"MESSRS. INGHAM, BRANCH AND BERRIEN,

"On The

"DISSOLUTION OF THE LATE CABINET

"BY JOHN H. EATON.

"CITY OF WASHINGTON

"PRINTED AT THE GLOBE OFFICE.

"1831"

"City of Washington, September, 1831.

"TO THE PUBLIC:

"It is with extreme reluctance that I appear before the public upon a subject purely of a personal character. To me, nothing could be more painful than the necessity of bringing into discussion, in the newspapers, anything which concerns my private and domestic relations. In civilized society, a man's house is his castle, and the circle of his family a sanctuary never to be violated. He who drags before the public its helpless inmates, and subjects

them to rude assaults, deserves to be considered worse than a barbarian. Against those who commit such sacrilege, and shun an honorable accountability, the public will justify an appeal, which, under other circumstances, might not be considered admissible. I expect not by this effort to silence those who have been assailing all that is dear to me. It may open afresh the fountains of their abuse. It is probable, that the very remorse and shame which an accurately drawn picture may produce, will excite my persecutors to raise clouds of fresh calumnies to break upon me with redoubled fury. Let it all come! My head is uncovered, and my bosom bare.

"There is another consideration which would seem to impose silence. These are times of angry political contest, unsuited to dispassionate inquiry. Already have the enemies of the President made use of my private relations to injure and harrass him. In attempting to represent him as devoting his thoughts and his power to further my views and wishes, they seek to blind the people to the principles and acts of his administration. They will doubtless seize even upon my humble efforts at self-vindication as means of promoting that design, seriously calculating by their machinations, that the people of the United States may be wrought into a 'tempest of passion,' and thus induced to forget the signal success of his foreign negotiations, and the unparalleled prosperity and happiness which, under his administration, our country enjoys.

"But to all these consequences I submit myself with entire resignation. A portion of the community will at least do me justice. They will perceive that the President is in no need of any developments from me to give proofs of his integrity, and that it is not for his sake that I present myself before the public. It is a paramount duty which I owe to myself and to my family, and which shall be performed. Others may conceive, but I cannot describe, the pain those attacks have inflicted. It was indeed enough that I was assailed in private circles, while I was in office; but retiring from its labors, with a view to sit down at my own home, in Tennessee, it was but a reasonable expectation to indulge, that I might escape a repetition of these assaults, and be permitted to enjoy my fireside and friends in peace. But instead of putting an end to this unfeeling war, my resignation served to make my enemies more bold. What before was whispered in dark corners, now glared in the columns of the newspapers. Men who had been my friends, who had received favors at my hands, who had partaken of the hospitalities of my house, and given pledges of friendship at my own board, became my deadliest enemies, while I still confided in them. I sought that redress which wrongs so wanton and deadly provoked, and which public opinion, under such circumstances, has always justified. It was refused in a way which added insult to injury; and I was then accused, by one of the malignant calumniators, as having sought revenge at the head of a band of assassins. Not

satisfied with privately injuring me in my own, and the honor of my household, and shrinking from an honorable and just accountability, these persons have, one after another, come before the public, to give countenance and sanction to the calumnies of a reckless press. Mr. Ingham, Mr. Branch, and Mr. Berrien, with evident concert, and deliberate design, by filling the country with erroneous and discolored statements, and substituting falsehood for truth, have sought to consummate the ruin which their conduct in office so insidiously began.

“What can I do? What course adopt? There are persons committed to my charge who are dear to me. I am their only protector. Shall I see them worse than murdered, by men who claim the polish and the culture of civilized life, and not lift my hand and my voice for their rescue? These gentlemen express a desire to preserve their characters, as a precious inheritance for their children. Is the good name of a *mother*, of less value to her orphan daughters? Did they forget, that she whom so relentlessly they pursue, and who in nothing ever wronged them, has two innocent little children, whose father lies buried on a foreign shore? Had these little ones ever injured them? Were they and their mother so much in the way of these gentlemen, that in their malignity they should consent to sap the foundation of their future prospects in life? Had they no remorse, in conspiring and seeking to rob them of all that villany and fraud had left them, the inheritance of a mother’s good name? And if they could be stimulated in their addresses to the public, by the desire of transmitting to *their* children a spotless honor and unsullied name, what might not be expected of me, in defense of the slandered wife of my bosom, and her helpless, unprotected children? Attacks on myself, I disregard. A man’s character is in his own hands; in his bosom he knows how to protect it. It is by his own acts only, that he can be degraded. Not so with a female. The innocent and the guilty alike, the envenomed tongue of slander may reach and destroy. It is a withering blast, which can blight the sweetest rose, as well as the most noisome weed.

“Although I expect nothing at the hands of those who can violate the laws of social life, and all the precepts of ‘holy charity;’ yet by an exposure of their motives and designs, I may be able to render their future malignity powerless. This induces me to make this appeal to my countrymen, and to their award to trust it. There is in the public mind intuitive honor, a native sense of justice, which revolts at wanton attacks on female character, and in the end will visit the unfeeling assailants with terrible retribution. To these I appeal, and on these rely; not in the hope to silence the malignant and the vindictive, but to make their attacks to recoil upon themselves.

“A place in General Jackson’s Cabinet, by me, was never desired. My ambition was satisfied with a seat in the Senate which *thrice* had been kindly bestowed upon me, by my fellow citizens

of Tennessee. Distrust in my competency to discharge the duties of one of the Departments, and a reluctance to encounter its labors, induced me to prefer my situation in the Senate. About to enter upon untried scenes, with a limited knowledge of the characters and feelings of those by whom he was to be surrounded, the President felt anxious to have near him some of his long tried personal friends, in whom he had entire confidence. He desired that Judge White, my colleague in the Senate, or myself, should accept one of the Departments. I urged it upon Judge White, because I considered him better qualified, and better adapted to the station, than myself. He declined it. I then felt it to be my duty to accept the offer of the President. He had just lost the partner of his bosom, and was solitary and disconsolate. As in his kindness he seemed to think I could be serviceable to him, it did not seem consistent with the friendly relations which had long subsisted between us, to leave him at such a moment.

"Mr. Van Buren was appointed, because the President had confidence in his talents and integrity, and because he appeared to be the expectation of the country. Mr. Ingham was selected, for the reason that the President was *induced* to believe that the democracy of Pennsylvania desired it; Mr. Barry, from a confidence reposed in him by the President, derived from his personal knowledge of his worth and merits. Between the first and last named gentlemen and myself, the most cordial friendship has always subsisted; nothing has ever arisen to interrupt in the least our friendly relations.

"Mr. Branch and myself were born and reared in the same county of North Carolina, educated at the same college, and had been associates and friends, in early and in more advanced life. I solicited his appointment as a member of the Cabinet, and at the President's request informed him of the selection. He made no objection, not the least, save on the score of a modest distrust of his competency, and expressed at the time much gratitude towards the President, and exhibited much good feeling towards myself.

"With Mr. Berrien I had been on terms of intimacy, and supposing him to be a man of talents and honor, was pleased that he was selected. The President requested me to confer with him in relation to his acceptance. At that time we were in habits of the kindest intercourse. He seemed highly flattered by this manifestation of the President's confidence, and offered no objection to an acceptance, except intimating a possible interference with his private business. The next day he informed me that he would accept, which reply I communicated to the President.

"I met all the members of the Cabinet as friends, personal and political, to whom was assigned the high destiny, by harmony of feeling among themselves, of giving unity of design and vigor of action to the administration of General Jackson. In the same light, I am sure, did he consider us. In the singleness of his heart and the ardor of his patriotism, he suspected not that there was

amongst us, any other object, than, by our cordial support, to enable him in the Cabinet, as he had done in the field, to fill the measure of his country's glory.' Far otherwise were the feelings and purposes of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, as in the course of this exposition, will, I believe, satisfactorily and fully appear.

"Mr. Berrien in a late address to the public says:

"The annunciations of the names of the intended Cabinet seemed to me, however, to present an insuperable bar to my acceptance of the office which was tendered to me. I thought I foresaw clearly the evils which have too obviously resulted from the selection. A gentleman high in the confidence of the President whom he consulted, expressed his decided conviction, founded on a long and intimate knowledge of the President's character, that he would himself speedily see, and correct the evil. I yielded to those suggestions, and took my seat in the Cabinet.'

"A writer in the *Telegraph*, of the 14th July last, believed to be Mr. Berrien, speaking in behalf of Mr. Ingham, makes the following remarks:

"Pending the organization of the Cabinet, the President was informed by several persons of high standing, and those his strong party supporters, that there were objections to Major Eaton, which would lead to difficulties not likely to be removed. It was not necessary for Mr. Ingham to take any part in the affair. Every one knew that public sentiment would, in due time, concentrate on what was amiss, and correct it.'

"In the *Telegraph* of the 28th July, probably by the same writer, it is asked:

"By whose advice was it that Judge McLean was arranged to the War Department before the Cabinet was announced, in order to remove the 'malign influence,' which even then threatened the dissolution of the party. It was by the personal, political and long tried friends of the President, that this advice was given; and it was by the same advice that these gentlemen retained their seats in the Cabinet in the confident hope that the President would sooner or later see his error and correct it.'

"These extracts carry on their face evidence of a common origin. If not penned by the same hand, they must have sprung from the same councils, were all written with the same views and same object, and disclose with sufficient clearness to whom I am indebted for the long, covert, and at last, open attacks upon me and my household, as well as their purpose. Certain gentlemen, who styled themselves the 'personal, political, and long tried friends of the President' undertook, it seems, without his knowledge or consent, to arrange and fix his Cabinet. I, who had been his particular friend and associate for twenty years; who had adhered to him 'through good report and through evil report,' during two bitter contests for the Presidency, and who, against my wishes was selected as a member of his cabinet, was to be set

aside as unworthy in the estimation of these gentlemen, to associate with him or to participate in his councils. This secret cabal of exclusive friends advised Mr. Berrien to accept a seat in the cabinet under the secret expectation that I would be driven from it. By the same persons, Judge McLean was arranged to the War Department, their object being expressly to get rid of me. They advised Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, to cleave fast to their hold, which they did, even under alleged 'indignity and insult' too, in the 'confident hope that the President would speedily see and correct the evil.' Without the President's knowledge, and without mine, this cabal of 'personal, political, and long tried friends,' were thus endeavoring to control all the cabinet arrangements, and secretly to place around the President men of their selection and stamp. It was not for him to select his own counselors, or decide who were his 'personal, political, and long tried friends,' men who had supported him only when they had lost all hope of Mr. Calhoun, who had joined his standard only when their favorite candidate had disappeared from the contest, and who had supported him as a secondary choice. Your Inghams, Berriens, and others, were now arrogating to become his exclusive counselors, and to thrust from his presence as unworthy of his trust and confidence, those who had supported him for his own sake, whose attachment was cemented by years of confidential intercourse, whose faith and energies were pledged to his support, and whose hopes were all concentrated in the success and prosperity of his administration.

"Mr. Branch was made the instrument of abler heads and attempted to become a manager in his business. In his recent letter, he mentions a call which he made on the President previous to my nomination to the Senate, at which he arrogantly represented that my selection would be improper and unfortunate, and gave his reasons, which appear to have related solely to my family. He also states he then came to advise me against accepting a place in the cabinet, admitting that the charges made against my family were false, but representing 'what use the opposition would make of it,' and that 'the enemies of the President would not fail to make a handle of it.' He says that he placed Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Eaton on the same footing, and desired to save the President 'from recollections which would be painful and distressing.' Mr. Branch has a treacherous recollection. He kept no note book, or, like his co-partner, Mr. Ingham, he has accommodated his notes to emergencies. I can put him right in this affair, not doubting his admission of the truth of the narration I offer if honor be left him, although he may deny the motive which I feel persuaded, influenced him at the time.

"Failing in the attempt to prevent my appointment, and to dissuade or rather deter me from accepting, Mr. Branch was next made the instrument of a piece of secret management, having in view the same result.

"It was suggested to the President after the first arrangement of the Cabinet was made, that Mr. M'Lean entertained objections against remaining in the Post Office Department. It was known that the President was disposed to gratify him, by placing him in another Department, if he could do so with a proper regard to others previously selected. This, it seems, taken in connection with my known repugnance, under any circumstances, to undertake the labors of that Department, furnished a hint to those who wished my exclusion from the Cabinet of which they hastened to avail themselves. Mr. Branch declared that the President *might place him where he pleased. He should be satisfied*; and proposed to me, that we should, if the President approved it, assent to the placing of Mr. M'Lean in either of the Departments assigned to us as he might choose, to which I assented. The War, Navy, and Post Office Departments were then considered open to re-assignment according to the will of the President. The result was Mr. M'Lean was arranged to the War Department, Mr. Branch to the Post Office, and myself to the Navy Department. This did not meet the object. Mr. Branch made unexpected difficulties, and at the desire of those who proposed the change, the original arrangement was restored.

"I suspected no other than a fair and honest motive in all this; but we are now informed through the expositions recently made in the Telegraph, that all Mr. Branch's movements originated in the 'advice' of certain *personal, political and long tried friends of the President*,' given with a view, as is now expressly stated, 'to remove,' me from the Cabinet.

"At length the Cabinet was formed. Mr. Berrien expressly says, that he entered it, only because he expected 'the President himself would speedily see and correct the evil' of my appointment; and that he clearly 'foresaw the evils which have resulted from the selection.' His declaration is no doubt true. No prophets foresee future events so precisely and so certainly as those who having the means in their own control, are determined to bring them to pass. Foreseeing the evils, he must have foreseen the means through which their correction was to be brought about. He must have foreseen, that he and his associate friends intended to use the influence and consequence which office gave, to accomplish their expectations, the persecution of my family, the attempt to degrade me, and all the arts which subsequently they have employed to procure my removal.

"How could so much be foreseen, if it had not been predetermined? No prophecy could have been so confidently relied on if it had not then been resolved by a cabal of the President's pretended 'friends,' with a view to *concentrate public opinion*, that I and my family should be proscribed from intercourse, with that portion of society over which they and their families had or could have influence. Not a doubt is left on my mind, that before the nomination of the Cabinet to the Senate, the means of operating on public

ized opinion and forcing the President to exclude me were devised, arranged, and fixed upon, by and with the knowledge and approbation of Messrs. Ingham and Berrien, if not of Mr. Branch; and the means to be employed under their boasted sense of honor, an honor which in their bosoms inspired an earnest desire to transmit to their children, 'an unsullied, good name' were, the abuse and slander of a mother with two innocent daughters whose good name was blended with hers, and in attacks upon my integrity and honor. Did they reason themselves into the belief that the inheritance of a parent's good name was of no value only as it regarded their children; and that whether others lived or perished was not material if they and theirs were safe?

"Did I merit such course of treatment from Mr. Berrien? We had served together for several years in the Senate of the United States. He was invited to and was present at my marriage six or eight weeks before. We were in habits of daily friendly intercourse; on my part, free and unrestrained, and, as I supposed, equally so on his. He professed to be my friend and such I thought him. Was it honorable, then, and was it just, to hide from me all the 'evils' which he 'foresaw,' and suffer me to run blindly upon inextricable difficulties? Should he not have warned me that not 'the opposition,' not 'the enemies of the President' merely, as Mr. Branch states, but his friends, 'his personal, political and long tried friends,' aye, even those whom he had selected as members of his Cabinet, viewed my selection as an evil, and intended to use it to distract his councils, embarrass his administration, and provide for a successor? Had Mr. Berrien frankly informed me that he and his associates considered my appointment 'an insuperable bar' to their acceptance, an issue would at once been tendered. I should have desired the President to excuse me and given him my reasons, and then, for the sake of harmony, he would have discharged either me or them. But all was concealed from me, and only against the probable course of the opposition, the enemies of the President was I advised and warned. I was not taught to expect that in Ingham, Branch and Berrien I should find these very enemies who were smiling upon him and me, with unqualified professions of devotion and friendship. Against their assaults it was hence impossible to guard. Again, I ask was it just or honorable in Mr. Berrien, entertaining the views which he has recently avowed, to conceal them from me and thus lead me blindly forward upon a mine which he knew was prepared for my destruction?

"However he may excuse himself for his practiced concealment towards me yet was he bound in duty to the President and to the country, to communicate his views frankly and fully to him. He knew the importance, nay absolute necessity, of entire harmony in the Cabinet, and that the views of the President in relation to the reformation of the government and *home interests* of the country, could not be accomplished without it. Mr. Berrien knew that

the President had a right to expect unity of feeling and action amongst those whom he had selected as his counsellors; and that in justice to himself and to the people who had elected him, he would not knowingly constitute a Cabinet of discordant materials. *Yet' clearly foreseeing all the evils which have resulted,*' he concealed his feelings and his views and suffered a Cabinet to be formed between whose friendly association and cordial co-operation there was an '*insuperable bar,*' which *he* clearly saw; but which the President did not. By this concealment and want of candor, he suffered his friend and benefactor to be led into error in the very first step of his administration, and which in common with other enemies he is now attempting to wield to his destruction. On whom ought the responsibility of organizing such a Cabinet to rest? On the *confiding* friend, who, judging of men by their professions, selected those as its members whom he believed to be friendly to each other and devoted to the success of his administration; or to those deceitful individuals, who, foreseeing all the evils which have resulted, kept them concealed from the President, and entered his Cabinet only because they expected such discord and division to arise, that '*public sentiment would concentrate*' upon one of their colleagues and force his removal?

"The questions so gravely raised and discussed in the public newspapers about visiting, leaving a card, and invitations to 'large parties' or small ones, in this city, cannot but appear matters of derision to the American people. Who calls upon his neighbor, or invites him to eat and drink with him, and who does not, is a matter of no concern to the people; and to them it must appear ridiculous that statesmen and Cabinet counsellors have thought it necessary to disturb them with matters so trifling. But even these have been rendered of some importance as developing the motives of men, and accounting for events of higher importance. And in this view is it that I am about to introduce such a topic and beg to be pardoned for doing so.

"After my marriage in January, 1829, my wife and myself visited Philadelphia and were absent from Washington two weeks. Amongst those who had called in our absence to visit and pay us the customary congratulations, were Mr. and Mrs. Calhoun, their cards had been left. In cities, leaving at a neighbor's house a card, a small piece of pasteboard with the name upon it, is called a visit. Not long afterwards, we called at Mr. Calhoun's lodging to return the civility. After sending in our names, we were invited up to the Vice President's parlor where Mrs. Calhoun was alone and received us with much politeness. We spent a short time quite agreeably and took our leave. Afterwards these calls were not repeated on either side. This was a short time before it was understood who would compose the Cabinet of General Jackson.

"Another trifling incident is worthy of note. When it was ascertained certainly that I would be Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun requested the appointment of one of his friends as my chief clerk.

To another gentlemen who made the same request, I made a promise to comply with Mr. Calhoun's wishes. Considerations not thought of at the time induced me to change my determinations; in consequence of which, I declined to make the appointment and sent an explanation to the gentleman to whom I had given the promise. None was offered to Mr. Calhoun, for none was asked and to him no promise had been made. From that time he broke off all intercourse with me, official as well as private.

"Soon after the Cabinet was organized, indications of those secret views which Mr. Berrien now openly avows, began to manifest themselves. The motive was not apparent, yet was it sufficiently evident that there was a settled design to put a ban on my family, and render my position at Washington disagreeable to me. This was to be promoted by all the influence and importance which high station conferred on some of my colleagues. Confederacies were formed and efforts made to awaken prejudices. To give countenance to the confederates and to aid their efforts, old slanders were revived, and new ones circulated. Families coming to the city were beset on the way and on their arrival. No means which ingenuity could invent or malice make use of, were left untried to give tone to public sentiment, 'to make it concentrate' and force the President to separate me from his councils. Hope gave the assurance that in a little while he would see public opinion concentrated, and would 'speedily correct the evils.'

"Let me not be misunderstood. I never complained of anyone for not associating with me or my family. It is the right of every man and of every woman to visit whom they please. To see my house filled with unwilling or reluctant visitors, constrained to call by the command of power, could never be desired by me. Happily, I was never dependent on such authority for friends, associates and visitors. Always, when my doors were open, at 'large parties,' and at social calls, I met friends with cordial hearts and happy faces, who evinced by their frank and open demeanor that they came of their own volition, and not through hope of reward, or fear of punishment. It is true I did not meet some of my colleagues or their families, nor some of their associates of the same political stamp; but I met ladies and gentlemen quite as respectable and equally as agreeable. If, as is true, I and my family were not invited to the houses of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, so neither were they invited to mine, and in this we were equal; and neither, as I convey, had a right to complain.

"Mr. Berrien's family never did refuse to visit with mine for they never had the opportunity. Custom required, when they came to the city, being last in their arrival, that we should first call on them if we desired their acquaintance; but we never did call.

"How ridiculous does this single fact render Mr. Berrien's publication, which he has set forth with such grave formality. He had ascertained the sense of society here, he says, and conformed to it in this matter, when in fact he never had an opportunity to con-

form to, or depart from it. He maintains that the President threatened to dismiss him because he would not compel his family to visit where he did not choose they should, when in fact they never had an opportunity to visit there. Throughout he presents me and my family as craving the society of his, which he haughtily refused, when, in fact the first, the natural and the usual advance, on our part, had never been made.

"It will be seen, then, that had the President set out to regulate the intercourse of society and to direct its social relations, he ought to have begun with me, not Mr. Berrien. He must have threatened to dismiss me, if I did not compel my family first to call on his and leave a card. What! *force* Mr. Berrien, under such circumstances, to *force* his family upon us! The President certainly ought first to have *forced* us to give them an opportunity to decline our acquaintance. To *force* together unwilling people, and particularly to begin with the wrong persons, would indeed appear an odd and strange procedure.

"In the autumn of 1829, new attacks began to be made, in whispers, on my integrity. It was said I had conspired with my wife's first husband, Mr. Timberlake, to defraud the government of large sums of money. Other attempts to get rid of me, having failed, I was now to be presented as being in default to the government through fraud practiced on it. Mr. Timberlake had been a Purser in the Navy, and this charge was based upon a reported deficiency in his accounts with the public; and on a *private letter* of mine, detained in the 4th Auditor's office, showing that on my suggestion, he had remitted money to me. Copies of my *private confidential letters* to him had been taken from the office that I might not escape through *apprehended indulgence and favor*, on the part of Mr. Kendall. Matters were considered well arranged, and the proof complete to show that this delinquency was wholly occasioned by remittances of money to me and which was yet in my possession. Such were the whispers circulated through the society of this place. But a close investigation, which occupied some time, showed that Mr. Timberlake's account had been deprived through a series of shocking frauds, of credits to the amount of from 12 to \$20,000, and that justly he was largely a creditor, not a debtor, to the Government. But with mutilated books, abstract of accounts missing, and the inventory gone from the Department, his family can only appeal, under all the circumstances, to the justice and honor of the country, for redress.

"While slander held its open day and midnight round of whisper on this subject, I received from some malignant being, who subscribed himself Iago, the following note:

"*Sir*, I have written a letter to Mr. Kendall about the money that paid for O'Neal's houses. You know what I mean. Revenge is sweet, and I have you in my power, and I will roast you and boil you and bake you; and I hope you may long live to pro-

long my pleasure. Lay not the flattering unction to your soul that you can escape me. I would not that death or any evil thing should take you from my grasp for half the world.'

"Who the writer of this fiendish note is, I have never ascertained. I cannot turn my thoughts on an enemy so implacable that he would be unwilling the man he hated should find repose in death. Yet is it in character with the acts of those whose forecast pointed to the means by which the evil of my selection as a member of the Cabinet, was to be made apparent and the President forced 'speedily to see and correct the evil.' If I could have been driven from all respectable society or had fixed upon me collusion and fraud in obtaining the funds of the Government, then would the Cabinet have been relieved of my presence and the prophecy of Mr. Berrien completely fulfilled.

"Congress had now commenced its first session after the inauguration of the President. The recommendations in his message had been received with uncommon applause. But it was soon perceived that little, in furtherance of his views, was to be expected from some of the political gentlemen who were professing regard to the administration. Movement amongst some of my colleagues, with others in the same political interest, indicated a disposition again to wage against me a war of exclusion. Rumors of a combination to force me from the Cabinet attracted the President's attention. He suspected that a portion of his Cabinet had entered it in disguise, and had fomented some of the mischief he had encountered; and accordingly determined, if it should appear that they were guilty of such duplicity and had combined to harrass and drive out one of their colleagues, they should share the fate they were preparing for another. While reflecting on the course proper to be adopted, Colonel Richard M. Johnson called on a visit; and to him he disclosed his difficulties and intentions. Colonel Johnson entertained a better opinion of these gentlemen than to believe they harbored hostile views towards me, or had entered into a combination to expel me from the Cabinet. Accordingly he solicited the consent of the President to converse with them as a friend, that by ascertaining the suspicions entertained to be incorrect, he might relieve them from the imputation. He had no other authority or permission than this. The mission was of his own seeking; he was actuated solely by a desire to maintain harmony and if he could, to be of service to these gentlemen. Whether he spoke upon politics, religion, philosophy, ladies, cards, invitations to large parties or small, social or political intercourse, all, all was upon his own responsibility and upon his own authority. Through him the President made no proposition, no requisition, and no threat. For myself I knew nothing of it.

"It is a little remarkable that neither of the three gentlemen in their published statements speak of any proposition as coming directly from the President, which was considered at all insulting or improper. Though they insist that Col. Johnson was author-

ized to threaten, and did threaten them; yet not one pretends that *directly* the President insinuated any thing of the kind to either. 'It is strange, passing strange,' that Col Johnson, a man of known integrity, should deny this, strange that when they met the President, he breathed to them nothing like it, and yet stranger still, that in defiance of these proofs and these circumstances, they still insist that they were insulted! Who now will wonder that the Cabinet was changed, or who maintain that it ought to have been longer continued? No sooner had Mr. Branch stated, that Col. Johnson had threatened their dismissal, than it was promptly denied by the President, who said he would forthwith send for Col. Johnson; and for that purpose called a servant. Why did the messenger not go? Mr. Branch explains! 'It is unnecessary to send for Col. Johnson for your word is sufficient.' And why is that word not now sufficient? Then, Mr. Branch received it as true, told it no doubt to his colleagues, and yet do they come before the public coldly to assert as true what then was given up as a mistake, an entire misconception on their part. Content with the explanation offered at the time, convinced of the incorrectness of their impressions these gentlemen now assert their displeasure and discontent, and at the end of fifteen months, come out and maintain that to be true which before had been given up as a false and incorrect impression. As for myself, I can say and do truly say that I never uttered or brought to the consideration of the President, any complaint in reference to myself. I was always content to keep the redress of my own wrongs and injuries in my own hands, and to ask the aid and assistance of no one in or out of power. No intimation was ever had by me that Col. Johnson intended to make such inquiry; nor did I know that he had made it. The lofty sense of honor entertained by General Jackson would never permit him to compromise the honor of his friends. He has not compromised mine; and yet he would have done it had he used his authority to extort courtesy in my behalf from Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. But why reason about it? If the disavowal of the President, established even by his accusers who so lately were his professing friends, if to confront Mr. Branch with Col. Johnson, and which alone was prevented by a declaration that he (Mr. Branch) was entirely satisfied, if the assertion of Col. Johnson that he had no authority to communicate any such thing, did not communicate it, and so informed the parties at the time, if all this be not sufficient to prove the falsity of the statements which these gentlemen, in their malignity, have so recklessly hazarded before the public, then would it not be believed, 'though one arose from the dead.'

"By their conduct at the time my colleagues manifested that nothing had been required of them, which, as is now asserted, they considered dishonorable. If they had believed so, if, after controversing the President, they thought he had exacted of them that to which, as honorable men, they could not conform, they

should have immediately tendered their resignations. To suppose they could do otherwise is to presume that for the sake of office they were willing tamely to submit to the 'indignity and outrage' of which they now complain. Though the concealments by which they imposed themselves on the President, their conduct towards me, and especially Mr. Ingham's note-book, in which, being a confidential adviser and in one sense a part of his family, he noted down, if he is to be believed, the free, the private and familiar conversations of the President for future use, present spectacles of human degradations at which honorable minds would revolt; yet, I cannot suppose that they would remain in the Cabinet under a consciousness that hourly they might be exposed to the same indignity, involving their personal honor and the honor of their families. It is utterly impossible that gentlemen now apparently so sensitive, could have submitted themselves to such a state of things, without complaint for fifteen months. By their remaining in the Cabinet so long after the 'indignity and outrage' of which they now complain, I must conclude that the President had not insulted them by any dishonorable and improper requisition, or else that they loved their offices better than their honor, and that their present violence is caused only by the loss of them.

"But in relation to Mr. Branch, I have something even better than Mr. Ingham's note-book, to prove what actually were his feelings towards the President at and about the very time when this pretended indignity of Colonel Johnson was offered. It is a letter* addressed by Mr. Branch to the President, in his own hand writing, on the 29th of January, 1830, and which on the same day was inclosed to me, in the hope that a reconciliation might take place between us. Agreeably to Mr. Ingham's note-book, it was 'on Wednesday the 27th day of January, 1830,' that this alleged 'indignity and outrage' was offered. Of course this letter was written but two days after, and on the identical day when Mr. Branch, feeling himself deeply afflicted at the communication made to him by Colonel Johnson, called, as he states, to see the President; and when, as he says, 'the President's feelings were too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered.' And were Mr. Branch's feelings too much enlisted 'to weigh any reasons?' Was he, as we are told was the case with all three of the gentlemen, indignant at the outrage? Let the letter speak for itself and show how deeply and how like an insulted and wounded man he could write at this instant of excitement, when honor and feeling, through the instrumentality of Colonel Johnson, had been rudely trodden under foot.

* I accidentally found this letter, a few days since, amongst some old papers, not intentionally preserved, for until now I never conceived it to be of any consequence.

"Navy Department, January 29, 1830.

"Dear Sir:

I have received your note of Yesterday's date, and do most cheerfully accept your friendly mediation; more, however, from a desire to give you an additional evidence of the friendly feelings which have actuated my bosom towards yourself, than from a consciousness of having given to Major Eaton just cause for the withdrawal of his friendship. As a further manifestation of the frankness which I trust will ever characterize my conduct, I agree to meet him this day at two o'clock, in the presence of Major Barry, at Mr. Van Buren's, and in his presence also.

"Yours truly,

"John Branch."

"To the President of the United States."

"This letter, written directly after the indignity complained of was offered, bears no impress of insulted feeling; on the contrary breathes a spirit of kindness and friendship towards the President, whom he recognizes as a 'mediator,' seeking with almost parental solicitude, to heal the division amongst the members of the Cabinet, and anxious for the restoration of harmony. Surely in writing that letter, which he concludes by signing himself, 'Yours truly,' he could not have supposed, that the President had just offered him an indignity; or if so, it only proves how great a hypocrite he is. At that time, we did not speak. As much parade as he makes of his friendly feelings entertained towards me, he was the very reverse of all that the name of friend conveys; and knowing it as I did, I would not permit him to seem to be what he was not. I had refused to return his salutations, and declined all intercourse, except when we met at the President's. I never complained of Mr. Branch, as he asserts in his letter to the public. It was he who complained, if at all complaint were made. His letter to the President, thanks him for his offer to act as a mediator in our difference, speaks of his good feelings towards me, and willingness to meet me at two o'clock that day. I have no doubt it was his professions of friendship and kindness towards me, made to the President, which induced him to become Mr. Branch's mediator in this business. On receiving the letter, he enclosed it to me, and expressed a wish that good feelings could be restored between us. An interview took place, at the room of the Attorney General, at which Major Barry and Mr. Berrien were present.

"It was here that Mr. Branch, in the presence of these gentlemen, expressed friendship for me and in the strongest terms declared that he did not entertain any unkind feelings towards me, and wished he had a glass in his bosom through which his every thought could be read. He spoke of the non-intercourse between our families, and said he had not the slightest objection to a free association; but that he could not control his. I promptly answered, that I did not desire his or any other family to visit mine,

except with their own free consent; and that it was my desire our family should, in that respect, pursue such course as they thought fit and proper. We shook hands and parted as friends. Mr. Berrien affected much satisfaction at this reconciliation, and pretended to hail it as the harbinger of future harmony and good will. I say *pretended*, because, under all the circumstances of recent disclosure, he felt not what he said he did. It was only adding another and another fold to that cloak of hypocrisy in which he had wrapped himself from the first formation of the Cabinet.

"Such were the incidents of Friday the 29th of January, 1830, the moment when, as their communications to the public disclosed, they were writhing under a sense of deep and lasting 'indignity and outrage,' at the threats of Col. Johnson, borne to them from the President. Where then was the lofty dignity of Mr. Berrien and Mr. Branch that the one could declare how pleased he was at the reconciliation made, and the other protest the good feelings which he entertained for me?

"Let us see how the facts stand, if these men speak truth. On Wednesday, the 27th of January, 1830, the President, through Col. Johnson threatened to dismiss them, if they did not compel their families to associate with mine, which they considered such an 'indignity and outrage,' that they seriously thought of resigning. On Thursday, the 28th, the 'indignity and outrage' being unatoned and even unexplained, the President wrote a note to Mr. Branch, offering his '*friendly mediation*,' to bring about, what? Not social intercourse between our *families*, but a restoration of friendly intercourse between *ourselves*. In the morning of Friday, the 29th (for he says he will meet me at two o'clock) he accepted the friendly offer, thus acknowledging that he considered the President an impartial umpire, and unprejudiced, unexcited and just man, in whose hands he could trust his character and his honor; and yet strange to tell, on the same day, having called on the President for some explanation about Col. Johnson's insulting message, he found '*The President's feelings were too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered!*'

Who can believe all this? '*Most cheerfully*,' says he, I '*accept your friendly mediation*.' What! Accept the mediation of a man who two days before, had required him to humble himself to me like the meanest slave and had not atoned for it? Accept the mediation of a man whose feelings were so much enlisted in my favor that he would not listen to reason? Impossible! Had Mr. Branch felt that an indignity had been offered him, he would have replied to the President: 'Sir, your insulting message through Col. Johnson, must be first explained, before I can avail myself of '*your friendly mediation*.' By his whole conduct, he showed that he entertained no such feelings, and that the whole story about 'indignity and outrage,' is a sheer invention, got up now to injure the President.

"This letter of Mr. Branch shows that in addition to Col.

Johnson's *friendly mediation*, the President was willing to exert his own as a *friend* to heal the breach, in anticipation of the meeting to which he invited the Secretaries, on Friday the 29th, to declare the basis on which he had resolved to fix the harmony of his Cabinet. Mr. Branch and myself, the principal difficulty having arisen between us, met, as has been stated, at Mr. Berrien's, and adjusted our relations amicably; and yet it is pretended that this reconciliation produced as is seen from Mr. Branch's note, by the kind and friendly interposition of the President, is represented to have been *immediately preceded* by 'indignity and outrage,' and to have been *succeeded* by a state of feeling too much excited 'to weigh any reasons which might be offered.' How thoroughly is all this contradicted by Mr. Branch's contemporaneous note.

"Private difficulties were now at an end, and, as was well understood, families were to visit or not, according to their inclinations. In two days the 'indignity and outrage' which had been offered to these gentlemen was forgotten, so much so that for fifteen months matters glided on in tolerable harmony. Nothing more was said or heard of this subject until the President as he had an unquestioned right to do, thought proper to request their resignations. Then were old notes and memoranda burnished up, and that over which they had slept so long, immediately became a subject of deep and 'awakening interest to the American people.' The truth is, this *farce* which is now brought out on the public stage, was designed for a different occasion. It was in January or February, 1830, that they expected to exhibit before the public, and to unfold the tale of threats from the President, dismissal, and family association and all that. Not being dismissed, then, as they expected, they laid aside their prepared tale; but having at length lost their offices, they bring it forth upon an occasion which it does not fit, and vainly attempt to attribute the dissolution of the Cabinet to a false ground. That event they knew sprung from an entirely different cause, a cause which will satisfy every impartial man when he comes to understand it. To account for this removal, they offer any but the true reason, and hence run into all sorts of absurdity.

"Shortly after this, about the 20th of March, a preparatory meeting of a few members of Congress was held, with a view to request the President to remove me from the Cabinet. Being apprised of their design, he made a remark which satisfied the leaders in this movement that to persist in their course would serve to expose them to public reprobation and result in fruitless endeavor. Accordingly, the project was abandoned or at least suspended.

"I do not impute to all who participated in this preliminary step, a design to unite ultimately in a measure of such high dictation to the Present. Some were at first misled by false representations, and induced to believe that his peace and comfort, as well as the success of his administration, depended upon it; others attended the meeting to point out the impropriety of the course, and to dissuade their friends from persisting in their design.

“Now, what was the motive for all this relentless persecution? Could it be that my wife was indeed the cause? Was it merely to exclude a female from their ‘good society?’ Was one woman so dangerous to public morals and so formidable in influence and power, as to require all this strong array of Cabinet counsellors, combination of members of Congress, confederacy of fashionable ladies? Was it for that, attacks were made upon the integrity of her husband, and honor, truth and candor sacrificed? The idea is truly ridiculous! She was lone and powerless. Those who liked her society, sought it; and those who did not, kept away. Neither she nor her husband entered into cabals and intrigues to the prejudice and injury of others. Their own multiplied wrongs they bore with as much patience as could be expected from mortals endowed with human passions and sensibilities. A common understanding prevailed, expressed in relation to one family, and which was also understood in relation to others, that each should seek their own associates, according to their own will, uninfluenced and unrestrained. The *motive*, therefore, was not to exclude us from society. It is a matter altogether *too small* to account for the acts and the untiring zeal of so many *great men*.

“Was the *motive* merely to exclude me from the Cabinet? Was my presence there dangerous to the interest of the country or to its institutions? Had I the power to or the disposition to injure the one or overthrow the other? Was it pretended that I wanted the ability, intelligence or integrity necessary to the management of the Department of War? Of its management, there has been no complaint, while it was in my hands! I left it at least as prosperous as I found it! Was it suspected that I was not true to the President and would prove false and faithless to his administration? A confidential intercourse of more than fifteen years, the highest admiration of his character, and the deep personal interest felt in the success of his administration, were surely sufficient to guard me against that. Nothing of this sort entered into the minds of my traducers. They had no desire for my exclusion on account of any suspicions entertained that I would willingly do injury to the interests of the country, its institutions, or to the President! To what then shall we look for this *motive*? An ardent friend of the Vice-President, in 1829, in one short sentence disclosed it:

“*Major Eaton is not the friend of Mr. Calhoun.*”

“It was this which rendered me unfit for the Cabinet, and for the respectable society of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. I could not, perhaps, be used to promote the views of Mr. Calhoun, and might exert an influence to induce General Jackson to stand a second election. It was not thought that in my hands the influence and patronage of the War Department, could be used in favor of a successor. In that they did me justice. It was not so used nor ever would have been. It was a subject about which I spoke not and felt not. Not even was I solicitous for General Jack-

son again to be selected, except on the ground that his principles and the course of his administration, when fairly tested, should be found in accord with the general sense of the people and the country. At a proper time they would determine this matter, and there I was willing to rest it, undisturbed by any private or official interference of mine.

"But 'Major Eaton was not the friend of Mr. Calhoun,' and this was a sufficient reason, why he should not be permitted to enter the Cabinet, if to be prevented; or for forcing him out when there. The ineffectual attempts to exclude me have already been alluded to. It has been shown that Berrien and Ingham, concealing deep in their own bosoms their feelings, entered the Cabinet under a full conviction that I presently would be excluded, that Mr. Calhoun's family and mine, before my appointment, interchanged civilities, and that he sought of me the appointment of a friend as Chief clerk, and that thereafter all private and official intercourse between us, cease. Let it be borne in mind, that the principals, those who have been actively employed against me, are the friends of Mr. Calhoun, his devoted, active partizans. It is readily to be inferred then that this 'high wrought tempest,' has proceeded from political designs, connected with the future hopes and expectations of Mr. Calhoun; and this inference I have it in my power to confirm, by the most unquestionable facts.

"Duff Green, Editor of the United States Telegraph, has been from the first the instrument of Mr. Calhoun, by whose movements he sought to bring his plans into operation. To him the feelings and plans of his party have been known. He has been their chief manager; first their private, and now their public organ. Him they chose to carry on their private correspondence, him they selected to make their *debut* against me, they standing behind the scene with their notes, memoranda, and concerted statement,, to back and sustain him. As he is their witness and their friend, their agent and association, they will not impeach the testimony borne by *his acts*. His *word* would not be introduced by me as evidence against any whom he was desirous to injure. Before I knew him, I rendered substantial service to this man; but his ingratitude is a warning to the friends who now confide in him, of what they may expect if interest or policy shall hereafter make it necessary. Before he left Missouri, he was poor and penniless, too much so, as he informed me and others, to be able to remove his wife and children to this place, where he had then lately established a press. Upon his application to me, and stating his necessities, I borrowed for him fourteen hundred dollars; part of which he repaid in about fifteen months, and the balance only recently, when he found the sense of the community shocked by the baseness of employing the means furnished by my unreturned advances to destroy my reputation.

"In difficulty here and pressed for money, he again in 1826 applied to me, when, through a friend of mine in Baltimore, I ob-

tained \$2,500.00 for the very press from which, probably he daily circulates his abuse of me. I have a note which was protested and paid by me, on which I was not an endorser, and which has been in my possession several years, the whole or a part of which still remains unpaid. To my exertions and zeal in his behalf, as most of the Senate of the United States can testify, is he indebted for his first success as public printer, the annual receipts of which appointment at this time are not less than from thirty to fifty thousand dollars. These things might have been omitted for charity and friendship, or secret in their operation, and should not be proclaimed to the world; but surely I may be permitted to mention them, not in the spirit of an ostentatious liberality, by that the public may be able to appreciate the characters of my persecutors.

"In 1829-'30, Mr. Green was frequent visitor at my house to 'large parties,' and to small, with his wife and daughters, and invited my wife and myself to his. He, on several occasions tendered his services and his paper in vindication of us against the slanders and abuse which at that time were whispered about; and as it regards one of his compurgators, on whom now he would rely as a good and sufficient witness, but in whom then, he had no confidence, he placed in my hand a statement of *his own brother* tending to impeach him. What now, has brought *them* so closely together, I know not. I only know that he hates me beyond even the power to extend common justice; and wherefore is it so? Because bad men are apt to dislike those from whom they have received favors. But that he should descend so far as to become the traducer of a female, because she is the wife of one to whom he is under obligations, never to be repaid, is indeed strange! Mark his present course! His obligations of friendship certainly are not cancelled; at least to the extent that gratitude should be concerned. Without provocation on my part and without change in the character and deportment of myself and family, he is daily dragging before the world those into whose society he introduced his wife and daughters and whom voluntarily he proffered to defend! He does not pretend that now he knows more than when, with and without his family, he called, talked, smiled, and treated us as friends, wronged and persecuted. Was he sincere then or now? If *then* sincere, how unutterable must be his depravity in becoming the very leader of the band of traducers who at present occupy the public attention! He then performed the duty of a friend and acted up to the principles of an honest man; but yielding to the political intrigue of his great leader, he has sacrificed justice and decency, his own reputation, and the feelings of his family, to subserve the cause of *that* friend, who never was *his* friend. This man is a fit associate of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. He has united with them on a nefarious purpose, in the accomplishment of which, all that is 'wholly in charity,' exalted in honor, and sacred in truth, has been rudely outraged and trodden under foot. What object has he to attain? What purpose to answer? Surely, he cannot

think that in the choice of a Chief Magistrate of this country, the American people are so debased that female character and feeling, are to be made the test of elections.

"This man, to different persons, and in various directions early disclosed the designs which actuated him and others who were associated with him in feeling and in interest in their conduct towards me. I have a statement from S. P. Webster of this city, detailing the substance of Mr. Green's remarks to him in the fall of 1829 at the very time when he was professing before me high consideration and great respect and regard.

"Mr. Webster, in presenting the remarks made to him in November, 1829, says, repeating Mr. Green's language:

"That Major Eaton remaining in the Cabinet was of great injury to the party, that he was used by the Secretary of State to forward his interested views; and if he remained in the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, who held complete influence over him, would be able to manage the President as he pleased, and direct the acts of the government to promote his (Van Buren's) future prospects. That Major Eaton ought to be sent Minister to Russia, or at any rate should not remain in the Cabinet; and that if some decisive step were not taken soon, he did not know what might be the consequence. And further, that the President ought not to be run a second time. That Mr. Van Buren was using all his influence to prevail on him to run again, and in that event, would have obtained such an influence over him and his friends, as to be able to command their influence at a subsequent election; that General Jackson ought to go home.'

"I have a statement of another and similar conversation, held by Mr. Green, in December, 1829, with Gideon Wells, Editor of the Hartford Times. He says:

"On the subject of the next Presidential election, Mr. Green adverted to the embarrassed situation of Mr. Calhoun at the expiration of his present term, when he would have served eight years, equal to that of any of his predecessors; and that Mr. Van Buren, taking advantage of his situation wished to ruin him by driving him into retirement. It was the policy of Mr. Van Buren, he said, to persuade General Jackson to consent to a re-election because that would lead to the postponement of Mr. Calhoun's claims and occasion him in a great degree to be forgotten. It would put Mr. Van Buren in advance of him, and this was the reason he was desirous that General Jackson should consent to a re-election.'

"Again he remarks to Mr. Wells, on this subject, about which it seems he felt such deep interest and concern:

"That Mr. Calhoun had no influence with the President, and could have none while Major Eaton was there; nor could any of his friends receive appointments so long as he was in the Cabinet. He endeavored to excite my jealousy by representing that Mr. Van Buren, through Eaton, was endeavoring to confer all appointments on the old Crawford party. It was indispensable, therefore,

for the prosperity of the administration, and the harmony of its members that Major Eaton should leave the Cabinet and leave Washington. There was one way in which he could retire honorably and victoriously. If he would accept the mission to Russia, he would be making an honorable exchange for the War Department; and all were willing that Mr. Branch should be dismissed, which would furnish Eaton a triumph.' (For the statements at large, see Appendix A and B.)

"Thus through this chosen organ of Mr. Calhoun, we are possessed of the true motive which actuated my kind assailants. Their plan was that General Jackson should be President but for four years and Mr. Calhoun should succeed him. The *Telegraph* was considered by its Editor so omnipotent that its dictation was not to be and could not be resisted; and that it rested exclusively and alone with him to declare who should and who should not 'rule over us.' Effect is often mistaken for cause, and in this case it seemed quite to have been overlooked that the former consequence of this journal arose from the circumstance that heretofore it went with the people, not the people with it. The moment, however, that Mr. Van Buren was appointed Secretary of State, jealousy and fear arose, and then the desire was to place around the President as many of Mr. Calhoun's friends as possible, to counteract the apprehended and dreaded influence; a part of which I most gratuitously was supposed to be. Devoted, as I was said to be to General Jackson and the success of his administration, my appointment was calculated rather to thwart than to promote their ulterior designs. It was deemed necessary to prevent it; but if that could not be effected, then adequate means were to be resorted to to get me out of the way. All this Mr. Ingham and Mr. Berrien foresaw. *Two* of my colleagues, if not the *third* were in the secret, and using the influence and importance which office gave them and their families, to promote and further their grand design.

"Months had rolled away and as yet the President had never seen and corrected the evil as was expected. Mr. Van Buren, it was feared, had gained and was gaining so fast upon my esteem, that serious apprehensions were entertained that I would fall within the vortex of his influence. In addition, it was imagined, or rather feared, that General Jackson might consent to a re-election, and reasons were discerned why Van Buren would desire it as matter of interest to him, and how, through my influence, the matter might succeed, and the claims of Mr. Calhoun be deferred, his prospects injured, and he driven into retirement. Fear and apprehension and an impatience of longer delay arose. 'Some decisive step,' says Mr. Green, 'must be taken, or else I do not know what will be the consequence.' This 'malign influence,' which, operated upon by the crafty subtlety of Mr. Van Buren must be removed, or the effect will be to postpone Mr. Calhoun's claims and drive him into retirement. It must be removed from

the President, and to accomplish it I was to retire not only from the Cabinet but from Washington that I might be as far distant as possible from the scene of their fruitful operations. The Secretary of War was not qualified for the duties of the War Department; yet he might be sent to represent his country at one of the most important courts of Europe. He and his family were not fit and good society for the families of such pure honorables as Ingham, Branch and Berrien, and yet they were to be considered quite 'good society,' enough for one of the first and most powerful monarchs of Europe.

"But more! They were even willing to afford me a *triumph*. For the sake of getting me away from the President, they were ready and disposed that Mr. Branch, one of the friends of whom they had made a dupe and instrument, might be dismissed. Amidst all this tirade of abuse and insult, previously offered, merely to get rid of my supposed influence, they were yet willing to bestow on me office and emolument, to mount me on a triumphful car, and tie their friend, Mr. Branch, to its wheels. Now, can any man in his senses fail to wonder that I should decline all these liberal offers, and finally retire from the Cabinet for no better reason than is asserted by these gentlemen, that the families of Ingham, Branch and Berrien would not visit me and my family? Truly, they make me out a greater patriot than I am willing to be considered while they afford to Mr. Branch no great cause for Thanksgiving to them. Their proffer shows how little he knew of those persons who, for all his zeal and ardor and malignity to serve them and their cause, were yet willing to sacrifice him to their ambition and to their thirst for office. As a part of the consideration in getting rid of me, they were willing to dispose of him in any way and at any sacrifice. Thus you perceive, my countrymen, the real objection to me as a member of the Cabinet, and why it was that Messrs. Ingham and Berrien entered it with concealed purposes and with hypocritical professions. You can perceive the reasons why I and my family have been so relentlessly pursued by the friends of Mr. Calhoun; and you perceive the origin of the progressive and concerted attacks, first upon me, next upon Mr. Van Buren, and lastly, upon the President, that the one might be sent to *Russia*, the other to *Albany*, and the third to the solitude of the *Hermitage*. All has originated in the restless spirit of Mr. Calhoun and his partizans, and in a determination that General Jackson should be President but for four years and that Mr. Calhoun must and should be his successor.

"In the winter of spring of 1829-30, Mr. Green's paper gave confirmation of the feelings and plans developed in his conversations with Messrs. Webster and Welles. In December, the New York Enquirer intimated that the re-election of General Jackson was desirable, and ventured to suggest that Mr. Van Buren might be a candidate provided he declined. Mr. Green sharply rebuked the Editor for meddling with the subject and especially for intro-

ducing the name of the proposed successor. In March, 1830, Mr. Webb again introduced the subject, though in a different shape. He says: 'We repeat, that General Jackson and he only will be the candidate of the Republican party for the next Presidency.' In reply the Telegraph again took exception; and although not so frank and full as in the previous conversations had with Mr. Webster and Mr. Welles yet the article dimly discloses the same designs. General Jackson must not again be a candidate, lest 'his acts should be subjected to the imputation of selfish ends and electioneering purposes.' He might not think it his duty 'to sacrifice his private comforts;' or, in the more distinct language held to Mr. Webster, 'he ought to go home' to the Hermitage. There is in this article nothing of Mr. Van Buren's designs and intrigues of Mr. Calhoun's claims. These could be better managed and to happier effect through private arrangements which were then in progress, though not complete. It was not yet time to appeal to the public for the correction of 'evils,' which the President could not be made to see; but *that* time was considered to be near at hand, and was evidently foreboded by the tone of the Telegraph.

"Most of the President's nominations had been before the Senate during the whole winter and the public were at a loss to know why they were not disposed of. The friends of Mr. Calhoun were constantly pouring into the ears of those who were depending on the Senate for confirmation exaggerated accounts of his strength in that body; and the political preferences of those in nomination were secretly and artfully sought after. They pretended to have polled both houses of Congress and to have ascertained that a majority in each were his friends. Mr. Hill was rejected from the office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury and Mr. Green paid him a visit of condolence, during which he sought to persuade him that he had been sacrificed to 'the Eaton and *Van Buren influence*.' Others were privately warned that they were in danger from the same quarter. It clearly would have been a masterly stroke of policy if Mr. Hill could have been sent to New Hampshire, Mr. Kendall to Kentucky, Mr. Noah to New York, and other former Editors back to their homes, to resume their professional duties, impressed with the belief that they had been made the victims, not of an *Ingham, Berrien and Branch*, but of 'the Eaton and Van Buren influence.' It was a good idea if it could have succeeded; but being rather far-fetched it failed. Thus is it apparent that it was not the Secretary of War alone that they desired to get rid of but the Secretary of State also. One of the members of Congress, who attended the preparatory meeting about the 20th of March, for the purpose of regulating the President's Cabinet, being enquired of if my removal would satisfy them, answered emphatically: '*No; we will be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of Van Buren.*'

"But the removal of these two unrepresented Secretaries at

this meeting was not the only subject probably discussed before it and which failed of success. The Premier, General Jackson himself, a more important personage than all, he too was to be disposed of; and the better to effect it, conversations were to be held with strangers visiting the city; and private letters were to be written, to prepare the minds of leading politicians at a distance to support the decisive movement. It was not proper nor the proper time, openly to take ground in the newspapers; sapping and mining were preferable. An anti-Van Buren party was to be gotten up, and under that banner, without seeming to be in opposition to the President, it was thought the discontented and dissatisfied of all parties could rally, until the scheme being fully matured, the mine was to be exploded, when Mr. Calhoun and the Telegraph were 'to ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm.' On the 19th of March, but a day before this preparatory meeting of members to re-organize the Cabinet, at least in part, Mr. Green wrote a letter to Andrew Dunlap, United States District Attorney at Boston. In that letter he says:

"The political horizon is from day to day more clearly indicating the point whence the storm cometh. The article from the Massachusetts Journal and the last letter to the United States Gazette leave no doubt that Webster has resolved to push forward boldly and on Clay alone. If Clay succeeds, Webster's fortune is made. If Clay falls, the Lieutenant becomes the Commander of the defeated force. He comes into the market at the head of an organized and powerful party, and associated as he intends to be, with New York (Mr. Van Buren) he will have a powerful influence at his command.

"Mr.— who was so much with Webb, gave me, as a piece of advice intended for my own benefit and guidance, the information that Mr. Webb had, while here, been advised not to attack Mr. Webster. Will it not be well to keep an eye on the Courier, and also on —? Clay and Webster rely on the Bank of the United States and the federal party.— is there origin in —. Let them succeed or let them make any compromise, and the democracy of New England and particularly of Massachusetts, are the victims which must be offered up to Webster's vengeance. Is this not obvious? Unless the division and disunion of our party can be healed, defeat is certain. **BOLD AND DECISIVE MEANS INSURE US TRIUMPH.** There are some now in power who accustom themselves to think lightly of the New England democracy. My own opinion is, that that *may* yet hold the fate of the Union in their hands.'

"Thus were the democracy of New England addressed. They were warned against the New York Enquirer, and notified of an ultimate coalition, first with Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, and if that failed, then with Mr. Van Buren. Webster would 'come into the market' in great force, and sell out to Mr. Clay, if he could purchase, or to Mr. Van Buren if he could not. The jealousy of

the New England democracy was thus to be aroused; and they excited to action by being told 'they were to be offered up as the victims of vengeance;' and that '*bold and decisive means would ensure us triumph.*' Thus was it hoped for and expected, that the democracy of New England would be aroused and prepared to support '*the bold and decisive means,*' then in contemplation, to expel 'the Eaton and Van Buren influence,' from the councils of the President, prevent him from consenting to a re-election; and have everything arranged and prepared to destroy him if he did consent.

"In a few days after, a letter was sent to Mr. M. M. Noah, of New York. In it Mr. Green says:

'I have no doubt that the last in the Courier, as well as that of the 12th, was prepared *here*, and are part of the intrigue intended to separate the President from his earliest and best friends.

'As to Mr. Calhoun, the object of the Courier is to drive me to the alternative of abandoning him or General Jackson. The artifice is too shallow for success. It will recoil upon its author. Those who desire to monopolize General Jackson's popularity for the use of Mr. Van Buren, are interested in circulating such a report, which Mr. Webb took with him from here; but the intelligent friends of the President, who associate with the Vice-President, known it to be false.'

"The report here alluded to, and declared to be false, was that Mr. Calhoun intended to oppose the re-election of General Jackson. How false it was, the reader, under all the circumstances presented, is prepared to decide. But it was not wise policy, then, to permit such an impression to go abroad. At that time General Jackson was not a candidate for re-election nor was it known that he would be. The true policy of the cabal was to maintain towards him the appearance of friendship, at least until that point should be settled. It was only the '*malign influence*' of those who might endeavor to persuade the President to consent to a re-election, and who sought to monopolize his popularity for the benefit of Mr. Van Buren, whereby to thwart the plans and projects of Mr. Calhoun, that were to be assailed.

"He also wrote on the 25th of March to Mr. Ritchie, Editor of the Richmond Enquirer, and employs the following language:

"If there ever was a time which demanded that the friends of the Constitution should be firm, wise and united, the moment has arrived. The payment of the national debt will present a new crisis in the history of nations, and create the necessity of new legislation, based upon the state of our Treasury thereby produced. This question will then be directly presented to the American people: Will you increase the expenditure to meet the existing revenue, or will you diminish the revenue to the existing expenditure?"

"If General Jackson is *now* declared a candidate, I foresee that a new race for popularity commences. He occupies the position

of *patronage*, and Mr. Clay that of the American System. Do not both these tend to the same termination? Can the administration contend with Mr. Clay and profess to be the friends of internal improvement and of the tariff, without throwing its influence in favor of the vast projects of public expenditure which it is the business of Mr. Clay and his friends to set on foot? Is it not the duty of all those who desire to bring back the constitution to its original purposes to postpone the Presidential election until the discussion upon the great questions connected with the approaching state of our finances, shall have brought them home to every man's door? Until the people shall know that Mr. Clay's project is to take ten millions annually out of the pockets of one portion of our citizens, for the purpose of *buying up* another?

"Mr. Green, well knowing Mr. Ritchie's devotion to principle, did not venture to approach him on any other ground than that of principle. Appealing then to his principles, he endeavored to alarm him with apprehensions that the policy of General Jackson would be substantially the policy of Mr. Clay, that 'patronage and the American System tended to the same termination.' The object was a little more time for private action, and hence it was Mr. Ritchie to be prevailed upon not to commit himself in favor of the re-election of the President, or at least to remain neutral in relation 'to those bold and decisive means,' which were then thought necessary to '*insure us triumph.*'

"These evidences of political management preparatory to some contemplated grand movement, all of which bear date about the time of the preliminary meeting of certain members of Congress, to compel the Cabinet to be re-organized, are from the Telegraph and were voluntarily disclosed by the Editor himself. I have another letter, which has not before appeared, written by Mr. Green at the same time, 25th of March. I am authorized to use it. The body of the letter, I am informed, is not in the handwriting of Mr. Green, although the signature is. It doubtless was a circular carefully prepared and arranged, and forwarded in various directions, and to different persons.

"*The intrigues of some individuals near the President* are daily developing themselves, and must soon end in the disappointment of those concerned in them. *The article in the New York Courier, assailing the press (The Telegraph) and the article of the 23d, assailing the Senate, have their origin in those intrigues, the object of which is to make the President and others believe that Mr. Calhoun is resolved to oppose them, and thus transfer the President's popularity to Mr. Van Buren.* I SHALL WAIT A FEW DAYS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. In the meantime I shall take the liberty of asking you to suspend your opinion until you shall have seen the whole of the matters in issue, and then act on the side of patriotism. I have never deceived my friends. I have never sounded false alarms. I now say to you that the remarks, so far

as Mr. Calhoun is concerted, are false, and time will show the true object of his enemies. Mr. Calhoun is known to be the true friend of the President.'

"At this time Mr. Calhoun was at Washington. Who can believe that during all this while of 'measured step and slow,' he was not counselled and advised with and that this circular was written by his advice, or passed under his revision and inspection? It can hardly be believed that without his approval, Mr. Green would take a course so important to his future political interests, It cannot doubted that these letters to Dunlap, Noah, Ritchie, and especially this circular, were written by and with Mr. Calhoun's advice or passed his revision. 'The object and purpose of the last, was to show that Mr. Calhoun, 'is the true friend of the President;' next, how management and intrigue were going on near the President; and lastly, that in a FEW DAYS a full exposure would be made.

"Wherefore all this secret, private, political arrangement? Why all these conversations, this wide-spread correspondence, these intrigues in Congress, these preparatory movements 'in open day and secret night?' Why this restless jealousy and fearful forboding of Mr. Van Buren, this fear that he would induce the President to consent to a re-election, this apprehension that I had lent myself and my influence to bring about results which were to thwart Mr. Calhoun and postpone his claims? Why the attempt to alarm and to arouse the democracy of New England? Wherefore disturb Mr. Noah's tranquility with fancied tales of plots and intrigues, and Mr. Ritchie with grave and oracular warning? Wherefore in the *circular* of the 25th of March, is language and foreboding, and of such solemn and prophetic import, employed? What awful event, or dread design, was a 'FEW DAYS' about to disclose, that friends, on the ground that they had NEVER BEEN DECEIVED, nor *false alarms been sounded*, should be implored to suspend their opinions? Was all this note of preparation, this bustle, this management, this toil by day and profound meditation by night, these solemn warnings and doleful cautions, to be the mere enunciation, that Mr. I—— B.—— B. and E. did not interchange visits, or invite each other to LARGE PARTIES at Washington, and that the President, in martial pomp and spirit, had sent the gallant Hero of the Thames, the harbinger of a dread threat, if it were not otherwise?

"Oh, no! It was not such unimportant matter, which in a 'FEW DAYS' with astounding effect, was to be brought before the American people. It was a general attack upon all who would not acknowledge Mr. Calhoun's legitimate right of immediate succession; a plot was to be discovered, and then we were to have an expose of those intrigues near the President, which were to evince to the world that a transfer of his popularity to another was designed. Mr. Van Buren was to be stigmatized as the author; and I was to be marked as his humble instrument in the business.



ANDREW JACKSON.

From painting by Sully 1783-1872. Sully's portrait of Lord Byron is probably his most famous work.

It was intended next to denounce all the President's personal friends, who were near him, as a 'malign influence,' to represent him as the victim of their intrigues, that one by one, they might be driven from him; or if he would not part with them, and should prove to be refractory, to open the phials of their wrath against him, until sickened and disgusted with the turmoil, he might retire to the solitude of the Hermitage, and yield the strife of politics to the Vice-President and his rivals. All the visiting cards that were ever printed and circulated in this city, were as nothing compared to this grand, this important design, which was to be brought out subsequently as an after-piece to the new plot that was built upon the letter of Mr. Crawford and the published correspondence.

"The question arises, why were not these plans carried out at the intended time? Why not executed? Why were these designs suspended and all the labor of preparation brought to a pause? Passing events furnished the answer. On the 31st of March, the day after the letter to Mr. Ritchie was written, and before the 'FEW DAYS' of waiting had expired, a voice from Pennsylvania was hurrying through the land. The democratic members of the Legislature of that great State, which first had presented General Jackson, and through two contests sustained him, were now again the first to express their confidence in his administration and to nominate him for re-election. Awed by the independent and uncorrupted voice of this State, the managers at Washington paused in their career, to listen for the distant echoes of this deafening sound, this unexpected enunciation. Mark how it was announced in the Telegraph:

"*The position of this press located at the seat of the government, its presumed relation to the President, the high respect and delicate regard which it has at all times maintained for public opinion, impose restraints upon it in relation to the discussion at this time, of the propriety of his continuance in office for another term.*"

"Again, a voice from New York, responding to the recommendation from Pennsylvania in terms of approbation, equally strong, was also heard, and these two large States, thus moving and acting together, gave answers that whoever chose to go into retirement could do so, but that the claims of Mr. Calhoun to the Presidency would, certainly for the present, have to be postponed. Before a recovery could be effected from these decisive movements, the veto of the President upon the Maysville Road Bill was announced and filled the South with joy and hope. It falsified the predictions which had been made to Mr. Ritchie, and swept away that whence a successful opposition was expected to arise. It was perceived that the President's moral, was no less than his physical courage, and the people of the South already exhibited a general feeling in his favor. All hope of arraying the South against the North, was seemingly impracticable and for a time abandoned. Evidences of better feeling began to appear, and in

June, The Telegraph undertook to show that it had always been in favor of the re-election of General Jackson. In the mean time, the President and the Vice President had differed in relation to some incident connected with the Seminole (Indian) war, which had occasioned a coolness and separation.

“Congress again assembled, and it was rumored that Mr. Calhoun intended to write a book, and give to the public his correspondence with the President. The papers were shown privately to his friends who busied themselves in representing the affair in conversation and in their letters as an intrigue which had been gotten up on the part of Van Buren to destroy Mr. Calhoun. In preparing and bringing forward this address, much policy was necessary and it was employed. I was requested to examine the manuscript, that if there was any thing in it that could have a tendency to induce the President to reply to it a modification might take place. The request I obeyed; but afterwards, that incident was used to prove that the friends of the President had read and sanctioned the address, before it obtained publication. The statement, as it related to me, was illiberal and untrue.

“The publication of this work again aroused party animosity, and partizans were perceived to take sides according to their personal predilections, and to bring up the question of the succession, prematurely, as the means of creating division among the original supporters of the administration. The discussions in Congress were evidently marked by such lines of separation; and while Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, could there find apologists and advocates, the other three members of the Cabinet, were struck at as the points of attack by the new opposition. The one was a ‘malign influence,’ which was bending everything to selfish purpose, while our colleagues were receiving honor and commendation. Abuse from the papers on one side and a disposition to retaliate from the other, was now clearly manifest. We thus had a prospect of open war between partizans of different portions of the Cabinet, the evils of which as was plainly to be perceived could not but penetrate into our deliberations, interrupt business, affect the progress of public affairs, and disturb the quiet and repose of the country. While a party to contest the succession was thus organized in Congress and in the Cabinet, one of the prominent friends of Mr. Calhoun introduced a resolution which contemplated, by a retrospective provision, to amend the Constitution so as to exclude General Jackson from being eligible to a re-election. If those who urged this measure in the House of Representatives did not hope absolutely to disfranchise the President by obtaining such an amendment, they moved it as a means of bringing a general principle to operate on him alone, and by obtaining a vote on the abstract proposition, to urge it as the sense of the representatives of the people against his re-election. In this mode was the war waged against the fame and influence of the man who was elevated by the voice of the people, and who was again summoned by them

to become a candidate because he had realized all their hopes as the reformer of abuses in the government, and was securing the rights of our citizens and adjusting the difficulties of the country.

"The situation of the President was now easily to be perceived. With a Cabinet politically divided; and personally, as may be presumed, not very friendly, it was impossible for him to move along the arduous duties of his station with satisfaction to himself or advantage to the country. It was apparent that in justice to himself, he must soon be under the necessity of re-organizing his Cabinet, and if it could not otherwise be accomplished to dismiss the disaffected portion of it. Having accepted reluctantly a place in the Cabinet, I concluded no longer to sacrifice my private comfort or be the occasion of embarrassment to the President. Early in April, I communicated to him (what in the previous month I had written to a friend in Philadelphia), my wish and intention to resign, which I shortly after executed. In my letter of resignation, it was not necessary or proper that I should go into a history of events such as are now presented. I confined my remarks solely to that which concerned myself, without adverting to or touching on the conduct of others. I felt not that any defense or vindication for voluntarily yielding my office was necessary; and feeling no disposition to injure or assail others, I forebore to enter into details. The same determination would have been persevered in, had not the illiberal conduct of my colleagues made a different course necessary.

"Mr. Van Buren taking a similar view of the condition of the Cabinet, and the situation of the President, connected with the peculiar circumstances in which he had been placed by his opponents, thought proper also to resign. Without going into a full explanation in his letter of resignation, or naming any of his colleagues, he presented briefly the result of the political intrigues which were dividing the Cabinet, distracting the party, and which pointed to a change in the councils of the President as necessary and indispensable.

"The secret feelings and designs with which my colleagues entered the Cabinet, and which while there they continued to cherish, their 'notes' of private conversations, treasured up for future and concerted use, the advice of a certain cabal and an acquiescence in the counsel given to enter the Cabinet and continue there for special purposes, notwithstanding 'the insuperable bar' which conscience suggested and the 'indignity and outrage' which had been offered and borne for fifteen months, were all unknown to me. These were secrets worth preserving and they were kept closely. Yet, entire confidence was reposed that on being informed that Mr. Van Buren and myself had retired, the others would appreciate the motives which had occasioned it, and place their offices again at the disposition of the President that he might organize a new Cabinet of homogeneous materials which would not be obnoxious to the attacks of any of his professing friends, and

would suffer the affairs of the country quietly to be transacted. But these gentlemen, although now they pretend that they had been grievously 'insulted' and were constantly liable to a repetition of the 'outrage' could see no cause why they should resign, either as it regarded their own honor, the quiet of the President, or the harmony of his administration. Having gone into the Cabinet to produce *discord*, they could perceive no reason why they should retire from it to restore *harmony*. What they had so long and so ardently desired being attained (the exclusion of Mr. Van Buren and myself), they were more than disposed to continue. Besides, they could not see how the Government could well move on without them, and they were solicitous to procure some justification which they could plead to the people, for the injury which was about to result to the country at being deprived of their important services! Their honor, and the harmony of the administration was quite insufficient! They must need place their resignations solely on the will and the request of the President that on his shoulders might rest the undivided responsibility of the awful deprivation which the Government and the country were to suffer from their retirement. Their wishes were gratified and a desire communicated that they should resign. Thus was the Cabinet dissolved; and thus far the country, evidently, has sustained no injury, save in the disturbances and interruptions to the public which the complaints and murmurs of this dismissed and disbanded corps have occasioned. If, as has been stated, the President offered to two of them, Mr. Ingham and Mr. Branch, after their removal, places of trust and honor, let it be set down to his kindness, not to their merits. He did not then know these men. He did not know how incapable they were of properly appreciating acts of kindness. He was ignorant that they had entered his Cabinet, all smiles and fair professions, with daggers concealed in their bosoms. He little knew that these persons who were admitted to his familiar intercourse, had been taking *notes* of his private conversations and free expressions, which had been conned over between them, and prepared and carefully laid away for future use. He did not in fact know, they had been spies upon him from the beginning of his administration; and that, finding themselves deprived of the means of longer stealing into his bosom, to hunt out, and note down his thoughts, they were now ready for open, implacable and exterminating war. These things he did not then know. Recent events have disclosed them.

"Nor did I comprehend the depth of the designs of these three gentlemen. Having resigned my seat in the Cabinet, and being about to retire to my residence in Tennessee, I did not calculate that I should be detained here from my home and business, to defend myself against their unprovoked attacks. In this I was mistaken. My pursuers were resolved that I should not escape the sweet revenge, which their deep mortification at the loss of office had aroused. I could not bear it longer. Messrs. Ingham and Ber-

rien, who were here, were in habits of daily intercourse with the editor of the *Telegraph*, and their names being used in connection with the abuse which was propagated through that print against me, I conceived I had a right to enquire, whether their names had been used, and references to them made, with their sanction.

"I readily admit that no imperative obligation rests upon a man to engage in private combat merely because he is invited to do so. Public opinion sanctions such appeals only when the injured party has right and justice on his side, without other remedy. But a man who asserts a claim to the character of a gentleman is bound to act like one. Mr. Ingham did not thus act when to a plain and proper question he returned an insulting reply, and sought 'to strut the hero and to ape the warrior,' without the capacity to go through with that which so improvidently and rashly he had begun. I never asked him to admit or deny that my family and his did or did not associate. He never so understood me. It was for the publication only and his supposed participation in it that I held him responsible. My correspondence with Mr. Ingham, his degrading apprehensions, false charges and ignoble retreat, have already, through himself, been made known to the public. He is suffering merited punishment in the contempt of the brave, the abhorrence of the honorable and the detestation of the community.

I addressed Mr. Berrien on the same subject. The correspondence which took place he has laid before the public in his recent address. When it terminated, I had hoped our difference was ended. His late address, however, was of a character to induce with me a belief that my forbearance on the former occasion had a tendency to embolden him to further malignant assaults; and accordingly, without seeking explanation, I made a direct call upon him for personal redress.

"His answer was never communicated to me. The friend who acted in my behalf, finding it an argumentative, labored reply, to a plain and simple demand, returned it as a paper not of a character to be presented or received (See Appendix C.). A second call was made which resulted in a refusal on the part of Mr. Berrien to grant the satisfaction which had been asked. He has proved that, with malice and hatred in his heart, he could wear the garb of a friend. Pretending to have claims to honor and character, he could become the traducer of a woman, seek the ruin of a family which had never harmed him and shrink from responsibility. It must be ever so! Base men are not brave. A guilty conscience is a bad panoply on the field of honorable combat. The conscious wrong-doer anticipates the worst and calculates to suffer from a knowledge that he deserves it. It is not surprising therefore, that Mr. Berrien's conscience did not permit him to trust himself with one whom so wantonly and so pertinaciously, he had wronged and sought to injure. These two men, Ingham and Berrien, will stand together in after time, and with honorable men monuments of duplicity, ingratitude and baseness, traitors to

their friend, and destroyers of themselves, a memorable illustration of the melancholy truth, that '*a man may smile, and smile, and be a villain.*'

"For Mr. Branch, I feel but pity and contempt. He has been the dupe of his own littleness of mind, and the victim of his more wily associates. Though he has entered into their feelings, and aided them in their designs, has asserted *untruths*, and offered injurious imputations, I cannot find in my heart to entertain a feeling of revenge towards so humble an accomplice.

"The restless, troubled spirit that through such secret agencies moved and controlled all this intrigue and management, became visible last winter in his proper person. His influence and address have associated in his schemes many partizans, besides those who embarrassed the late Cabinet with difficulties. They have made themselves victims to his ambition. If he can now find pleasure in the course he has adopted for the promotion of his views, in the afflictions with which he has visited my dwelling, or in the sacrifice of the willing instruments who, as friends, were employed to do this service, he must owe his satisfaction to the delusions of ambition. The time will come when the victims of his policy shall rise before him, like the shades which appalled the insidious and heartless usurper, Richard, to disturb his slumbers and to drive peace from him.

"Detraction has struck at everything around me. And, although it has been uniformly pretended that the persecution against me originated in great regard and delicacy for public feeling and morals, yet what are the proofs to authorize *the rumors*, about which Mr. Ingham and Mr. Berrien *would not trouble themselves to enquire*, but which, notwithstanding, they could slyly and secretly whisper into circulation? They have produced none! If this be legitimate warfare, there are few who may not be subjected to the ordeal from which the most innocent cannot always escape with a name unblighted. It is a well known fact that in this city there are hired writers for papers at a distance; and if some incident does not, from week to week, occur to fill their page, fancy must suggest some gossip tale to be told and printed and circulated. The motive with the writer is his pay; with the publisher, the gratification of the appetite for slander, reckless of the wound it may inflict. Under such a state of things, which party excitement now tolerates, of what concern is probity of character, or what the value of a good name? It is upon this sort of anonymous rumor, propagated by the vicious and malicious, that political contrivers seized to accomplish their purposes. Malignant as these gentlemen have shewn themselves, all I ask of them is to waive all concealments, allege specific charges, and adduce their proof. A conscience, 'void of offense,' can meet them and defy their malice; let them but strike their blows openly and in the face of day.

"But it is time to close this narrative. I am admonished that already I have trespassed too long and laid claims to an indulgence

beyond any that I had a right to ask. I could not confine myself within narrower limits; and if I have said too much, be my apology found in this, that it is through no culpability of mine that the public have been disturbed with private matters and with private griefs. Patient and forbearing, I was disposed to keep to myself the adjustment of my own wrongs, nor solicit the public to become an unpire in matters which, being private, could in nothing concern and interest them. But I am not permitted to enjoy even this humble privilege. I have been arraigned before them by men, writhing under malice, mortification and disappointment. Idly surmising me to be the moving cause why the sun of their political glory was so suddenly shorn of its beams, they are restless, persecuting and unforgiving, and appeal to the country to redress those private griefs to which they have subjected themselves, by seeking to accomplish selfish aims at the expense of truth, honor and humanity. I have thrown myself upon the pardon and forgiveness of a liberal and just community for all I have said and for any thing that may appear to be improperly said.

“Your fellow-citizen,

“John H. Eaton.

“P. S. General Robert Desha, in a letter published in the Telegraph, of the 9th of August, volunteers a statement to vindicate the course of Mr. Calhoun, towards me. He says: ‘Maj. Eaton informed me in Tennessee, that as soon as he heard of the death of Timberlake, he determined to go on to Washington and marry his widow, and communicated his intention to General Jackson, who advised him to do so.’ In the same letter, he says: ‘This is the time for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; for it is what the people are in search of.’

“More than a month after this letter was written, General Desha again writes a corrective letter, contradictory of the material statements of the original; and for the mistake of the first, excuses himself by saying, that he ‘*did not READ SAID LETTER after writing it.*’ Strange indeed, that a man should prepare a letter, intended for the press, and to affect other persons, and, afterwards admit it to be incorrect, and offer as matter of excuse, that he did not read it after writing it. In this corrective letter which was written after his friends at Washington had informed him, that I had it in my power to correct it, by most indisputable testimony, he says: ‘I never held a conversation with Major Eaton, in Tennessee, upon that subject; but it was in the conversation had in Washington, the Major informed me that when he was in Tennessee and heard of the death of Mr. Timberlake, he had communicated his intentions of marrying the widow to General Jackson, who was also in Tennessee, who approved of it and advised him to do so.’ The General has not gotten his story right yet. He still adheres to the point, that I was in Tennessee when I heard of the death of Mr. T. and that General Jackson advised me to marry, &c.

"The purpose of this statement is evident. It is that the public should infer that I could in Tennessee, immediately on hearing of the death of Mr. T., determine 'to come on to Washington,' not to ADDRESS but of my own will to MARRY his widow; leaving it to be inferred that I was not only conscious of a state of circumstances which made it unnecessary to consult her upon the subject but that General Jackson was also aware that such was the case.

"In the Spring of 1828 while in the City of Washington, information was received at the Navy Department of the death of Mr. Timberlake. I heard of it here, not in Tennessee; and when General Desha's letter appeared, there were persons in this city who knew and said that his statement was incorrect. Doubtless some friend here afforded him the information which imposed the necessity of writing his second note, which, like the first, requires to be corrected. I went home to Tennessee in 1828, remained there during the summer, and in November returned to Washington. From this place I wrote a letter to General Jackson upon the subject and in that letter stated to him my views, intentions, wishes and expectations, and from him received an answer approving of the course I had pursued, the determination I had taken. Being possessed of this letter, I can be under no mistake as to dates or facts.

"In conclusion, permit me to remark that General Desha has thrust himself into this controversy quite unnecessarily. His appearance as one of my assailants was not called for or required. He has appeared a mere volunteer to sustain Mr. Calhoun. I know not what other object he had to answer, what other purpose to serve.

"In support of what I have said, I place here a statement of Mr. Mechlin of the Navy Department. Were it necessary others could be obtained to show that General Desha is under a mistake in what he has said to affect me and to affect General Jackson. The character and standing of Mr. M. renders anything further unnecessary. Mr. Mechlin says:

"In the spring of 1828 news was received at the Navy Department of the death of J. B. Timberlake, Purser on board the United States frigate Constitution. I set out to inform Mr. O'Neale and the family; but meeting with Major Eaton on the Avenue, who then boarded there, I requested him to communicate the information.

J. Mechlin.'

"General Desha also says there was no meeting at the *last* session of Congress with a view to obtain my removal from the Cabinet. It has not been so averred. He will not say though that this was not the case at the session of 1829-30.

"With these explanations which must satisfy General Desha of the mistake he has made, I take leave of the subject.

"J. H. E."

"APPENDIX.

"A.

"Statement of Mr. S. P. Webster.

"Previous to the Presidential election, I was in the habit of frequent intercourse with Duff Green, at his house, and more commonly at his office. In the fall of 1829, October or November, I met with General Green, and he commenced talking about Col.—, who was then in the War Department, and whom he wished turned out. I thought he seemed rather in an angry humor and extended his conversation to Major Eaton generally. He remarked, that his remaining in the Cabinet was of great injury to the party generally, that his situation made him the support of the weak persons of both parties; and that such persons leaned upon him for support, that he was used by the Secretary of State to forward his interested and selfish views, and that Mr. Van Buren, through him, was seeking to secure the confidence and personal friendship of General Jackson, that if Eaton continued in the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, who had influence over him, would be able to manage the President as he pleased, and direct the acts of the government to his (Mr. Van Buren's) future prospects. That General Jackson ought to send Major Eaton to Russia, or at any rate it was necessary that he should not longer remain in the Cabinet, that some of General Jackson's best friends had spoken to him freely on this subject, and if some decisive step was not taken soon, he did not know what might be the consequences.

"In the course of the conversation he observed that the President ought not to be run a second time; that he was sure he did not wish it and would prefer retiring to the Hermitage at the end of the Year; and that in effect he had promised to do so, and the people would be dissatisfied if he did not; that Mr. Van Buren was using all his art and intrigue to induce him to suffer himself to be run again; but that if he was again elected, Mr. Van Buren would have obtained such an influence over him and his friends as to be able to command their interest at a subsequent election; that we (the Jackson party) had been fighting for the last five years against Cabinet succession, and were now quietly sitting down and permitting the Secretary of State to use General Jackson and the whole interest of the Government, to ensure his future success; that if this was permitted we had gained nothing by the change; that the great republican party would fix upon a candidate who would get the votes of the party in 1832; and that General Jackson ought to go home. This was the last conversation or intercourse I ever had with Green beyond a mere salutation. I plainly perceived he was no friend to General Jackson, and I determined to have no further political intercourse with him.

"B.

"Statement of Gideon Welles, Editor of the Hartford Times.

"Whilst in Hartford, Connecticut, General Green several times spoke of Major Eaton as wanting energy and independence, said

that the contest which brought General Jackson into power had been with him merely personal, not one of principle, that he exercised his influence in behalf of opposition office holders, and was opposed to removals. In conversation with him at Washington the latter part of December, 1829, he said it was necessary for him to leave Washington if the administration would prosper. Although they were personal friends and he wished him well, truth required him to state that his remaining at Washington was injurious to the administration: that, through him Mr. Van Buren had already attained great influence over General Jackson, and wished him to consent to a re-election, in order to postpone Mr. Calhoun's claims, and drive him, if possible, into retirement. It is unnecessary to repeat the political views of General Green and his associates, his eulogies on Mr. Calhoun, his talents, his services, his political strength, the devotedness of his friends, particularly of Judge——, who, though a Mason, could bring in anti-Masonic, federal and religious parties. Nor need I state how willing the faction was to sacrifice their friend, the Judge, with all his popularity, if Mr. Van Buren would cease pressing a re-election on the President, and consent to be placed on a ticket as Vice President. Had that arrangement been made or any other that would have secured Mr. Calhoun the Presidency, nothing probably would have been heard of Cabinet and family difficulties at Washington, nor Mr. Ingham have assailed me. As I learned by that conversation, General Green's object was to bring forward Mr. Calhoun for President; and he and his advisers considered Major Eaton and Mr. Van Buren as obstacles. He seemed to suppose, however, that if Eaton was removed all would be peace and harmony, and removed he must be.

"Mr. Calhoun, he said, had no influence with the President, and could have none while Major Eaton remained there, nor could any of his friends receive appointments so long as he remained in the Cabinet. Knowing that I had been an advocate for General Jackson since 1824, he endeavored to enlist jealousy by representing that Mr. Van Buren, through Major Eaton, was endeavoring to confer all appointments on the old Crawford party. It was indispensable to the prosperity of the administration, therefore, and the harmony of the members, that he should leave Washington.

"He admitted that Branch and Berrien had treated Major Eaton unkindly. That they had courted his society the previous winter; were frequently riding with him and Mrs. Eaton, and that each were under greater personal obligations to him than any other individual except the President. Mr. Branch, he seemed to think most culpable as through Major Eaton, principally, he said, he had intruded himself into an office to the surprise of all; and when the whole country had their eyes on another. It was that, he said, which had defeated *his* and my wishes, and of most of our friends. But that between these gentlemen, there was now particular animosity.

"There was one way in which Major Eaton could retire honorably and victorious. By accepting the mission to Russia, it would be making an honorable exchange for the War Department, and all were willing Mr. Branch should be dismissed, which would furnish a triumph to Eaton. This arrangement of having both leave the Cabinet would satisfy all parties. It was desirable Major Eaton should leave the Cabinet and leave Washington. The mission to Russia was an honorable post, and he and Baron Krudener were friends and on intimate terms. This arrangement he spoke of as having been for some time UNDER CONSIDERATION, and he assured me there would be a change of the Cabinet before Congress closed its session. He mentioned the individual who would probably succeed Mr. Branch. He alluded to an 'insuperable bar' to this arrangement, provided Major Eaton was refractory and determined to remain, and that was, in overcoming the friendly feelings of the President. He seemed to despond when he spoke of the abiding affection which formed so prominent a trait in his character and which never would permit him to forsake a friend.

"C.

"Correspondence between Mr. Eaton and Mr. Berrien.

"Washington City, Monday Morning,

"July 25th, 1831.

"Sir:

In your letter to me of the 18th of June, in reply to mine of the preceding day, you in effect say (although denying my right to interrogate you) that the attacks made upon me in a paper of this city were 'without your agency.' You volunteered the declaration, that you did not 'think it necessary to decide upon the truth or falsehood of the statements which were made,' in relation to my family; leaving me to understand that as you had formed no opinion, so neither had you expressed one in any wise derogatory of me. After these explicit disavowals as to yourself, I did not deem it proper to take exception or to hold you personally accountable, for conforming to *rumors* which you may have heard, or 'to the general sense of the community,' which you so falsely assume as a pretext to injure me, and to disparage hundreds of the most respectable persons in our country, who have maintained friendly relations with me and my family, persons in all respects equal in standing with you and those who hold intercourse with you. Upon this proof of my forbearance, a forbearance which I ever hope to exercise except in cases of high emergency, you have grown bold; and in a labored article recently addressed to the public over your signature, giving countenance and sanction to the base slanders which have been propagated against me in my domestic relations. You speak of them 'as evils which presented an insuperable bar to your entering the Cabinet,' and that your assent was finally given under the persuasion that the President would speedily see his error, and by removing me, correct the evil. This is what

you intend to say, omitting at the same time a material fact which was known to you, that I was the identical person through whom was communicated to you the desire of the President that you should enter his Cabinet; and that through the same person you returned an answer offering at the time private business only as a reason why you could not and did not at the instant of the application make a prompt acceptance or refusal.

"Sir, the open attempt now made, unprovoked, one altogether uncalled for by any course of mine towards you, is obvious to every eye. The whole nation must perceive that your object and purpose is to mark me with dishonorable imputation. These efforts of yours, so persevered in, will, I confidently believe and hope, justify me to the American people, and to all honorable men, in requiring of you *the reparation* due to one who so wantonly has been abused, insulted and injured; and accordingly I do require it.

"With due respect,

"J. H. Eaton.

"To Jno. McPherson Berrien, Esq.

"P. S. This letter was prepared to be delivered to you on Monday, but the absence of the friend, who was expected to be the bearer, the daily expectation of his return, and the difficulty of procuring one unconnected here with the Government, has occasioned the delay.

"J. H. E."

"To this letter a long argumentative reply was returned. I never saw it. My friend refused to receive it, as not being a proper and definite answer to the call. General Hunter's letter explains what afterwards took place. It is as follows:

"Washington, Tuesday Evening,
August 2nd, 1831.

"Dear Sir:

I inclose to you the correspondence which has taken place between General Jones and myself, to whom I was referred as the friend of Mr. Berrien.

"You will perceive from the character the transaction had assumed in my absence I had only one course to pursue on my return to this city, which was to explain the reason of that absence and require of Mr. Berrien to an explicit *demand*, an answer equally so. I was informed verbally by the General that his friend had taken his ground in the rejected communication, from which he would not depart; and that if the case of Major Eaton was pressed further at this time, it was to be understood as declined. I, however, thought it best to deliver my note and await a written reply. General Jones' letter of the 2nd of August in answer to mine of the first, nothing other than a confirmation of what had been verbally declared to me the previous evening, and I accordingly assumed upon myself to say as your friend I could hold no further correspondence with him on the subject. Deeming it unnecessary

and improper to proceed further, as I considered the matter finally closed, I remit it back to your hands. In conducting this business I take occasion to say that I was at the place of conference during Thursday and the next day from 10 to 3 o'clock, leaving a note saying I should again be in attendance on Saturday.

"I am, Sir, with great respect,

"Your friend and obedient servant,

"Alexander Hunter.

"Major John Eaton."

Copy of a letter, addressed by General Hunter to Mr. Berrien, which he was directed to deliver to General Jones, as the friend of Mr. Berrien, dated

"Washington City, August 1st, 1831.

"Sir:

Severe indisposition since Friday evening last, confined me to my bed and prevented me from conferring with you on the subject of Major Eaton's call of Thursday. I was consequently not in place when your answer of Saturday (as I understand) was presented. Hence, from necessity, it was read by another friend, who, deeming it inadmissible, returned it.

I now await your answer. The call of Major Eaton is explicit, it is expected the answer will be equally so.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your most obedient,

"Alexander Hunter.

"John McPherson Berrien, Esq."

Copy of so much of General Jones' letter to me, in answer to mine of the 1st of August, addressed to Mr. Berrien, as relates to the subject matter, received

"12 o'clock, August 2nd, 1831.

"Dear General:

"In answer to the note which you put into my hands at parting this evening, for Mr. Berrien, I can only recapitulate, in few words, what, for your private satisfaction as a gentleman and man of honor, I have already communicated to you verbally.

"According to Mr. Berrien's appointment with you on Thursday, he sent by a member of his family (wholly unapprised at the time, of the nature and tendency of the correspondence) a sealed letter to yourself, enclosing a written answer to the note delivered by you from Major Eaton. The bearer of this answer attended several times, both on Friday and Saturday, at the place of appointment, but without meeting you, in consequence, as I now understand, of your confinement at home from indisposition. On Saturday, he was met at the place of appointment by another friend of Major Eaton, with authority to receive the communica-

tion in your place; which, after being opened and read, was forthwith returned to Mr. Berrien, with a verbal intimation that Major Eaton would not receive it.

"This seems to close the door to all correspondence between the parties, and of course to any communication in reference to the original demand upon Mr. Berrien, between third persons, acting in their behalf. In Mr. Berrien's proffered answer to Major Eaton, he has taken his ground, and upon that, under existing circumstances, he must stand as firm and immoveable as he would upon any other that he might have elected. After the indignity of having the answer, which he had devised, thrown back upon his hands as unworthy of reply, without the slightest explanation how or why it was deemed inadmissible *in limine*, he cannot submit to the task of graduating new answers by an imaginary scale, till he may chance to have descended to some supposed degree of admissible answer. I was myself wholly unapprized of this unhappy affair till it was communicated to me this morning; when I engaged, in case you should take any further agency in the matter, to explain to you individually as a gentleman, what guarded respect to the original medium of communication between the parties, Mr. B. had observed in all that had been transacted during your absence, and how completely all direct and authorized intervention had been cut off, and the affair remitted to the discretion of mere parties. Such was the beginning, and such was the end of my present commission.

Copy of my answer to the foregoing letter, dated

"Washington, August 2d, 1831.

"Dear General:

"From your note of this morning, it appears that the matter, so far as you are concerned, as the friend of Mr. Berrien, is terminated; as the friend of Major Eaton I can, therefore, hold no further correspondence with you.

"I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"Alexander Hunter."

CHAPTER 23.

Funeral Oration by Honorable Ephraim H. Foster of Tennessee in the McKendree Church in Nashville, on the occasion, of the honoring of the obsequies of Henry Clay, July 28, 1852.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"Nashville, July 29th, 1852.

"To the Hon. Ephraim H. Foster:

"Dear Sir: The general Committee of Arrangements, appointed by the Citizens of Nashville, to prepare the Obsequies of Henry Clay, have directed the undersigned to solicit for publication a copy of your very eloquent Oration upon that occasion. Hoping that it may be agreeable to you to gratify the wishes of your numerous friends by a compliance with this request,

"We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

"Your very obedient servants,

"John Hu. Smith,

"Ro. G. Smiley,

"Jno. A. McEwen,

"Committee.

"Nashville, July 29th, 1852.

"To Messrs. John Hugh Smith, Ro. G. Smiley, John A. McEwen, Committee.

"Gentlemen: I have received your polite note of this morning, requesting me to furnish you for publication a copy of the Oration delivered on the occasion of the Obsequies of the Hon. Henry Clay; and with pleasure herewith hand a copy of the same for that purpose.

"Be pleased to accept my grateful acknowledgements for the kind and complimentary terms you speak of it. At the same time, I fear that the judgment of the public will not be as favorable as your own.

"I have the honor to remain,

"Very faithfully, your obedient serv't.

"E. H. Foster."

FUNERAL ORATION.

"The emblems of mourning that hang in deep and studied festoons around this sacred desk, the anxious and attentive gaze of so many silent eyes, and the solemn stillness that pervades these consecrated walls, all proclaim the sorrow that penetrates every

heart in this vast assembly. The angel of death has been in our midst. He has struck in our high places. A great man has fallen, and we come together, on a day set apart and dedicated to his memory, to manifest our grief. Henry Clay is no more. In the ripeness of old age, but more crowned with honors and renown than he was blessed with lengthened years, he has been gathered to the fathers. He sleeps in the noiseless tomb, and we shall see him no more, forever, in the glory and the brightness of his long and shining career.

"And who will say that his departure—late as it was—so natural in the course of time and so much to be expected—is not a national loss! Or friend or foe, who, in this hour of our sadness, can refuse to join in a parting tribute to the recollection of a patriot whose fame has reached the utmost borders of civilization, and whose imperishable name will be chronicled in all time to come, in the proudest annals of the Republic?"

"And now that he has passed to his great account, it is good to dwell on such a man, and, in the hour of these funeral rites, to repeat the story of his deeds and recount some of the great actions that have distinguished and immortalized his life.

"The illustrious citizen whose loss we now so deeply deplore, was born in the ancient commonwealth of Virginia in the month of April, 1777. He was of poor, but virtuous and reputable parentage, and under the pressure of that inherited destitution which so often nerves and spirits a noble and generous ambition, he was—like most others of his great compeers, the living and the dead, whose characters already illuminate and adorn the short but brilliant page of our national progress—the architect of his own fortunes: and from the most humble and unpromising beginnings, ascended the 'high estate' which signalized his life and has finally given him an historic name. The 'Mill Boy of the Slashes'—such was the homely soubriquet of his youthful days—deprived, in early boyhood, of the provident care of a good father, was necessarily consigned to the culture and protection of an indigent but exemplary mother, and opened his horn book for the first time, in a school house 'made of crib-logs, with no floor, but the earth, the entrance—serving for door, window and air—being always open.' Under these lean and unfavorable auspices, and without ever afterwards having had the advantage of any higher source of tuition, he began and ended his literary pupilage, and was, at the tender age of fifteen, transferred thence to a mercantile counter in the City of Richmond, and, at the end of another year, to a lower clerkship in the high court of chancery of Virginia.

"A faithful representation, up to this time, of the person and the appearance of the obscure lad who was destined, in the fullness of his days to command the united confidence and applause of an admiring people, would unfold a picture at which a cynic might smile, and which, in the moral it forcibly teaches, should excite the 'high hopes' of all the poor and unwashed children who swarm in

the low log cabins of this equal, free and happy land. The future statesmen and orator—he, on whose patriotic and burning lips a listening senate has so often hung in delight and veneration, and whose mighty voice, warmed by the most pure and lofty inspirations, so frequently afterwards invoked the genius of liberty in our public councils, or called back the nation to a knowledge of its true and best interests—was, in his youthful days, awkward and ungainly in person and deportment, and might then be seen at any summer's sunrise—half clad, uncovered and unshod—bounding along in a merry gambol of innocent and thoughtless boyhood, heading a juvenile chase after the small game of the adjoining woods, or, tricked off with the home made satchel that contained his book and his coarse and scanty mid-day meal, trudging to the school house, all full of morning joy and gay and sportive as the wild birds that caroled in the forest around him.

“Such were the first prospects and such the early promise of a hapless lad, who, on the proof of his own words, ‘never recognized a father's smile, nor felt his caresses,’ and who, with all his unrivalled latent powers—‘poor and penniless, without the favor of the great and with an imperfect and inadequate education,’ but for the timely interposition of a few generous friends, might have gone, with the million who had preceded him, ‘unwept, unhonored and unsung’ to an obscure or an ignoble grave—for so, indeed, it has often happened, that genius, repressed by ‘chill penury’, or fatally blighted by the ignorance or the cold indifference of an envious and self seeking world, has been doomed to lead an inglorious life and disappear forever, without leaving a solitary trophy behind to commemorate its hard fought battles, its victories, and the extent and immortality of its conquests.

“Most happy, however, for the American people and for the lamented dead whose obsequies we now celebrate, the grateful patronage that kindly removed him from his humble and unnoted birth place to the ancient capital of his native State, rescued his name from oblivion and laid the foundations, broad and deep, of the brilliant fortunes he afterwards achieved.

“At the immediate time of his auspicious advent into Richmond, the great destined statesman was, we are told, indifferently advanced in the most common country education of his day. He was provincial too, and unrefined in his manners, and clad in domestic garments of uncouth cut and texture. They were the best, no question, and the most genteel that the loom and the hands of the good mother of the “Slashes” could fabricate and fashion: but they figured strangely in the streets and saloons of a polished metropolis, and made the awkward lad who wore them, a rare and fit subject for the jests and criticisms of his youthful associates. A short acquaintance however, with the high merits and the true worth of the rustic of Hanover, quickly turned ridicule into respect and admiration; and it was not long before those who were the first to laugh at, were the first to honor and applaud him. The

artless and unsophisticated 'new comer' they soon discovered, was willing, apt and vigilant in service—he was virtuous—he was industrious and steady in his habits and with all, he manifested superior capacity and an extraordinary rapidity of perception, and could with little instruction and as little practice, master and accurately execute and dispatch any branch of office business to which he was detailed. He delighted, too, in days of labor and nights of reading and contemplation; and accordingly his idle and pleasure hunting companions, returning at a late hour from their accustomed revels, always found him seated, where they had left him, attentively engaged in some favorite study.

"What wonder then that a great chancellor—the learned and illustrious preceptor of Jefferson—whose duties led him frequently to the apartments of his clerk, should become acquainted with the extraordinary mental endowments and the rare worth of the favorite of his official household. What wonder that this clerk, at the earnest request of the good chancellor, should transfer his excellent and trusty subordinate to the former as his copyist, his confidential friend and his associate in the manual labors of his station. What wonder, indeed, that this venerable and afflicted Judge—full of benevolence as he was of wisdom and knowledge, and always the patron and adviser of virtuous and aspiring youth—charmed with the industry and capacity of his destitute and talented assistant, should take him by the hand, point him to the high summit whence flowed wealth and fame, and nobly volunteer to aid, direct and guide his footsteps in an attempt to make the rugged and dangerous ascent. And in this generous offer, the future destiny and the bright fortunes of this promising young scribe were securely sealed. He entered eagerly on the study of the law, and having in due season completed his forensic education, he removed, before the close of his twenty-first year, to the State of Kentucky, and commenced his professional career in a town to which his great name and his residence have imparted national immortality—for, Lexington, so long honored by his presence, and, by his own beautiful Ashland—now another Monticello in the West—cultivated and adorned by his taste and his labors, and finally hallowed by the ashes of its illustrious lord, shall live in history and in song, and be visited by pilgrim patriots until the American people shall cease to imitate the virtues of their heroic sires, and grow weary of that freedom for which they expended so much blood and treasure, and for the possession of which so many millions now mourn in hopeless and heavy chains of bondage and captivity.

"We need not dwell on the professional progress and the rapid rise of our ambitious beginner. His acquirements, the practical powers of his mind, and his intellectual capacity bore their rich fruits, and the young stranger, who—penniless and friendless—had courageously taken his seat 'in the midst of a bar uncommonly distinguished by eminent members,' and who has himself recorded the joy and delight with which he received his first 'fifteen shilling

fee,' realized his brightest day dreams, and 'immediately rushed into a successful and lucrative practice.' And if there be any in this large assembly—as some, we are sure, there must be—who, under similar disadvantages, have achieved similar professional fortunes, they will, we know, in view of these cheering examples, join us in commending hope and confidence to the hearts of the whole American youth. Let them be early taught to know and believe that, in a Government of practical freedom and equality, there is no 'royal road' to the temple of Fame—that the pathway thither is open alike to every condition of life, and that so long as the opulent and the high born, can assert no titled supremacy, the poor and humble should never repine or despair. If indeed, they will only remember the encouraging truth, the surest promise is theirs; for the experience of every observer proves, that whilst wealth and plenty, too often enervate and relax the energies of the mind and lessen the chances of ambition, the want of these doubtful blessings gives strength and inspiration to the heart, and often times enables the indigent and needy to reach honors which riches alone can never purchase and seldom or ever win.

"In the instance of the departed statesman of whom we speak, the short interval between his successful appearance at the bar and the beginning of his political career—though full of interest to himself—is chiefly to be signalized in a public notice of his life, by a marriage, which—fortunately for both parties—was as happy and as full of constancy and affection as it was enduring. The venerable mother of his children—a few years his junior—blessed and supported with more health and vigor of mind and body, than usually accompany her protracted existence, and crowned, in the late twilight of a long and exalted day, with unclouded hope and confidence on the promises of her holy religion, still lives to join in the united grief of a great nation over the canonized remains of the man of her first, her last and her only love. She had seen the cold and uncharitable earth close over all of her numerous offspring save four, and she had doubly mourned a heroic son—in name, in person and in pride and chivalry, the mould and image of his own great father—who had gloriously fallen, far away from home, doing gallant battle for his country. In these overpowering calamities she had gently bowed her submissive head and looked to Heaven.

"But the inexorable messenger—insatiate of victims—too soon alas for a broken heart, came again, and the aged and bereaved matron—stricken down by a last hard blow, to a still deeper depth of sadness and sorrow—sits now in her lonely and disconsolate chamber, weeping by day, and through her dreary midnight vigils, over the loved lord she shall see no more forever—he who, in manhood and in old age, and through many long years, had been the object of her affectionate attachment and admiration, and whose kind and familiar voice had, in other days, so often turned her soul to notes of life and joy, or soothed and calmed her heart in the hour of its unutterable afflictions.

"Truly a mother is Israel; she is a child of 'many sorrows and full of grief.' Of sorrows, indeed, that pierce and paralyze the heart, but speak not, and are only seen in the heaving bosom, or heard in the deep drawn sigh of hopeless and unspeakable despair. We may send her our sympathies and join in her griefs: but the great Physician, who dwells above, can, alone, administer the balm of healing to a prostrate and downtrodden spirit; and He will, in His own good time and manner, dry up the widow's tears, or mitigate her sufferings. To his merciful and beneficent keeping, then, we consign the aged mourner and turn our thoughts again to the dead.

"In the beginning of this century, we know, historically, that the two great parties which then divided the American people, had assumed, towards each other, a most rancorous, resolute and determined attitude of political hostility. The civic war of that day raged with vehemence, in all the length and breadth of the land, and such was the bitterness of the strife that, in the violent collisions of opinion, many good men trembled for the safety of the Republic. If there was any neutral ground within all our borders, where the peaceful might have stood and contemplated the fearful fraternal struggle, there were none so tame or so indifferent as to be ready or willing to occupy its space. The old, the middle aged and the young, all alike excited, rushed to the battle-field, and nowhere else were the elements of contention more fervid and fierce than they were in the young 'Hunter State' of the West.

"If the Federal party in Kentucky vainly boasted a superiority in the wealth and talent of the country, the Republican party felt the strength and vitality of numbers; and these quailed not, neither did they blanch before the enemy. They, too, had their leaders—brilliant, fearless and undaunted—for Henry Clay, true to the instincts of the liberty loving class from which he sprung, and early in the Virginia school, was of them and among them. He was there, a youthful, but a steel clad warrior, ignorant of the weight and excellence of his own good helmet and buckler, or of the strength and keenness of his political battle-axe—a giant he was indeed, unconscious of 'the might that slumbered' in a giant's arms.

"On the occasion of a great public meeting in Lexington, and an animated and fiery discussion growing out of the measures of policy adopted by the elder Adams, and which have given an odious and a memorable notoriety to his administration, Henry Clay was unexpectedly called up by the shouts and loud cries of a burning and indignant people to address his republican fellow citizens in defense of the principles of his party. The want of a more suitable forum was, in a plain and unartful generation, not unfrequently supplied by a convenient cart; and from the tail of one of these primitive vehicles—where he was forcibly planted by the multitude—he stood up before the public, for the first time in his life, in political debate.

“Unaccustomed to the new scene, and intimidated—as well he might have been—by the novelty of the task before him, and his own want of experience and preparation, the future hero of the day—we are told—grew pale, and faltered and for a few painful moments, his trembling limbs, and the inarticulate sounds that passed his lips, threatened his own disgrace and the defeat and utter confusion of his friends. Such are not, unfrequently, the trials of true genius, even in its most ripe and mature growth; for real greatness, often times, stops and stammers at a threshold where ‘fools rush in’ with vain and presumptuous courage and self possession.’ But happily for his fame and his future hopes, a minute more, and in that flying minute ‘Richard was himself again.’ The hesitation of our young and noble orator, was but the timid and fearful crouching of the lion-whelp who has never before essayed the power of his muscles, or successfully struck at the object of his terrible bound. The blood, which in the excitement of an untried exhibition, had rushed to the head and the heart of the speaker and scattered his thoughts, soon retreated to run again in its natural channels, and a restored circulation enabled him to give free utterance to the forcible and convincing arguments and conceptions of a rich and unrivaled intellect. The soul, relieved of fear and pressure, poured forth a flood of living eloquence, and when the scene closed and the curtain dropped, the victory was complete and overwhelming. The wrapped and listening fathers of the party lavished on the young orator their most grateful praise and all their congratulations, and the great multitude that heard him—full of admiration and frenzied with joy and delight—seized the cart on which he was still standing, and, with loud and deafening shouts of applause, drew the new born object of their political idolatry in triumph, through the streets of the city.

“When we remember how often it happens that the course and the labors of a long life are shaped and permanently influenced, by the accidental events of a day or even an hour of time, we may readily believe that the destiny of our great friend and all his subsequent glory and public usefulness were created and adjusted in the incidental display we have just recounted. To suppose him insensible to the renown he had so suddenly and causally achieved, would be to deny him the most honorable and commendable pride that can animate the human soul. We should stand too, in equal disregard of the proofs of the strong emotions that dwell within our own bosoms, to imagine, that, with a modest and unboasted consciousness of his own powers, and with all the unexpected laurels of that day thick clustering around his youthful brow, he could have rashly determined to withhold himself from public promotion and all the exalted honors that follow in its train. He might have reasoned with himself, we admit, and, under the pressure of want, or, the pleas of previous obligations, he might have had the resolution to check, and postpone the tempting aspiration. But under less powerful persuasions, a more temperate ambition has not al-

ways been proof against its own yearnings, or against the flattering compliments and solicitations of the world; and it would have been a deplorable exception, indeed, if the illustrious object of these solemn funeral rites—warm hearted, generous, brave, great and confiding as he was, and full of patriotism and love of country—had resisted the seductive allurements of place and station, and passed his long and lengthened years in the privacy of domestic life. Happier and more blessed and contented by far, we admit, he might have been—but, who—in the name and behalf of this great people and of all coming posterity, we ask it—who else of his day and generation could have borne his heavy armor or filled the wide place he occupied in the hearts of that people and in the difficult counsels of the Republic? Let a Nation answer.

“But, whatever his reasons, his desires or his motives may have been, we know that Henry Clay entered on his political life at an early age, and soon after he had passed through the ordeal we just described. We know too, that after an almost uninterrupted public service of nearly the half of a long century, he died, near his post at Washington, in full panoply, and in the bright blaze of all his own greatness and glory.

“A short but active apprenticeship of several sessions in the Legislature of his State—where he soon distinguished himself, and where, on his last return he received the honors of the Speaker’s chair—opened his way to Congress; and we find him, as soon as the number of his years had removed a constitutional disability, seated in the Senate of the United States, and participating in the counsels of that august and imposing assembly. Subsequently called by his State to the same exalted station—both occasions to fill short vacancies—he could in his own good pleasure, have been continued in that elevated office, but, in 1811, the doubtful and threatening relations of our Government with the British crown, and the strong probability of a rupture with that Power, turned his ambition into a different channel, and he sought in the House of Representatives, a field of public labor more arduous but more congenial with his temper and disposition, and more suited to a practical exercise of the talents he had so patriotically resolved to devote to the vindication and support of an injured and insulted country.

“Thither, then, Mr. Clay was returned by the people of his district in the 34th. year of his age, and though it was his first appearance in a Legislative assembly, full of veteran members and dignified with the collected wisdom of the Union, he was chosen by a large majority to preside over its deliberations. What but the reputation that preceded him, could have commanded so great a tribute, and what but the most indisputable personal worth and excellence, accompanied and adorned by the highest intellectual endowments, could have accomplished such rare and early fame?

“Nor was the enviable distinction, thus first conferred, ever afterwards seriously contested or withheld from our illustrious friend whilst he remained a member of the House of Representa-

tives. His commission—seven times renewed and commensurate with his whole service there—was only interrupted when important foreign duties, or domestic necessity withdrew him, temporarily, from his seat in that body, and only terminated when, in view of other and more responsible political engagements, he gave a final adieu to a branch of Government where he had labored long and with constant fidelity, and from the individual members of which he had received so many evidences of friendship and so many tokens of profound confidence and veneration.

“They reckon, indeed, without knowledge or reflection, who suppose that the important and responsible office to which our last remarks allude, can be easily executed, and may, therefore, be coveted by men of moderate abilities and short experience in the rules of business and decorum that guide and govern in all deliberative assemblies. The Speaker’s chair—though cushioned it may be, and curtained with richest silks—is not a bed of roses or a place of rest and repose. To the successful administration of its varied duties, the occupant must bring the help of as many varied and rare qualifications; and in this respect no man was ever more eminently endowed than the great and unrivalled Speaker of our text. He never mingled arrogance with authority; but was dignified in his place without being vain or magisterial in his manner—he kindly instructed the ignorant—he corrected good men with a bow and a smile, and in that way blunted the sting of a painful but necessary reproof—he checked the turbulent by his stern and unshaken firmness—he always knew the business of the House, and he knew, too, how to hurry and despatch it without vexing or offending a laggard—when he left the chair he threw behind him the gavel and the mace, and joined in plain or playful converse and association with all around him, so that by his person and manner a stranger could not distinguish the great speaker from his clerk or his door keeper. In this way, and by a constant practice of equity and fair dealing, he won a confiding dominion over the hearts of all men of all parties, and was thereby enabled throughout all his lengthened presidency and in times of highest political excitement, to preserve such order in the House as was never before excelled and has never since been equaled. It is related of him, that being questioned by a friend on the late adjournment of a social evening party where the pleasures of the feast had unwittingly led the guests to encroach on the morning hours, ‘how he could preside over the House that day,’ he sportively replied, ‘come up and you shall see how I will throw the reins on their necks.’

“But the enlarged and commanding mind that so happily accomplished the useful and important objects we have just portrayed, could not be content to sit in inglorious ease, and maintain the good order of an assembly of men without endeavoring to infuse wisdom into their deliberations, and aiding in an attempt to guide and influence their thoughts and decisions. Hence, therefore, Mr. Clay did not, at any time, during his long presidency over the

House of Representatives, confine himself to the duties and details of the chair; nor did he withhold his voice or his exhortations in the eventful struggle through which the nation was then passing. Eloquent in speech, and powerful in argument—persuasive—ardent and brave, but always loyal to the constitution and to the honor and best interests of his country—he entered eagerly into all the counsels and public discussions of that memorable epoch, and, in his deeds and his labors, reared a monument to his own fame which time can never alter or obliterate. Born to command, and esteeming the point of danger to be the post of honor, he chose that point, and was ever foremost in the strife, and the bitter conflicts of the day. He fought in one battle to harden himself for the perils and fatigues of another, and, sword in hand, he stood either at the weak place of his defenses, or was found heading his friends in a desperate assault on the works and the strong positions of the adversary. He knew no rest whilst there was an armed foeman in the field; nevertheless, he loved peace if it could be had on safe, just and allowable terms, and he would, in the din and wild outcry of the combat, turn the hilt of his sword to the enemy and imploringly show the olive branch that humanely ornaed its glittering point. It was thus that the ‘great pacificator’ rescued the Republic in the fearful struggle for the admission of the State of Missouri into our Union, and gained to himself more than the proud honors of the ‘mural wreath.’ Nor will he be without his reward—the only reward a true patriot ever asks or expects—for, although the witnesses of a day when ‘the blackness of darkness’ hung over the broad land, are fast gliding away and there will soon now be none left to recount its alarms, yet history—true to its office—will keep the eternal record, and its pages will weave unfading garlands for the brow of the statesman, who by his fraternal mediation, his eloquence, and his civic valor, achieved a bloodless triumph for his country saving by the deed, the Union of these States, and, with it, our only high promise of future national glory, and the last hope and earthly refuge of human liberty.

“It is not within the legitimate limits of a funeral address, nor is it expected of us on this occasion, to follow the honored and lamented dead of our present sorrows, through all the acts and incidents of a long and eventful life. We may only stop, in a rapid portraiture, to sketch, from the broad and bright landscape before us, the scenes that most illustrate the transcendent powers of a great mind, or best delineate the high and sublime traits of a noble, patriotic and elevated heart. And his political opinions—the measure of State he advocated and the measures he opposed fresh and green in the memory of this generation—are they not written down in the school books of our children, and have they not, long since, become things of household knowledge in every American family? To know Henry Clay was in fact, to admire his boldness, and to read, in wide, clear and open lines, the thoughts and the purposes of his brave and fearless soul. With him, indeed, candor

was almost a fault—for, truly, he had no concealments, and, without any vain or hypocritical cant, he constantly observed that frankness which others frequently profess but seldom practice and he always labeled on his forehead the sentiments and the convictions of his mind, and all the great ends and objects he hoped or intended to carry out and accomplish.

“The friend of ‘Liberty’ everywhere, under every sky and in every clime, he daily worshiped at the shrine of his greatest earthly ‘idol’ and, in all her conflicts, breathed warmest prayers for the firm and successful establishment of her universal dominion. In the sunny realms of Greece the cradle of her early and beautiful youth, and the field of her first conquest—hapless South America, bound down in double chains of ignorance and despotism—in all Europe—in regions hard by the frozen Alps, or at the feet of the fiery mountains of an opposite continent, and wherever human valor raised its standard and fought for the rights of man, he worshipped her there; and his constant and fervent soul everywhere proclaimed the patriot’s motto ‘ubi Libertas, ibi patria.’ Universal in his philanthropy, he only knew his fellow man by the ‘face divine,’ and was ever ready to share with the oppressed of all nations that freedom he had so happily and gladly inherited, and so fondly and affectionately loved and cherished.

“Early and thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the first fathers, and satisfied with the constitutional power of Congress—under the auspices of a national revenue and by the public domain—to protect American—to protect American capital and encourage domestic industry, and, through similar agencies to facilitate and promote the commerce and intercourse of these States by means of internal improvements: convinced too, that a ‘wise and judicious’ execution of these great designs would develop the wealth, and place the prosperity and independence of his country on secure and impregnable grounds, Mr. Clay zealously dedicated all his talents and the best hours of a long political life to the adoption and accomplishment of these important measures; and, in a just compliment to the constancy and ability with which he advocated these favorite projects he was, ever afterwards honored with the paternity of the ‘American System.’

“In the diversity of individual interest and the conflict of opinion it has not been the good fortune of the friends of this ‘system’ to witness the fulfillment, in any considerable extent, of their broad and patriotic designs. But much has been done, and a progressive and more enlightened public sentiment gives hopeful assurance that Congress will—in cooperation, at least, with individual enterprise—enlarge its bounties until by the gradual advancement and final completion of the vast net work of improvement now in execution and under hopeful contemplation, the ‘iron horse’ and the ‘winged steamer’ shall, in their rapid powers of flight, bring our most remote regions into immediate contiguity with each other and with their common centre, and thereby secure

the prosperity and perpetuity of our blessed Union, by binding all its parts together indissoluble with chains of interest and fraternity.

"We have already stated the patriotic motives which induced Mr. Clay—with a conceded option between the two positions to prefer a place in the House of Representatives to the higher honors of a seat in the Senate. The fears and apprehensions that decided this preference were soon realized and our foreign relations too painfully proved that the issue of battle could alone save us from National degradation.

"In the long and exhausting wars waged between England and France and their respective allies—commencing with the convulsions attending the French revolution, and only closing on the bloody field of Waterloo—both of these great powers, disregarding our neutral rights, and mistaking our forbearance and our peaceful remonstrances for cowardice or want of ability to resent and avenge our wrongs, had by many arbitrary acts and decrees, interrupted and nearly destroyed our commerce on the high seas. They had insulted our flag, plundered our ships, and legalized among their subjects, a most odious and insufferable system of maritime robbery. If the authorities of France had, at length, abandoned the intolerable policy, England, more reckless and determined and more insolent in her strength, not only persisted, but doubled and enlarged our injuries by stopping our vessels, seizing our sailors and compelling them to fight her battles, or to take the alternative of being chained to the guns or locked up in the loathsome dungeons of her floating prisons. To have submitted any longer to such wrongs and indignities would have subjected the apostate name of America to the scorn and contempt of the civilized world, and proved her people unworthy of their high descent and of that freedom which their gallant ancestors had successfully achieved through a sea of blood and over many a sad field of slaughter and desolation. Happily for the national honor, that people—full of valor and panting for the conflict—had, in their hearts, already unsheathed the sword and stood to arms, impatient for the word of command and the battle cry of an injured and insulted country.

"And, in the appeals which preceded this just and fearful cry whose tongue—touched with patriotic indignation burning with fiery eloquence and loud among the loudest that thundered beneath the domes and vaulted halls of our capitol was most frequently heard in vindicating our rights, and exhorting to the onset, and amid the alternate hopes and fears that beset and perplexed the minds of many, invoking the hearty cooperation of the brave, and arousing the courage of the timid? Who, in the proud defiance of an insolent and powerful foe, and with a just reliance on the mercy and protection of that Supreme Majesty, who holds the destiny of men and nations in the hollow of his hand—who was the first to 'cry havoc and let slip the gods of war?' Who, never vaunting in prosperity or despairing in adversity, stood steadily by afterwards

and held up the arm of his government in all the trials and vicissitudes of the contest? Who, wise in council, bold in action, always prompt and never intimidated or discouraged looked alone to the merits of a good cause and refused to doubt the final triumphs of justice? In the midst of all these fearful trials, and when faction, like some dark, midnight demon, reared his gorgon head, hideously hissing unearthly sounds, and threatening the disunion of these happy States, and with it all the concomitant horrors of the foul and unnatural deed—who, foremost among the first, stood 'in the imminent deadly breach,' to meet the monster there, and battle him headlong back to breathe the pestilential vapors of his own deep and dreary caverns? And who, when the invitations of peace gave promise of future harmony on surer foundations was the first to meet the call, or who aided more in the honorable adjustment which restored the concord of warring powers, and assured national rights that have never since been violated? All in all, who but the man of these solemn honors? Who but Henry Clay?

"And the annals of that gloomiest period in the history of our government, do they not record this truthful echo, and will not all who hear our words, bear witness to the fidelity of these praises? If Tennessee—self honored in the great donation—gave the country the renowned and invincible warrior chief of an age of trouble and tribulation—so Kentucky, in life, his adored and adoring mother, in death, the depository of his ashes, presented mankind and the Union with the civil cotemporary, whose great and unrivalled powers as a statesman and orator, adorned by the purest patriotism and wrought for himself a name that will live commensurate with the republic and can only be lost or forgotten when our own glorious institutions, with all civilization everywhere, shall pass away forever and 'like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind.'

"Bearing away to other scenes, and sketching only, where history would write a volume we gather in every step rich memorials of the intellectual superiority, the devotion, the virtuous ambition and the peerless power and influence of a citizen who lived but to serve his country; who served that country but to rejoice in its growing strength and prosperity, and who, dying in the midst of his great labors, left behind him a last fervent prayer for our free institutions that they might successfully resist all intestine commotion and all foreign invasion and stand forever in peaceful perpetuity, the heritage and the blessing of our children in all their generations to come, a refuge and a home for the oppressed of every land, and a model and beacon light to all future enfranchised nations of the earth.

"How deep that prayer, how full of patriotism, how sublime, we must all admit when we call to mind how gloriously the aged and departed statesman of these solemn and imposing ceremonies, in all the acts of a long, anxious and toilsome life, illustrated its

truth and sincerity. He was thrice, in less than thirty years, the pacificator, and as many times the savior of a convulsed and distracted country; and in the last great peril, though bending under the weight of years and the superadded infirmities of age and time, he rose far above his previous renown, and inscribed his own great name in deep and imperishable lines on the highest turret of the temple of fame.

“And of us, and among us, who has forgotten, or can ever forget the fears and foreboding of that last most hazardous and threatening hour in all our political existence, an hour when weak minds lost hope, and the strong man trembled when discord and fiery passion reigned supreme in our public councils, shedding the gloom of despair over many faces—that sad hour when the North and the South stood against each other in hostile array, to try to battle in which, if the latter had failed, this great Union, already trembling on its foundations, must have fallen, and in the fall, must have covered alike, the conqueror and the conquered beneath its prostrate pillars and all its melancholy ruins? It was, indeed, a time for the prayers and intercessions of good men of every party; a season of fearful apprehension, and a scene on which angels might have looked and wept. And in the bitter strife and the loud uproar of angry and conflicting forces, whose voice could be heard? What arm was strong enough to save; where was the guardian spirit of the republic; the benign power that could pour oil on the troubled waters, and hush to repose the howling of the furious tempest or where the earthly minister that could speak to the mad waves: ‘Peace, be silent’—or proclaim to the surging ocean—‘Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther’?

“Thanks to the Great Supreme, whose sovereign will can build up or destroy kingdoms, that good spirit was there, sorrowful, but serene in the midst of confusion—there that minister stood—

“As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.’

“A great man rose up and all eyes were turned upon him—he spoke, and every one listened—he supplicated, and was heard—he commanded and was heeded—he raised a tremulous hand, bronzed with age and feeble, and pointing an attenuated finger to the glittering emblem that hung, in mid air, over their heads, he implored Senators to behold the golden symbol of the strength and power of the Republic, and to remember that ‘Liberty and Union’ were ‘now and forever, one and inseparable.’ His counsels and exhortations prevailed—peace and concord returned—a nation was saved!

“And who was he—that man—the second father of his country the preserver of the Union and the benefactor of mankind—who was he of whom we speak? The silent answer to our enquiry hangs

trembling on every tongue in this great assembly, and applauding hearts are ready to utter the grateful sound. We seize the word, and repeat the name of Henry Clay!

“Wonderful man—Statesman—Orator—Patriot—great among the great, wise among the wise, and, over all, combining in his character the strong powers that enabled him to sway the public policy! He it was who mainly led his country to its present high fortunes, and laid the foundations of all our bright and hopeful promise upon a still greater future to come.

“Nor can it be out of place in this short but interesting review of recent events, to offer the profound and grateful homage of Southern hearts to the exalted worth and patriotism of those statesmen of the North, who, in a just sense of paramount allegiance to a fixed law of our social compact, stood shoulder to shoulder with the illustrious object of our present griefs, and lent their all powerful advocacy to the adoption and the prompt execution of a legislative contract, which, if faithfully fulfilled, must secure forever the peace and harmony of our country.

“Honor, then, and all honor, and praise, and thanks, to these, and to all of the—but first to the man who, feeling himself to be the President of the Nation and the whole Nation, and not a leader of any party, or of any fraction, or any fractional division of that Nation, was able—if he had any previous doubts—to unlearn and overcome the prejudices of place and education—to forget or disregard the influences and all the ties and tender associations of life, and boldly stand forward the defender of the constitution, and in his high place there, the preserver of our happy and ever glorious Union. His great reward is, we know, in ‘the answer of a good conscience’ before God and the world. But he bears with this pleasing reflection, the superadded gratitude and applause of all the good and virtuous of his own generation; and when these, and all these, shall have passed away and gone into the oblivion and the deep eternity of the grave, the historic record—flourishing in the bright and never-fading verdure of youth—shall still chronicle the renown we now proclaim, and the proud marble of Millard Fillmore, standing side by side with the statues of Clay, of Webster, and of Cass, shall adorn the great halls and temples which—in all coming time—posterity will not fail to erect and dedicate to the defenders of the constitution and the illustrious fathers of the Republic. But we have already drawn this address beyond its intended limits, and with our grateful thanks for the honorable position assigned us by our fellow-citizens on this melancholy occasion, we hasten to the close of our mournful labors.

“The successful passage of the compromise acts in the fall of 1850, closed, forever, the active political labors of Henry Clay—and it was fit, indeed and meet that so great a man should close his toils with the close of a scene so great and so imposing.

“Stricken with years, suffering too, as we have before stated, under the infirmities of age, and prostrated, unto sickness, by the

excitement and the exhausting fatigues of his last field of glory, he felt, too truly, that he had fatally overtaxed the feeble powers of his body, and wisely thought to prepare himself by times, for the summons which, he could not help believing, would soon call him to the long home appointed for all the living. He had already made an open profession of faith in the blood and sacrifice of a Redeemer; and having devoutly surrendered his heart and all his soul to the religion of the bible, it only remained for him, in the few fleeting moments of time before him, to observe and practice all its holy precepts, and to look alone to the atonement of the cross for that heavenly peace and consolation which all the vain and transitory honors of the world can neither give nor take away.

“Fortified in his own reflections by the opinions and the advice of his medical friends, he determined to seek relief and an amelioration of his condition, by relaxation from all thought of public affairs; and, accordingly, taking leave of that body in whose counsels his mighty voice was destined never again to be heard, he travelled by way of the North, and, in slow and circuitous marches, finally reached his own home, whence, on the approach of the present session of congress, he returned, weak and enfeebled, to his place at Washington.

“Alas! for all the hopes and prayers of his friends, ‘the angel of death awaited him at the gates of the city,’ and a few rapid months drew up the curtain that concealed life from immortality, and manifested to his firm vision the realities of an eternal world.

“A soft and gradual decay of the vital powers, unaccompanied by any protracted acute pain, gently and kindly cut the strong ligaments that chained his soul to its ‘mortal coil,’ and his great spirit, joyously bounding away from its earthly prison, soared aloft to Heaven, and unto the God who gave it.

“Henry Clay, the great, the wise, the virtuous, the incorrupt and incorruptible patriot—he is no more, and a nation mourns his departure! He fell like a sere and yellow leaf in autumn—like ripe grain in time of harvest! He is gone where we must all go—for life is but a dream—in all its various estates a fleeting shadow! The poor die and sink to a neglected grave—the rich die and go to the sepulchre, clothed in linen and rich silks and are remembered by the costly marble that marks the resting place of their ashes. ‘The tall, the wise, the reverend dead’—they too, must all die, and follow in the long and countless train that constantly trends to that undiscovered country from whose ‘bourne no traveller returns.’

‘The boast of heraldry—the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e’er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour:

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.’

“The Sage of Ashland—the Statesman of mankind—the Orator of his age! He is no more! Great in life, sublime in the last struggle, and happy in his exit!

'He gave his honors to the world—
His blessed part to Heaven.'

"Our tears bedew his fresh grave, and our children, and our childrens children shall rise up in their generations and celebrate the virtues of the patriot who—nobly refusing to sacrifice the honest convictions of his mind for the sake of power and station—magnanimously declared that he 'had rather be right than be President.'

CHAPTER 24
**Celebration in New Orleans of one hundred years of
 peace, 1815—1915, and of the Battle of New Or-
 leans, Jan. 8, 1815; oration by Samuel M.
 Wilson, Lexington, Kentucky.**

1815	THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.	OFFICIAL PROGRAMME	100 Years of Peace	1915
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THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Having in charge the ceremonies
 commemorating the centenary of

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

AND THE

Completion of One Hundred Years of Peace Between the United
 Kingdom of Great Britian and the United States of America.
 (Under the authority of an act of the General Assembly of
 Louisiana.)

T. P. THOMPSON, Chairman,
 W. O. HART, Vice-Chairman, JOHN F. COURET, Treasurer,
 JAMES J. A. FORTIER, Secretary.

1815	THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.	OFFICIAL PROGRAMME	100 Years of Peace.	1915
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Events
 of the
 CENTENNIAL CEREMONIES.

Friday, January 8th.

8:20 A. M.

Head of Canal Street.

Salute of 21 guns by Battery "A," Washington Artillery,
 Lietenant Stanley M. Lemarie. The Salvo to be so timed that
 the last shot will be fired exactly one hundred years after the last
 cannon was discharged from the American lines January 8th, 1915.



THE BATTLE MONUMENT AT CHALMETTE, NEW ORLEANS.

Located on the spot where Jackson's Rag waved on his lines along Rodriguez Canal. Unveiled January 8 1915, the 100 anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.

10: A. M.
City Hall.

Reception to distinguished guests in Mayor's parlors, by the Governor of Louisiana and the Mayor of the City of New Orleans.

10:15 A. M.

Terminal Station.

Departure of public school children for the Chalmette Battlefield on trains leaving from the Terminal Station on Canal Street.

11:30 A. M.

Head of Canal Street.

Departure of river parade for the Chalmette Battlefield, led by official committee boat, S. S. Hanover. All river craft carrying passengers to unveiling exercises to disembark at Frisco Slips.

Noon.

Chalmette Battlefield.

Firing of Congreve Rockets.

"The Long Roll" on the very drum that called the Americans to Arms at the Battle of New Orleans. "The Drummer Boy of Chalmette" was a free boy of color named Jourdan.

Music: "Stars and Stripes forever".

Invocation—Rev. Geo. H. Cornelson, Jr., of the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, formally of Nashville, Tenn.

Music: "Nearer My God To Thee".

Salutation—Luther E. Hall, Governor of Louisiana and introduction of T. P. Thompson, Chairman, Centennial Committee, Louisiana Historical Society and Master of Ceremonies.

Music: "Dixie".

Welcome—Mrs. M. H. Stem, former President United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812 of Louisiana.

Music: "Then you'll Remember Me".

Response—Andrew J. Peters, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, representing the President of the United States.

Response Representing His Majesty the King of Britian and Ireland.

Presentation of Gold Medals—Gasper Cusachs, President Louisiana Historical Society.

Music: "Hands Across The Sea".

Centennial Poems—Composed by Rixford J. Lincoln, Poet Laureate of Louisiana Historical Society, Read by J. Allen Swanson.

Music: "It's a Long Long Way to Tipperary."

Oration—"Andrew Jackson," Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Ky.

Music: "My Old Kentucky Home."

Address—"Louisiana in the Battle of New Orleans," Wm. C. Dufour.

Music: "Listen To The Mocking Bird."

Address—"The Daughters of 1812," Mrs. Williams Gerry Slade, National President.

Music: "Hail Columbia."

Placing on Battle Monument Evergreen Wreath from trees growing about the tomb of Andrew Jackson, by Ladies' Hermitage Association, represented by Miss Louis G. Lindsley and Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, Past Regents.

Music: "Ode to Tennessee."

Presentation of Memorial Urn, donated by Mrs. Martha Spotts Blakeman, and Draping with First Flag Which Floated Over Chalmette Monument by Miss Ethelyn Richardson.

Music: "Home, Sweet Home."

Reading of Commemorative Tablet by Mrs Christian Schertz, Marking Important points on the Battle-field.

Music: "Yankee Doodle."

Unveiling of Chalmette Monument and Raising of Unites States and British Flags of 1815.

Mrs. Virginia R. Fowler, Mrs. Elizabeth Reden Hacknay, Mrs. Lelia Montan Harper, Mrs. Alexander Keene Richards and Mrs. Felicite Gayoso Tennent, daughters of soldiers, who participated in the Battle of New Orleans, and Miss Sydney Crawford.

Chorus: "America," "God Save The King," and "International Hymn," by Public School children, conducted by Miss Mary M. Conway and Miss Marie Norra.

Benediction—Rev. Max Heller, of Temple Sinis, New Orleans.

Song: "Star Spangled Banner," by Chorus and Audience.

"Escort to the Colors"—Repetition of Ceremonies on the 8th. of January for One Hundred Years by the Seventh Regiment, United States Infantry, which participated in the Battle of New Orleans.

a. Escort to the colors.

b. Seventh Infantry Ceremony commemorative of the Battle of New Orleans.

c. Butt's manual to Music, by entire regiment.

d. Silent drill by Company G, 7th. United States Infantry.

Raising of "Old Glory," by Miss Evelyn Pigott and Master Carl McCaleb.

Salute of One Hundred Guns by Battery "B," Captain James E. Edmunds, Washington Artillery, Louisiana National Guard.

3:00 P. M.

Jackson Square.

Finish of 6½ mile race by Y. M. C. A. athletes, replacing famous run of Creoles from Fort St. John when called to Arms in 1814. Start at exact spot, Fort St. John, now called Spanish Fort, at 2:30 P. M.

4:00 P. M.

New Ursaline Convent.
(State Street At Willow).

Solemn Benediction.....Right Reverend James Hubert
Blenk and Assistants Te Deum.....Chanted by Choir, led
by Mrs. Theresa Buckley.

Military March.....I. V. Flagler.
President of the Ursaline Alumnae.

Hymn to Our Lady of Prompt Succor.....Chorus, Pupils of
Convent.

Accompanist, Miss Maud Martel.

Address.....Henry M. Gill.

Polonaise.....Chopin.

(This Ursuline Convent is in State Street, and can be reached by
taking Clio or Carondelet Street trolley cars bound (Uptown).

7:30 P. M.

General Illumination of City.

8:00 P. M.

Washington Artillery Hall.

Military Ball tendered by the Louisiana National Guard and
Louisiana Naval Battalion to the men of the United States Army
and Navy.

8:00 P. M.

Jackson Square.
Military Band Concert.

8:00 P. M.

LaFayette Square.
Military Band Concert.

8:00 P. M.

The Atheneum.

Reception Militaire by the Woman's Section of the Centennial
Committee.

1. Historic Tableaux by Pupils of Jackson School:

- a. Interior of a New Orleans home of 1815 when the women of
the city sewed blankets into clothes for Jackson's men.
- b. Campfire scene along Rodriguez Canal. Dawn, just before
the Battle of New Orleans.
- c. A Street in New Orleans. The Victorious American Army
welcomed home.

(San Remo Socola, director).

2. Period Dances (in costume).

- a. "Moment Musical".....School.

Saturday, January 9th.

9:00 A. M.

Military Parade.

Route—Form at Jackson Avenue and St. Charles Avenue;
St. Charles Avenue to Lee Circle, around to St. Charles Street;
down St. Charles Street, past reviewing stand at City Hall, to
Poydras Street, to Camp Street, to Canal Street, upper side of

Canal Street to Elk Place; lower side of Canal Street, to Chartres Street, down Chartres Street to Jackson Square; St. Peter to Decatur Street, to St. Ann Street, to Royal Street; up Royal Street to disbanding point at Canal Street.

FORMATION

Chief Marshal—Major General J. Franklin Bell, U. S. A.

Regulars of the United States Army.

Marines and Sailors of the United States Navy.

Louisiana National Guard.

Battalion of Louisiana Naval Militia.

Battalion Washington Artillery.

10:00 A. M.

Jackson Square.

Placing of wreaths on statue of Andrew Jackson by the Ladies' Hermitage Association of Nashville, Tennessee, represented by Miss Louise G. Lindlsey and Mrs Mary C. Dorris, former regents, and by the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812 of Louisiana, accompanied by Mrs. William Gerry Slade, president General of the Daughters of 1812, the first wreath being made of evergreens from trees around the tomb of Andrew Jackson at Nashville, Tenn.

10:30 A. M.

LaFayette Square.

Placing of wreath on Statue of Henry Clay, one of the signers of the treaty of Ghent, by the Kentucky Society of Louisiana.

Noon.

Cabildo and Battle Abbey.

Gavotte—J. B. Lully.

"Marcha Real."

The Battle Abbey—Its history, its purpose. Sketch by T. P. Thompson, President of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum.

"La Marseillaise," Solo, Mrs. Henry O. Bisset.

Dedication of the Battle Abbey, by His Excellency Luther F. Hall, Governor of Louisiana.

"The Star Spangled Banner." Solo Miss Selika Daboval.

Greeting—By Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans.

"Dixie."

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the Governor of Louisiana escorted by Gasper Cusachs, President of the Louisiana Historical Society, T. P. Thompson, President of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum, and members of the committee on Ceremonial, will proceed to the Battle Abbey which will then be formally opened.

2:30 P. M.

The Cabildo.

Reception of the Old Supreme Court Room of the Cabildo, by the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, assisted by former Chief Justice Joseph A. Breaux, and

former Associate Justice Newton C. Blanchard, Gasper Cusachs, President of the Louisiana Historical Society, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

3:00 P. M.

The Cabildo.

Presentation of the portrait of Professor Alcee Fortier, former President of the Louisiana Historical Society, by the Memorial Committee of the Society, represented by W. O. Hart. Acceptance of portrait by Henry M. Gill, on behalf of the Society.

3:30 P. M.

Old Ursuline Convent.

(Chartres and Ursuline Streets).

Unveiling and presentation of commemorative tablet by Miss Grace King to the President of the Louisiana Historical Society.

Tribute of Newcomb College to the Ursuline Convent—
From the latest to the earliest female college of Louisiana.

4:00 P. M.

The Presbytere.

Reception on old Presbytere, now part of the Louisiana State Museum, Sam Blum, representing the Board of Curators.

7:30 P. M.

Hotel Grunewald.

International peace banquet tendered by the Louisiana Historical Society to officers of the United States, foreign governments, Dominion of Canada, and States of the Union, and other distinguished guests.

7:30 P. M.

General Illuminating of City.

8:00 P. M.

LaFayette Square.

Military Band Concert.

8:00 P. M.

Jackson Square.

Military Band Concert.

9:00 P. M.

LaFayette Square.

Fireworks Display.

Sunday, January 10th.

10:00 A. M.

Jackson Square.

Ceremonial pageant replicating the return of General Jackson and his troops from the Battlefield and the "Crowning of Old Hickory" on the identical spot where he was received in triumph one hundred years ago today, by Abbe Dubourg, represented by Right Reverend J. M. Laval.

10:30 A. M.

St. Louis Cathedral.

Te Deum and Pontifical High Mass in St. Louis Cathedral

duplicating the great service of Thanksgiving rendered after the triumphal return of General Andrew Jackson and his men from the plains of Chalmette. Patriotic discourse by Rev. Emanuel de la Moriniere, S. J.

12:30 P. M.

Jackson Square.

Civic and Fraternal Societies parade from Jackson Square to Jackson Avenue. The first detachment will swing into lines as the last bell of the Angelus is chimed from the tower of St. Louis Cathedral. Head Column moves 12:30 sharp.

Route—From corner Chartres and St. Peters Streets, up Chartres Street to Canal Street; out Canal Street, north side to Basin Street, Canal Street, south side, to St. Charles Street, up St. Charles St. lake side, to Jackson Avenue, down St. Charles Avenue, river side, to Howard Avenue; Howard Avenue to Camp Street, down Camp Street to Canal Street, Canal Street, south side to disbanding point at Magazine Street.

ORATION, "ANDREW JACKSON"

By Samuel M. Wilson, Esq., Lexington, Ky.

"Mr. Chairman, United Daughters and Sons of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, Veterans and Descendants of Veterans of all our Wars, Venerable Survivors of the Washington Artillery, Members of the Louisiana Historical Society, Citizens of New Orleans and Guests of this occasion, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"From the time of the so-called Spanish Conspiracy, which had for its central object the maintenance of unfettered intercourse between the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and their Navigable water-ways, and which romantic plot cast both a glamour and a gloom over the early history of Kentucky, down to this good day, the people of that proud commonwealth have ever gazed with wistful and longing eyes down the long-winding course of the Mississippi to this Imperial Gateway of the Republic, magnificent New Orleans, the zenith city of the Gulf.

"To a Kentuckian, no higher compliment, surely, could be paid than to be given an opportunity, on this memorable anniversary, and on this historic field, within sight of the majestic Father of the Waters, and under the shadow of this splendid monument, to speak in commemoration of the mighty commander, and the valiant forces who so successfully contested this ground with their British foes a century ago. One and all, I hasten to thank you for the high privilege which is mine at this hour.

"In spite of the hasty and undeserved reflection, cast at the time upon a portion of the Kentucky troops, who took part in that decisive conflict, the world has come to know and acknowledge that the Kentucky Volunteers on this field were no less fearless, steadfast and heroic than their comrades from Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, to say nothing of the hardy sea-faring soldiers of fortune under Lafitte, the smuggler Sea-King of Baratavia.

No time, therefore, need be spent in vindicating the 'Hunters of Kentucky' from the charge of 'inglorious flight,' which, in the first flush of inflamed passion, with an incomplete knowledge of the facts and under a grievous misapprehension, was flung at them by the Commanding General, in his first report of the battle.

To the enduring credit of the lion-hearted and magnanimous chieftain, be it said, that, in time, he himself was made to realize and openly confess the grave error and injustice which had been done. 'This,' says Colonel Colyar, 'is about the only thing General Jackson ever took back.' For this honorable amends, you will permit me here and now, to record my unfeigned gratification. It is gratifying not to me alone but to all who prize the good name of my native state, and the reputation for grit and courage earned by her valiant sons on a thousand battlefields. Amends any less complete, whole-hearted and honorable than were finally made by General Jackson, could hardly have been pleasing to the compatriots of Clay, Shelby, Johnson and Adair.

"And yet, aware as I am of a certain trepidation inspired by this large and distinguished audience, by the sacred soil on which we are gathered and the immortal memories which throng about us, I can better understand and make allowances for the symptoms of panic, into which the raw recruits from Kentucky were betrayed, as they stood at bay, in a strange and almost defenseless position, on yonder side of the Great River, and grimly faced the onset, in awe-inspiring numbers, of seasoned British veterans, fresh from the ensanguined fields of war-torn Europe.

"It would ill become me, on this occasion and within the brief time-limit at my disposal, to attempt a full-length, life-size portrait of Andrew Jackson, or a chronological account of his career. The life and achievements of a man, whose life was so full of achievements, and so pervasive and potent in its influence, can not even superficially be compassed within the space of half an hour, and thankless, indeed, would be the task should I essay to perform it. Born in the Waxhaw District, on the border of the Carolinas, on the 15th. day of March, 1767, and dying at his historic home, the 'Hermitage', near the city of Nashville, on the 8th. of June, 1845, there was comprehended within the seventy-eight years, which filled the gap between these dates, more of human accomplishment than is commonly vouchsafed to the lot of mortal man and more, by far, than could be condensed into a talk suited to this place and occasion.

"I may take time, however, to remind you that he was the first representative in Congress from Tennessee, upon its admission into the Union on June 1, 1796, and it was during his short term of service in Congress, at this time, that he formed the acquaintance and friendship of Edward Livingston, one of the most accomplished men of his time, then a Congressman from New York, and afterwards a leading public citizen of your own State of Louisiana. This attachment was ardent and life-long, and remained unbroken for

a period of fifty years. I take time to say further that, in my opinion, there was no man in America, who during General Jackson's public career, exerted a more important or more beneficent influence upon his mind and upon his public and private life, than did this distinguished statesman and adopted but devoted son of Louisiana.

"While high honors in the civil service of his State and of the Nation came to him with surprising frequency, often from unexpected sources and nearly always unsought, he seems, in the early years of his manhood, to have put comparatively little store by these honors. His predominant tastes and talents were unmistakably military, yet, until the outbreak of the War of 1812, there was no real outlet for Jackson's military ardor, no real opportunity for his military genius to assert itself. So inconspicuous, apparently, had become his simple life, in the primitive wilds of Tennessee, that the statement must pass unchallenged that at the age of forty-five he had commenced no career. The outbreak of the second war with England, however, furnished the long-deferred opportunity and offered him an arena upon which to make a brilliant and effective display of his superior gifts as a military officer.

"Hardly had the declaration of war been made, on the 18th of June, 1812, before Jackson volunteered his services to the National Government and offered to raise a force of 2,500 Tennesseans, to be placed at the immediate disposal of the Department of War. His prompt and patriotic offer was eagerly accepted and he and his men were ordered to move towards New Orleans. No sooner said than done. But, on the arrival of Jackson and his hardy volunteers at Natchez, their appointed rendezvous on the Mississippi, the Government concluded that there would be little or no need of American troops for either defense or conquest, in this vicinity, and the order was recalled. One can better imagine than describe the bitter disappointment suffered by Jackson and his followers, in consequence of this change of plan. Yet despite the fact that he was forced to lead his men back to their Tennessee homes, his conduct upon this fruitless campaign was such as to win the lasting attachment and regard of every single one of his comrades-in-arms.

"Fortunately for his future, however, it was not long before the need of the South for protection, not only against the British red-coats, but also of stern, repressive measures against the dreaded 'Red Sticks' of Alabama, Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, became plainly apparent. The massacre at Fort Mims, at the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, in the late summer of 1813, when only five or six of the 553 persons in the Fort escaped slaughter, furnished the long-coveted occasion for an exhibition of Jackson's extraordinary capacity and vigor as a victorious commander in the field. Rallying a large force, he swept through the country, infested by the hostile Creeks, with a vigor and velocity which defy description. This Creek campaign lasted only seven

months, and, considered merely as an Indian war, it was not of transcendent importance, but, nevertheless, it stamped Jackson as a pre-eminent soldier, it marked the beginning of his fame and popularity, and, from it, date his subsequent prestige and power. His crushing defeat of the Creeks at Tohopeka or the Horse Shoe Bend has been called a 'tactical master-piece' and the outcome of this desperate battle was second in importance only to the overthrow of Pakenham's army here at New Orleans. 'Within a few days,' he observed to his brave array of citizen soldiers, at the close of the war, 'you have annihilated the power of a nation, that for twenty years has been the disturber of your peace.'

"In the month of May, 1814, he was appointed a Major General in the army of the United States to succeed William Henry Harrison, who had resigned, shortly after his decisive victory at the Thames, and was given command of the Seventh Military District, constituting the Department of the South. In August and September, 1814, he established his headquarters at Mobile, in what was then known as West Florida. He naturally wanted to attack the enemy wherever he might find him, and fiercely resented the fact that Spain, nominally a neutral, and at that time the sovereign of Florida, should allow England to use Florida, or any of its ports, as a base of operations. Hence, in Jackson's view, Mobile must be held, and Pensacola captured or destroyed. To perceive how effectually this was done, one needs but to turn to the thrilling story of Jackson's first Florida campaign.

"Still adhering to his aggressive programme, with systematic and relentless perseverance, Jackson, on the 2nd of December, reached New Orleans, where he instinctively expected the next blow to fall. Everything in New Orleans was apparently in consternation and chaos. There was no arms or supplies, and no adequate preparations for defense had been begun, much less completed. His old friend, Edward Livingston, a leader of the New Orleans bar, whose allegiance had been transferred from his native State of New York to the new commonwealth of Louisiana, was, in this emergency, of invaluable aid to him. But there able and patriotic Americans were not the only ones who, under the pressure of the grave crisis, demonstrated their loyalty and zeal in the cause of America. Of the men able to bear arms in New Orleans in 1814 and 1815, says a recent historian of your State there were only about three hundred of Anglo-Saxon race, out of a total population of about eighteen thousand souls.

"I should consider myself remiss if I let the opportunity pass without paying tribute to the admirable and exemplary behavior of the Louisianians of French Origin who, at this supreme crisis, rallied to the defense of the American colors. It is but simple justice to say that these men were every whit as patriotic and as loyal to the Union as were the men of Tennessee and Kentucky.

"Jackson's able chief of engineers, Latour, has described for us, in vivid and impressive terms, his inexhaustible and resistless

energy, and its wholesome effect upon all who came within the circle of his influence. The energy manifested by General Jackson, says Latour, 'spread, as it were, by contagion, and communicated itself to the whole army. There was nothing which those who composed it did not feel themselves capable of performing, if he ordered it to be done. It was enough if he expressed a wish or threw out the slightest intimation and immediately a crowd of volunteers offered themselves to carry his views into execution.' Such was the man, imperious, impetuous, masterful, and passionate, the very incarnation of the buoyant, aggressive and indomitable spirit of the early West.

"The most important of the preliminary engagements which fore-shadowed the decisive action of the 8th of January, was the battle of Villere's Plantation, which occurred on the night of Dec. 23rd. Give me leave, in passing, to say that the Seventh United States Infantry, which took a leading part in this important battle, was composed almost exclusively of Kentuckians, and, with pleasure, I add, that their commander, in this decisive affair, was Major Peire, of Louisiana.

"General John Watts de Peyster, one of the ablest military critics our country has produced, has left upon record the opinion that General Jackson really saved New Orleans by his night attack of December 23rd, because this daring slap on the face made the British over-rate Jackson's strength. Instead of forcing the fighting, they became over-cautious afterwards, and thereby time was gained, which to Jackson, short of men and without defenses, was of priceless value.

"Doctor Fortier, in his well-written history, has also said: 'The battle of December 23rd, was very important, and Jackson's impetuosity probably saved New Orleans, which might not have resisted a sudden attack.'

" 'Never was there a bolder conception,' declared Judge Alexander Walker, 'never was there one which indicated greater courage and resolution. Here was a master-stroke of a native military genius.'

"The same view is also expressed by George Robert Gleig, author of the 'The Subaltern in America,' and by Captain John Watts, both of the British army, and both participants in the New Orleans campaign. The truth is that Jackson, without knowing it, was enforcing the pregnant maxim of Napoleon, that an inferior force should never wait to be attacked, and, to his sturdy adversary, he fearlessly applied the principles that, in war-fare, he who dallies or hesitates is lost.

"On the 4th of January, 1815, the long-delayed Kentucky Militia, twenty-two hundred and fifty strong, under the command of Brigadier-General John Adair (General Thomas having been incapacitated by illness), reached New Orleans, but, through no fault of theirs, these men came only partially provided with arms and amunition. Out of this reinforcement, only about a thou-



MARBLE BUST OF GOV. ISAAC SHELBY.

Presented to Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., April 18, 1911, by Mrs. Mary Shelby Wilson of Lexington, Kentucky, a great-grand-daughter of Governor Shelby, on behalf of the Daughters of American Revolution of Kentucky.

sand were found sufficiently equipped or could hastily be armed for service, and these were marched at once to the firing-line, on the plains of Chalmette. The Kentuckians whom Jackson denounced for their inglorious flight, and who, as Parton has it, by this one act of hasty injustice, were thenceforth immortalized, were posted across the river under General David B. Morgan, but, all told, did not exceed one hundred and seventy in number, and they were not placed in position across the river until early on the morning of January 8th, on the very eve of the fateful battle. Opposed to General Morgan and his ill-assorted, undisciplined and untried militia, was a strong British force under Colonel Thornton, who, Brady and Buell both declare, was the ablest English soldier present. Out-numbered, out-maneuvered, and overmatched, the Americans under Patterson and Morgan were soon forced to abandon their ill-chosen and untenable position.

"At dawn on Sunday, January 8th, the solid columns of the British army advanced toward the American line for a grand assault. Once well within range, the Americans opened upon them with a deadly fire of cannon and musketry, and the execution of the rifleman, concealed behind the breastworks, which extended almost straight across these plains from the river on the west to the swamps on the east, was so terrific, the havoc so frightful, as to compel the attacking columns to retire. Again and yet again did the veteran regiments of the British army return to the attack, but all in vain, in less than an hour they were completely overwhelmed, and retired in disorder, leaving more than two thousand in dead, wounded, and prisoners on the field. The rattle of musketry and the booming of cannon across this hard-fought field had ceased by half-past eight in the morning, and naught denoting conflict was to be heard save the groans and outcries of the wounded and dying. The British fought with the greatest bravery, says Fortier, but had been met with equal bravery by men who were defending their country, and who displayed that wonderful skill in handling fire-arms, for which Americans, especially the pioneers and frontiersmen, have always been noted. The total loss of the British, on both sides of the river, was 2,036, or, in the final aggregate, possibly a thousand more, while that of the Americans at the highest estimate, was only seventy-one. According to the British returns, the grand total of their killed and wounded was 3,326. Fourteen thousand British veterans had been repulsed by five thousand American volunteers; Jackson's 'backwoods rabble' had beaten the best of Europe's regulars. Such another victory, so cheaply bought, is not recorded in the war-time annals of civilized man.

"The discomfiture and rout of the British, on this side of the river, were, to a degree, counter-balanced and jeopardized, however, by the repulse suffered by the American troops on the west bank. For this misadventure Jackson himself must bear part of the blame. 'Responsibility for the disaster on the west bank,'

says Professor John Spencer Bassett, 'rests on Morgan and Patterson, who adopted an impossible line of defense, and on Jackson, who was ignorant of the conditions there, and who failed to send troops enough to hold it.' His failure strongly to fortify and hold that point under a competent commander, says Brady, 'is the one military mistake that he made.' But through the prompt and judicious handling of the situation by Jackson, with his 'swift, intuitive perception of the way to act in emergencies,' the victory, which so narrowly escaped being turned into a defeat, or merely a drawn battle, barren of results, was made sure.

"In spite of the seeming misbehavior, under very trying and untoward circumstances, of the handful of Kentucky soldiers on the far bank of the Mississippi, which excited General Jackson's wrathful displeasure, in a special address to the men of General Morgan's command, delivered shortly after this lost ground had been recovered, as well as in a General Order to the entire body of the American troops, issued two weeks after the battle, in praise of their valor, the commander-in-chief did not withhold full credit from those to whom credit was justly due and made full atonement for the unsparing severity of his earlier censure.

"To the troops defending the opposite bank of the Mississippi, he said:

" 'To what cause was the abandonment of your lines owing? To fear? No! You are the country-men, the friends, the brothers of those who have secured to themselves, by their courage, the gratitude of their country; who have been prodigal of their blood in its defense, and who are strangers to any other fear than disgrace.***How then could brave men, firm in the cause in which they are enrolled, neglect their first duty, and abandon the post committed to their care? The want of discipline, the want of order, a total disregard to obedience, and a spirit of insubordination, not less destructive than cowardice itself, are the causes that led to this disaster, and they must be eradicated, or I must cease to command. *** The brave man, inattentive to his duty, is worth little more to his country than the coward who deserts her in the hour of danger.'

To the troops marshalled here and hereabouts, under his own immediate command, he said:

" 'A rampart of high-minded men is a better defense than the most regular fortifications. General Adair, who brought up the Kentucky Militia, has shown that troops will always be valiant when their leaders are so. No men ever displayed a more gallant spirit than these who did under that most invaluable officer. His country is under obligations to him.'

"The disastrous outcome of the battle fought here one hundred years ago, was, perhaps, the greatest shock that the pride of Great Britain had ever received, and her mortification was not

lessened by the rough chastisement which had been inflicted upon her warships and merchant-men alike by our small but gallant navy on the seas.

"William Cobbett, an English essayist, better known in America under his pen name of 'Peter Porcupine,' who, late in life, became a member of Parliament, and one of the numerous biographers of General Jackson, said of the bloody death-grapple on the Plains of Chalmette:

" 'This battle of New Orleans broke the heart of European despotism. The man who won it, did, in that one act, more for the good and the honor of the human race than was ever done by any other man.'

Cyrus Townsend Brady has said:

" 'The popular idea is that the battle of New Orleans, having been fought after peace was declared, was a perfectly useless slaughter of no value in determining the issue of the war. So far from being a useless slaughter, this battle was the most important and decisive fought on this continent between Yorktown and Gettysburg. Andrew Jackson contributed to the future of his country in a degree only surpassed by Washington, who founded it, and by Lincoln, who preserved it. For to Andrew Jackson is due the vital fact that the western boundary of the United States is the Pacific, and not the Mississippi.'

"Colonel Augustus C. Buell, in his unrivaled 'History of Andrew Jackson,' was the first to demonstrate this momentous fact. As he has conclusively shown, the staggering blow dealt the British here made the Treaty of Ghent a reality. It saved Louisiana and set the seal of permanence and inviolability upon Jefferson's purchase of that vast imperial domain.

"Throughout the Union, the victory of New Orleans was the cause of boundless delight, more especially because the news of it reached the country at large at just about the same time as the news of peace, and there was no fear for the future to mar the exultation inspired by this signal triumph. For his countrymen, the victor had won 'something dearer than anything set forth in treaties.' He had revived and invigorated the national self-respect. It is not hard, therefore, to understand how, forgetting its failures and its disappointments, Americans all dare to speak of the War of 1812, with complacency and pride; for, effacing every trace of previous disaster and blotting out the forlorn hopes and dark forebodings of that ominous January morning, when it seemed as if this 'fair Creole city' was already in Pakenham's grasp, there rises resplendent before his admiring countrymen the thin tall figure of a grim-visaged horseman, standing beside an embrasure of the Chalmette breastworks and peering out beneath the uplifted veil of mingled smoke and fog over the ghastly heaps of British dead—a vision of defeat and victory not to be surpassed even by that of Wellington at Waterloo!

"Jackson, from the beginning, had been the soul of the defense

in the southwest, and to his energy, intrepidity and perseverance success was due. In the short space of fifteen months, between September, 1813, and January, 1815, he had passed, says Professor Sumner, 'from the status of an obscure Tennessee planter to that of the most distinguished and popular man in the country.'

"In spite of the heavy fine imposed upon him by Judge Hall, for his alleged contempt of the Federal Court of this District, to which oppressive penalty, with rare dignity and a most commendable law-abiding deference, Jackson obediently submitted. New Orleans has shown itself neither ungrateful for Jackson's timely and inestimable services, nor unmindful of his crowning success. You need not, of course, be told of the solemn service of thanksgiving and praise held in the ancient Saint Louis Cathedral, just two weeks after the battle, and the crowning there of the returning conqueror with a wreath of laurel, 'the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality,' as the venerable prelate, Abbe Dubourg, described it. In Jackson Square and in the magnificent equestrian statue, which adorns its central spaces, quite as much as in the hearts of the people of this mighty metropolis, have the sons of Louisiana recorded their profound admiration and their abiding love for the pre-eminent hero of our second War for Independence. Of a truth, may it be affirmed of him, in the language of a worthy divine of this wondrous city, whose greatness and glory will be forever associated with his name—'His epitaph is his country's history; his cenotaph, the hearts of his countrymen.'

'Jackson,' says Mr. Roosevelt, in his *Naval War of 1812*, "is certainly by all odds the most prominent figure that appears during this war, and he stands head and shoulders above any other commander, either American or British, that it produced. It will be difficult, in all history, to show a parallel to the feat that he performed. Moreover, it must be remembered that Jackson's success was in nowise due either to chance or to the errors of his adversary. Of course, Jackson owed much to the nature of the ground on which he fought, but the opportunity it afforded would have been useless in the hands of any General less ready, hardy and skillful than 'Old Hickory.' The American soldiers deserve great credit for doing so well, but greater credit still belongs to Andrew Jackson, who, with his cool head and clear eyes, his stout heart and strong hand, stands out in history as the ablest General the United States produced from the outbreak of the Revolution down to the beginning of the great rebellion.'

"Jackson's Seminole Campaign, in 1817-1818, lasted only five months, but in that brief space of time he had broken the Indian power, established peace on the troubled border, and practically conquered Florida. This five months and the eighteen months of service from 1813 to 1815, is all the actual warfare he ever saw. The Seminole War was, in itself, one of the least significant of our Indian Campaigns, but in its relations and effects, it was like the

Creek War before it, one of the most important and far-reaching events in our history. For Jackson, it made certain and permanent the reputation and influence he had acquired by his successes against the British here at New Orleans. To Jackson, above all others, belongs the credit of bringing Spain to terms and to him we owe the ultimate acquisition of the Floridas. Abstract and argumentative claims of his government were by him translated into action and he gained, in consequence, a high place among the heroes of American expansion.

"By a most uncommon course of development, the Hero of New Orleans, passed, in a short while, from the field of war to the field of national politics. Given a plurality of both the popular and electoral vote for the Presidency, in 1824, but defeated, in the House of Representatives, by John Quincy Adams, Jackson, in 1828, turned the tables and was elected President, defeating Adams by an unprecedented majority, and was re-elected for a second term in 1832, defeating Henry Clay by a like spectacular majority.

"But little can be said, in the time that remains, respecting his political record. Public questions of the most vital importance were before the country during both his first and second administrations. Of all of these questions Jackson's views were clearly defined and emphatically expressed. He was not always right, but there is no doubt that he always believed himself right, in the views he entertained and, for the most part, carried into execution. Yet respecting the quality of his statesmanship, no less a person than John Fiske has said:

"While he was not versed in the history and philosophy of government, it is far from correct to say that there was nothing of the statesman about him. On the contrary, it may be maintained that in nearly all of his most important acts, except those that dealt with the civil service, Jackson was right."

"The outstanding events of his two terms were those involving the Tariff, Nullification and the Bank of the United States. Second in importance only to these were the reshaping of our foreign Relations, Segregation of the Indians, and devising constitutional ways and means for promoting Internal Improvements.

"Someone has said that we might as well expect to free ourselves from the pressure of the atmosphere as to abolish the money power. Some kind of a National Banking System is indispensable, and this fact was recognized and admitted by Jackson, but impartial investigation and later historical criticism have done much to produce the conviction that, in his attitude towards the Bank of the United States, and in his dealings with that institution, Jackson was essentially right. The National Bank of 1832 had unquestionably become a menace.

"The 'Tariff of Abominations' of 1828 was displaced by the Compromise Tariff of 1832, which was a significant, though only

partial, victory for the Democratic theory that tariffs should be framed primarily for revenue and only secondarily and incidentally, and always within reasonable limits, for protection.

"The country can never thank Jackson enough for the firm and effective manner in which he faced and quelled the rising spirit of disunion concealed in the Nullification proceedings of his native State of South Carolina. Today, at the distance of a full half century from Lee's surrender at Appomattox, we can all join with Jackson in his memorable toast, given at a public dinner in the city of Washington, in 1830:

" 'The Federal Union— it must and shall be preserved!'

"This sentiment, thank God, is virtually unanimous today, but when Jackson first uttered it, it took more than ordinary independence, nerve and courage, for a Southern man frankly to avow such a thought.

"With the lapse of time, we have come more and more to understand that the purpose of those who framed the Federal Constitution was to restrain and regulate, rather than to establish or extend, democracy. Whether, in its origin, it contemplated merely a loose league or confederation or an indissoluble union of States, it was pre-eminently a system of checks and balances, guarding, on the one hand, against the perils of populist predominance quite as much as, on the other, against the evils of centralized power. While Jackson was always firm and unswerving in his fidelity to the Union, he was also a consistent advocate of individual liberty, and a stalwart champion of the reserved rights of the States. In the practical administration of affairs, he came as near to harmonizing Federal sovereignty with States' rights, as it was possible to do so, during the generation in which he lived. Jackson was the living embodiment, the veritable incarnation and personification of the spirit of genuine democracy. With him, the rule of the people was not a mere abstract theory or specious dogma, with which to decoy the imagination or to amuse the voters at election time, but was a living, breathing, vital truth, to be carried into every-day practice; and, however misdirected at times, the end and aim of all his efforts was to confirm to his fellow-countrymen the essential democracy of the constitution.

"With Chief Justice Marshall on the Supreme Bench, breathing the breath of life into the Constitution, and moulding and shaping the Federal System, organized thereunder, into a compact, coherent and self-sustaining whole, it was most fortunate that there should have been at the helm of the government, as Chief Executive of the Nation, a man of Jackson's calibre, with his centrifugal temperament and tendencies, for each thereby furnished an indispensable and salutary balance-wheel to the other. The divergence between the two men was in nothing more strikingly exhibited than in their discordant dealings with the memorable clash between the Cherokee Nation and the State of Georgia. For once the authority of the Supreme Court was flouted. 'John

Marshall,' said Jackson, in a remark which one can scarcely regard as apocryphal, 'John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it!' Yet how plainly were these giants of one mind in the portentous collision with South Carolina, that superlative crisis of the ante-bellum South!

"Under no other administration has the country ever been favored with State papers of greater weight or importance, or more vigorously phrased, than during the administrations of this towering Titan of Tennessee. The fact is well known that the composition of these papers, was seldom, or never, directly traceable to the President, but while the language, or phraseology, may oftentimes have been that of another, the thoughts and principles and spirit were invariably and unmistakably those of Jackson himself. If time sufficed, it would give me infinite pleasure to read from these public utterances of General Jackson, to illustrate his character as a statesman, his animating impulses as a man, his predominant traits as typical exponent and exemplar of democracy, but that must be left for greater leisure than the present occasion affords.

"In common acceptance, Jefferson and Jackson are fequently joined as the leading representatives and expositors of democracy, but judged by the modern alignment of political parties and the progressive spirit of democracy now prevalent, Jackson may fairly be regarded as more nearly the arch-type and founder of present-day democracy and the party organized and dominant in the United States under that name, than his illustrious forerunner, Thomas Jefferson. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that Jacksonian Democracy, as it came to be known, was a plant of enduring growth, and that it still survives and flourishes among us. And, saying it with all reverence, may we not voice the hope that the leaves of this century plant may yet prove to be 'for the healing of the nations.' If the dead are cognizant of what concerns the living, it can not but gladden the soul of the mighty warrior, who triumphed on this field, to know that this Centennial of his great victory is celebrated under a Democratic administration and that we have today as true a democrat as Jackson himself, on duty in the White House.

"This celebration of a notable victory by one branch of the Anglo-American race over another, is also the occasion for the commemoration of a century of peace which, ever since the noise of battle on this field died away, has been maintained unbroken between the United States and the British Empire. Nearly a decade has passed since a profound student of American history declared: 'If there be an American ideal of the relations of this country with the outer world, it is that of peace, founded on mutual understanding and mutual respect.' Jackson himself, in his First Annual Message to Congress, used these weighty words:

" 'With Great Britian, alike distinguished in peace and war, we may look forward to years of peaceful, honorable, and ele-

vated competition. Everything in the condition and history of the two nations is calculated to inspire sentiments of mutual respect and to carry conviction to the minds of both that it is their policy to preserve the most cordial relations.'

"When one speaks of the hundred years of peace between the United States and the British Empire, he, of course, does not mean that this has been a century of unclouded serenity or unruffled brotherly love. It is not too much to say that more than once have the two countries been on the very verge of war, and there have been times, not a few, as in the Oregon controversy and the Trent affair, when an open rupture of amicable relations was averted by little more than a hair's breadth.

"The Treaty of Ghent, which signalized the close of the War of 1812, is important as marking the commencement and, in a large sense, as constituting the foundations of the hundred years of peace which thenceforward ensued. At the end of the century, the two facts next in importance to the Treaty itself are, first, the fact that somehow or other the United States and Great Britain have managed to adjust their differences by negotiation, arbitration and diplomacy instead of by resort to the arbitrament of war; and, secondly, the concrete, incontestable and crowning fact that two great nations of the world, two world-powers, if you please, touching each other at many points of contact and coming into close and constantly-increasing competition, have actually maintained peaceful relations with each other for a full hundred years.

"Concerning the more important celebration of this century of peace which, in common with all here assembled, I pray may be renewed with each recurring century, I take leave to remind you how its value and significance have been emphasized by leading public men of Great Britain. On this subject, The Right Honourable Viscount Bryce (whom we are tempted still to call plain Mr. Bryce), has spoken both feelingly and to the point. In September last he said:

"To those who are saddened by the calamities which the year 1914 has brought upon Europe, it is a consoling thought that the century of peace which has raised the English-speaking peoples from forty millions to one hundred and sixty millions, has created among those peoples a sense of kindness and good will which was never seen before, and which is the surest pledge of their future prosperity and progress as well as of the maintenance of a perpetual friendship between them.'

'One of the surest guaranties of peace,' adds the distinguished author of the 'American Commonwealth,' 'has been the fact that neither of these great nations has ever questioned the sancity of treaties, or denied that States are bound by moral law.'

"In recent years, another British statesman, Mr. Balfour, giving implied approval to the Monroe Doctrine, has said:

"The time may come—nay, the time must come—when

some statesman of authority, more fortunate even than President Monroe, will lay down the doctrine that between English-speaking peoples war is impossible.'

"A little more than a year ago, at the celebration at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, of the Centennial of Perry's superb victory on Lake Erie, Doctor James A. McDonald, of Toronto, a foremost representative of the intelligent thought and temper of our Canadian brothers on the North, used these impressive words:

"In the light of the hundred years through which we of today read the story of that one battle and of that whole war, the lesson, the supreme and abiding lesson, for the United States and for Canada, is this: the utter futility and inconsequence of war as a means for the just settlement of disputes between these two nations. That lesson we both have learned. That was our last war. It will remain our last. Never again will the armed troops of the United States and Canada meet, except in friendly review, or, if the day ever comes, to stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder in the Armageddon of the nations. Witness these great lakes for nigh a hundred years swept clean of every battleship, and this trans-continental boundary line for four thousand miles undefended save by the civilized instincts and the intelligent good will of both nations. And having learned that great lesson, having proved its worth through a hundred years, the United States and Canada, these two English-speaking peoples of America, have earned the right to stand up and teach the nations. International peace and good will is America's message to all the world.'

"That message spoken by two voices, one from the United States, the other from Canada, is one message. It is America's message that on this continent, between two proud peoples, the barbarism of brute force has long yielded to civilized internationalism. It is the assurance that Canada's national standing on this continent binds the British Empire and the American Republic in one world-spanning, English-speaking fraternity. On all continents and on all seas, the power of America is the combined power of the United States and Canada, plus the power of Great Britain and of the British dominions in the South Atlantic and beyond the Pacific. These all are bound together, each with all the others, for the maintenance of that principle of nationhood—any people that desires to be free and is fit to be free ought to be free and must be free. That principle means peace and freedom in the English-speaking world.

"At this place, and on this day, our deepest concern is not with the wars of the past, but with the peace of the future; not with the triumphs or the defeats of yesterday, but with the responsibilities and obligations of tomorrow; not with the glory that either Nation achieved a hundred years ago, but with the

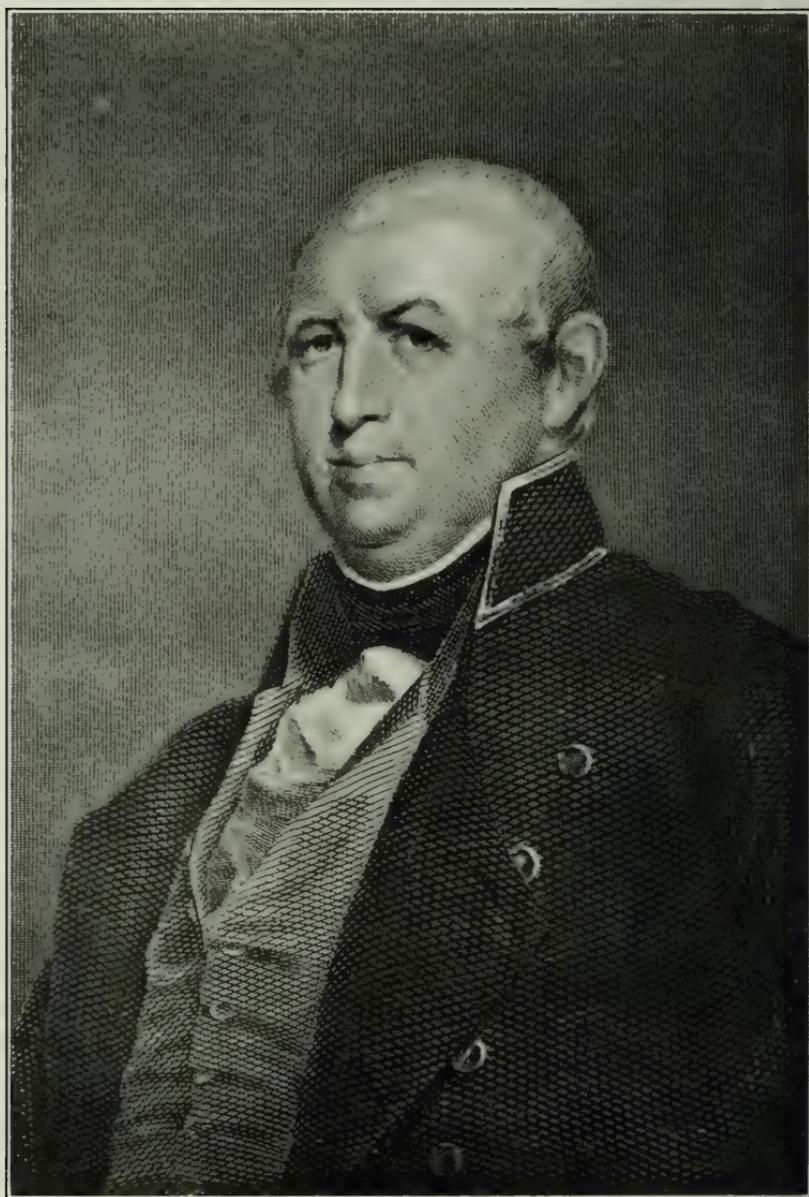
message which both nations, speaking in the name of our common North American civilization, shall give to the world through the hundred years to come.

"These pledges of the past are sure auguries for the future, and, rejoicing as we do today, that, under Divine Providence, the War of 1812, on the land as well as upon the sea, should have ended in a blaze of military glory for our beloved country, we may, none the less heartily, felicitate ourselves that the glories of that mighty conflict marked the commencement of a millennium of unbroken peace among all English-speaking nations, and let us hope among all peoples and kindreds and tongues of the earth who, like the English and their American cousins, have learned the secret and mastered the problem of self-government.

"Sovereignty', said the mighty Bismark, 'can only be a unit and it must remain a unit—the sovereignty of law.' Rightly interpreted, the sovereignty of the people means the sovereignty of the law. When the law is regnant, the people reign. It was not so much for mere selfish independence, but for this priceless boon, the right of local self-government, for popular sovereignty, under enlightened rules of law, that the War of the Revolution was fought; and toward this ultimate goal of progressive democracy and of Anglo-American civilization, every subsequent war of our history has inevitably tended.

"To that highest consummation, the establishment and perpetuation of government by discussion rather than of 'government by convulsion,' Andrew Jackson, a 'man of blood and iron' excelling any German Prince, contributed as much, or more, than any other American during the hundred years just ended. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to his treatment of domestic affairs, no other President ever enforced a more vigorous foreign policy, and the key to it all, in Jackson's own words, was this: 'It is my settled purpose to ask nothing that is not clearly right and to submit to nothing that is wrong.' He it was who first inaugurated 'shirt-sleeve' diplomacy, as distinguished from 'dollar diplomacy' or the diplomacy of deceit, and this downright, straightforward, and outspoken mode of dealing with international relations, has, with but a few lapses, served our country acceptably for well on to a century. Patriotism in its highest purity and perfection was, with Jackson, a natural endowment. From the day, in early boyhood, when he resented the insult of a domineering British soldier, until that day, at the Hermitage, three-score years later, he affixed his signature to his last will, 'there is absolutely no reason to believe that Andrew Jackson ever looked upon an enemy of his country otherwise than as his own mortal foe.' 'I thank God', said the veteran soldier and statesman most truly and touchingly, in his Farewell Address, 'that my life has been spent in a land of liberty and that He has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son.'

"Greatness is primarily a matter of character, but the world



ISAAC SHELBY, 1750-1826.

First Governor of Kentucky, and, with John Sevier, organizer of the Expedition that fought the Battle of King's Mountain. See Vol. I of this work pages 373-4.

measures it usually by results. By both tests General Jackson was undeniably one of the very greatest of our great men. Yet, in any just appraisal of his career and achievements, we may not overlook how deeply he was indebted to men like Coffee, Carroll, Claiborne, Crockett and Houston, his dauntless lieutenants on the field of battle, and to men like Livingston, Lewis, Eaton, Grundy, Barry, Blair and Benton, his invaluable aides and loyal supporters in the legislative, diplomatic and cabinet contests with which his pathway in politics was continually beset. Bearing in mind this outside aid and how far it went to insure success and to fortify his fame, I should be loath to close without attempting, through the medium of two or three impartial and discriminating tributes, to set before you some luminous glimpses of his extraordinary character and the secret of his enduring renown.

“General Jackson”, says President Wilson, from whose History of the American People I take these short, deft strokes, ‘had been bred by the rough processes of the frontier; had been his own schoolmaster and tutor; had made himself a lawyer by putting his untaught sagacity and sense of right to the test in the actual conduct of suits in court, as he had made himself a soldier by taking the field in command of frontier volunteers as unschooled as himself in discipline and tactics. There was no touch of the charlatan or the demagogue about him. The action of his mind was as direct, as sincere, as unsophisticated as the action of the mind of an ingenuous child, though it exhibited also the sustained intensity and the range of the mature man. **** It had needed such a striking personality as this to bring parties to a head. They took form rapidly enough when he came upon the field. The men of the masses had become the stuff of politics. These men Jackson really represented, albeit with a touch of the Knight and chivalrous man of honor about him, which common men do not have; and the people knew it; felt that an aristocratic order was upset, and that they themselves had at last come to their own. It was a second democratization of the government. **** With all the intensity of his nature, General Jackson wished for the welfare of the country, the advancement of the Union, the success and permanency of its government; with all the terrible force of his will he purposed to secure both the one and the other. No doubt he had shown contempt for law, as Mr. Jefferson said, when he was upon the frontier, hampered by treaties and instructions; but his ideals were not those of the law-breaker. They were those of the ardent patriot.’

‘Autocrat as he was’, says Parton, ‘Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community, but are the community. He knew and felt that govern-

ment should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only as they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only when they may so combine and direct the labor of the poor as to make labor more profitable to the laborer.'

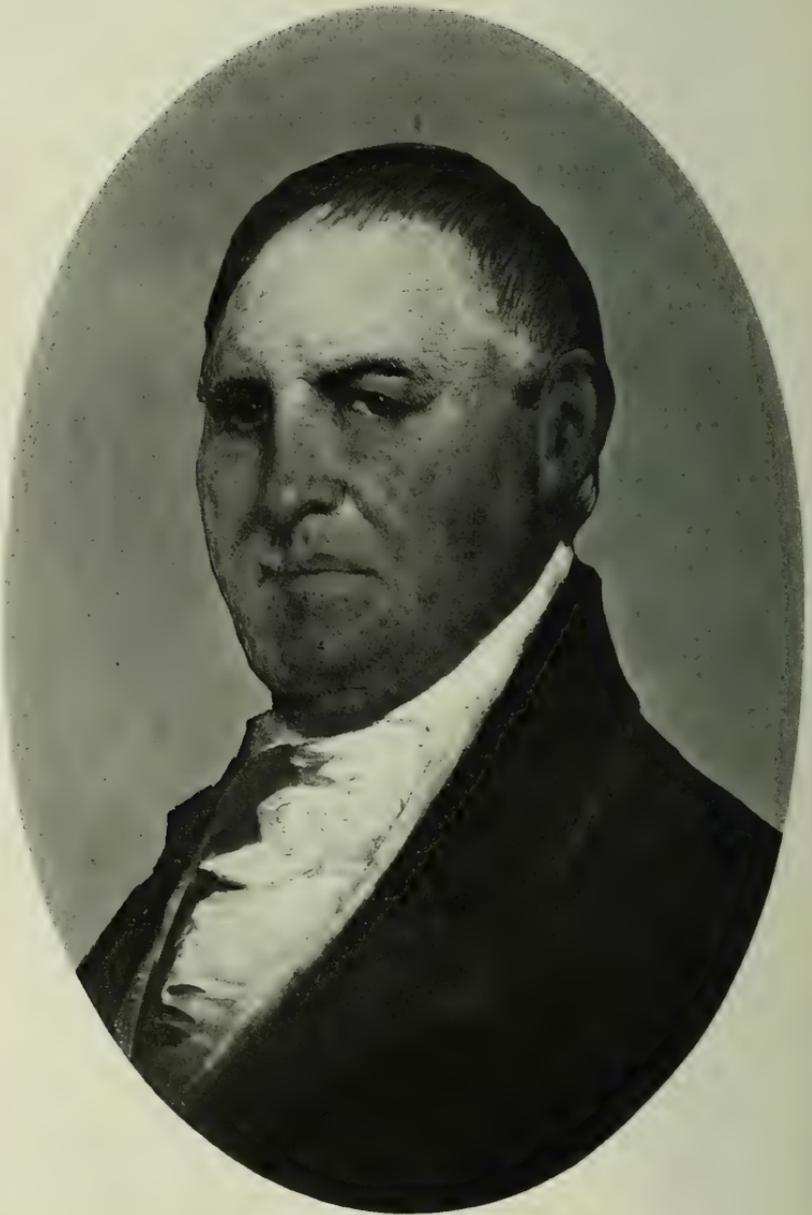
"Thomas Hart Benton, his life-time friend and unfailing champion has said:

"The character of his mind was that of judgment, with a rapid and almost intuitive perception, followed by an instant and decisive action. ***** It was the nature of Andrew Jackson to finish whatever he undertook. He went for a clean victory or a clean defeat.'

"'No man in private life,' says George Bancroft, 'so possessed the hearts of all around him; no public man of this century ever returned to private life with an abiding mastery over the affections of the people. No man with truer instinct received American ideas; no man expressed them so completely, or so boldly, or so sincerely. **** History does not describe the man that equaled him in firmness or nerve. Not danger, not an army in battle array, not wounds, not widespread clamor, not age, not the anguish of disease, could impair in the least degree the vigor of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character; and Napoleon, had he possessed his disinterested will, could never have been vanquished.'

"From the pages of a painstaking and appreciative study by Professor William Garrott Brown, I have extracted and leave with you this deliberate and final estimate:

"The longest inquiry,' says Professor Brown, 'will not discover another American of his time who had in such ample measure the gifts of courage and will. Many had fewer faults, many superior talents, but none so great a spirit. He was the man who had his way. He was the American whose simple virtues his countrymen most clearly understood, whose trespasses they most readily forgave; and, until the Democrats of the 'twenties and 'thirties, will still vote for Jackson—for the poor boy who fought his way, step by step, to the highest station; for the soldier who always went to meet the enemy at the gate; for the President who never shirked a responsibility; for the man who would not think evil of a woman, or speak harshly to a child. Education, and training in statecraft, would have saved him many errors; culture might have softened the fierceness of his nature. But untrained, uncultivated, imperfect as he was, not one of his great contemporaries had so good a right to stand for American character.'



ISAAC SHELBY, 1750-1826.

Isaac Shelby one of the greatest characters in American pioneer history. Fought at battle of Point Pleasant 1774; was on the Chickamauga Expedition; organized with Sevier the expedition to King's Mountain; declined offer of President Monroe to make him Secretary of War; was first Governor of Kentucky. This portrait published here for the first time is the property of Thomas Hart Shelby, Jr., and brother John Craig Shelby, both of Lexington, Ky., and great, great grand sons of Governor Shelby. Portrait was painted by Matthew Harris Jouett, 1768-1827, a Kentucky artist.

CHAPTER 25.

Rev. James Gallaher, pioneer preacher, knew Old Hickory personally and gives his opinion of him

"The Western Sketch Book" by Reverend James Gallaher, copyrighted in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts in 1850, printed by Crocker and Brewster, Boston, is the title of a book whose author knew General Jackson all his life.

Reverend James Gallaher was a pioneer preacher in Tennessee, Kentucky, and other parts of the West, and he and his father were intimately acquainted with General Andrew Jackson. The Gallaher family were among the early settlers of Tennessee and their descendants are now living in Roane County, Tennessee, and engaged largely in farming and stock raising. They constitute a fine old family of honorable, high minded citizens. Reverend James Gallaher's book "The Western Sketch Book" consists of thirty-three sketches, in a large measure recording his experience as a pioneer preacher. It contains very valuable side lights on the early history of the State, and on Jackson, both before and after he became famous. He was evidently a well educated man. The style is clear, couched in correct English and indicates a man of strong mental capacity. He has recorded his "Recollections of General Jackson" and the author thinks that a reproduction of these recollections will have weight, coming from Mr. Gallaher, who with his family, had known Jackson for so many years.

"RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL JACKSON.

"Colonel Samuel M. Grant, of Northern Missouri, first waked up my mind to the importance of recording and preserving the testimony of General Jackson on the subject of the truth and value of the Christian religion. Said he, 'I was in Palmyra at the time the news was received of General Jackson's public profession of faith in Jesus Christ. A gentleman whom I had long known as a professed rejecter of the gospel, hailed me at the door of his office, and desired me to come in. I entered, and he held up a newspaper, and said, 'I have just been reading the account of General Jackson making a profession of the religion of Jesus Christ. It is long since my eyes have known a tear; but now I have been weeping freely in view of that venerable old man standing up in the church and confessing Christ as his Savior.' Such was Colonel Grant's account of this incident in Palmyra, which, he said, affected his heart much, as he had long known this gentleman, and had regarded him as hopelessly sunk in the vortex of infidelity; and now he was sur-

prised and gratified to find him startled and roused to such an extent by the public religious stand taken by General Jackson. Colonel Grant then proceeded to remark, 'In my early days, the palpable and notorious infidelity of Thomas Jefferson spread a desolation that was mournful over the entire face of the western country. Jefferson was distinguished as a politician. His fame was everywhere as the draughtsman of the Declaration of Independence. And when it was blown abroad that Thomas Jefferson had imbibed the French infidelity, and rejected the gospel, it was like 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday.' The enemies of religion took courage, put on airs of immense consequence, boasted, plumed themselves, and threw up their blasphemy in the face of Heaven. Ah! it was reputable, it was literary, it was scientific, to scowl at the gospel, and pour forth 'great swelling words' against all that is sacred. 'But now,' continued Colonel Grant, 'here is a man, raised up by the hand of God to the possession of an influence far beyond all that Jefferson ever possessed; for Jefferson never was able to wield public opinion in this great nation, as General Jackson has done. And yet this man publicly prostrates himself before the cross, and calls on the crucified Redeemer as his Lord and his God. The American church should not suffer this important testimony of General Jackson to be overlooked or forgotten.' Such were the remarks of Colonel Samuel M. Grant. I felt their appropriateness and their power. I had known General Jackson personally from early childhood. My father's house was one of his occasional resting-places, while he officiated as Judge in the State of Tennessee, long before he was elected General. I remembered his conversation in the family. I remembered that when the infidelity of Voltaire, Volney, and Thomas Paine were fashionable, rampant, and considered as almost essential to the standing of a gentleman, Judge Jackson freely and frequently averred his full and unwaivering confidence in the Divine authority of the Bible and the truth of the gospel declaration that Jesus Christ is the only Savior of lost men, and that we must repent of sin, and obey the gospel of Christ, or our souls cannot be saved. I often thought of the importance of recording General Jackson's testimony in relation to the gospel; but his name was so identified with the politics of the country, that it was difficult to say anything concerning him, without touching some political chord, which I wished not to agitate.

"But now the old General is gone. The political ambition which his name so often awakened, has almost wholly died away. The generation with which he was identified is rapidly passing into eternity. And soon the language of the poet, in its fullest extent, will be applicable to him in his earthly history:

"He suffered, but his pangs are o'er;
 Enjoyed, but his delights are fled;
 Had friends—his friends are now no more;
 And foes—his foes are dead.'

"Andrew Jackson was the son of an eminently pious mother, who died when he was about fourteen years of age. By this mother he was early taught the Holy Scriptures, and his young mind deeply imbued with the knowledge of the great doctrines of the gospel. With the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly he was familiar before his mother's death. The Christian counsel, the prayers, the pious example of that mother, attended him through all the meanderings of his eventful life, and had a controlling agency in moulding and guiding the thoughts and sentiments of his powerful mind.

"He emigrated from South Carolina, his native state, to Tennessee, when infidelity flooded all the land. With that infidelity Andrew Jackson would have no communion. He was not then a church member; but *he honored God in word* by the frank, full, and often-repeated declaration of his absolute confidence in the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and man's need of the great salvation therein revealed. It was, indeed, a rare and affecting spectacle—a young lawyer of acknowledged talents, great promise, and brilliant worldly prospects, standing up the fearless advocate of the religion of the Bible; breasting, with undaunted fortitude, a perverted and polluted public sentiment, and amidst the scoffs and sneers of popular sceptics around, unmoved as the rock that breaks the billows which in vain attempt to shake it.

"The elements of true greatness were already conspicuous in the character of the youthful Jackson. Those extraordinary attributes of mind already stood forth, which in after life enabled him to sway and direct public opinion in one of the greatest nations on the earth—attributes of mind which so lifted him up, that, in fact, he will be to posterity the most notable landmark of the age in which he lived. For this reason his testimony to the divinity of the gospel had great weight. General Jackson was not at this period a professor of religion. Nor can it be said that he avoided the fashionable amusements of the day. But *he honored God in word*. And when the faithful minister of the gospel publicly rebuked sin, Jackson honored the messenger of God, and acknowledged the righteousness of the message.

"An instance of this occurred in the ministerial labors of Rev. Robert Henderson. This venerable man was a zealous and powerful preacher, who labored abundantly among the plain, frontier population of the west. In those primitive days, the minister of the gospel considered it his duty to rebuke sin, in whatever circle of society it might lift up its deformed head. Henderson had a courageous heart, fervent piety, and descriptive powers of a very high order. Perhaps the reader would be pleased with a specimen of the style of Henderson in reproofing sin. If so, he shall be gratified. Among the popular vices then in vogue, horse-racing and cock-fighting were preeminent. The latter fashionable sport, as it was then called, had many admirers among western gentlemen. Of this number General Jackson was one. The consequence was,

that game chickens were in high repute, and were objects of much attention. There had been a large collection of gentlemen at one of our western villages, and General Jackson was among them. The day had been spent in their favorite sport. It was Saturday; and, as the evening drew on, Rev. Robert Henderson rode into town, stopped at the principal hotel, and announced that he would preach in the court-house on the next day. The tidings went abroad on the wings of the wind, for Henderson was well known, and it was generally expected that, when he appeared, popular and fashionable vices would meet with rough handling.

"The morning came. The congregation assembled. The sermon commenced. 'Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.' (Eccl. vii. 29.) The preacher spoke in elevated terms of the exalted and noble existence which the great God bestowed on man at his creation. He was created rational and immortal. He was endowed with capacity for receiving the knowledge and enjoying the fellow-ship of the Most High. He was made but a little lower than the angels. He was created in the image of God; and when man, perfect in body and soul, was stationed in Eden, the spectacle was so interesting, that enraptured throngs of celestial beings fastened their fixed gaze upon him. Angelic multitudes came from far to behold this new specimen of the wonderful workmanship of the Most High. And while they saw, in holy, happy man, rich disclosures of the wisdom, the goodness, and the glory of the Eternal One, 'the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.'

"'But, O, 'how are the mighty fallen! How has the fine gold become dim! Paradise is lost, and man is
'Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen',
Fallen from his high estate!'"

"The trail of the serpent degrades and pollutes the earth on which we tread. The energies of Adam's sons are now exhausted in pursuit of bubbles and vanity. 'They sow the wind, and they reap the whirlwind.' I will give you an example. On my arrival at this place on last evening, I was happy to learn that quite a number of distinguished gentlemen were in town—colonels, and generals, and judges; men whom their fellow-citizens have delighted to honor, and to whom God has given endowments calculated to bless and adorn society. I anticipated an intellectual feast. I was glad of the opportunity of spending an evening in such an enlightened circle. I congratulated myself in prospect of an entertainment so rich both in pleasure and in profit.

"And now, friends, what do you suppose was the great theme of discussion in this assembly of superior men? Some may, perhaps, conjecture that they discoursed of international law—those measures of enlightened policy which are calculated, on the largest scale, to benefit the human race. But no; such was not their theme. Others may suppose that the attention of this select body

of men was occupied by some new discovery in astronomy. As our glasses are improved, remoter fields of creation come to view. But no; this was not their subject. Or, do you imagine that their eyes were directed to the wonders of redemption, which drew down celestial armies to Bethlehem, and caused them to sing heavenly anthems in the hearing of men? No, friends; such was not their topic. The whole burden of conversation for the evening—I blush while I repeat it, but the duty is imperative—the whole burden of conversation was, ‘game chickens! game chickens! their long pedigrees, their rare qualities, their bloody battles!’ Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askalon! O, when will our influential men learn and regard the divine maxim, that ‘righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people’!

“An inferior mind would have taken offense at the plain dealing of this resolute ambassador of God. Not so did General Jackson. Early the next morning, he called at the minister’s room, and, in a manner the most frank and cordial, thanked him for his faithfulness in rebuking sin, and his efforts for the best interests of society. He declared his full conviction of the truth of the gospel, and that obedience to it was essential to salvation. And from that period, General Jackson was the firm, unwavering supporter of this minister, until Robert Henderson was called to go the way of all the earth.

“It was said that General Jackson *honored God in word*, long before he became a member of the church. I wish to dwell a little on this point. For a number of years, facts have been coming before my mind, which have fastened upon it this conviction, that the amount of guilt brought on the soul of man by *evil words*, is very great. There is a wretched and wide-spread delusion on the public mind in reference to this matter. Many think that words are but breath—mere empty air—and that there is but little crime in the use of light and idle words on the subject of religion. Hence many, whose conscience would cry out against a sinful act, will indulge in light and jocular words on serious things. I will mention one or two facts that have deeply affected my own mind. In the year 1840, I saw, in Northern Illinois, an old man, of steady and regular habit, who kept aloof from the church, while his wife and daughter and son-in-law and other members of the family, turned to the Lord. At length, I asked him, in the presence of his family, if he was not willing to turn to the Lord. He replied, ‘There is no hope for me, I have *said so much* against the Lord.’ I was not sure that I correctly understood him, and therefore asked again what it was that he had remarked. ‘There is no hope for me’ replied the old man, ‘*I have spoken so much against the L rd.*’ It was the first time in my life, that I had heard a person single out the guilt contracted by sins of the tongue, as pressing with awful weight on the troubled soul; and for a moment I was silent. His daughter was sitting by. She was a woman, perhaps twenty-seven

years of age. Said she, 'Why, father, I don't remember to have heard you speak against Christ and his religion.' 'My child, it was before you were born.' His wife was present. They had been married more than thirty-three years. 'Why, husband,' said she, 'I don't remember to have heard you speak against the religion of Christ.' 'My dear, it was before you were acquainted with me. When I was a young man, I joined myself to a club of infidels. Our aim was to bring religion into contempt by ridicule; and, O, I have said so much against the Lord, that there is now no hope for me.' Here was an old man, quailing under the terrible load of guilt brought upon his soul by evil words uttered some thirty-five or forty years before. Take another instance. A man, whose head was white with the frost of seventy winters, called upon me when alone in my room in Missouri, and said, 'What can I do? My heart is cold and dead. I fear I have grieved away the Spirit of God. When I was young, I courted infidelity. I thought it was evidence of a superior mind to scowl at the gospel, and make light of sacred things. I did so, till the habit was formed and fixed; and now for a long time I have been trying to get rid of it. But my heart seems dead to the gospel, and the ghost of that infidelity which I courted when young, follows me wherever I go. It has been haunting me for years; and I shudder at the apprehension that it will haunt me into the grave.'

"One of the most successful politicians of his day, in the western country, had allowed himself to profane the language of God's word by introducing it on light and trivial occasions. He would point a joke with a quotation from the Holy Scriptures. When jesting and indulging in playful remarks, the word of God was in his mouth with painful frequency. He became habitually addicted to an irreverent, profane, and shocking familiarity with the words of eternal truth. Many were amused and made merry with his supposed wit. But every good man that heard him sporting with the solemn language of God, was grieved. At length a sad change came over him. He lost all interest for political life. He lost all relish for the society of his friends. He lost all regard for his own family. His heart withered, life became a burden, heavy, horrible, insupportable. And while occupying the governor's chair, he took a loaded rifle, and put a violent end to his earthly existence. It was thought that, by light and vain words, he had grieved away the favor of God. And woe to that man from whom God departs.

"Addison's hymn entitled 'Gratitude' is very beautiful; but perhaps the very finest stanza in that hymn is this:

"Ten thousand thousand precious gifts
My daily thanks employ;
Nor is the least a *cheerful heart*,
That tastes those gifts with joy.'

"It is the smile of God that enables us to rise in the morning

with cheerfulness, and address ourselves with good heart to the cares and toils of the day. But woe to that man from whom the smile of God is taken away.

"*Wicked words* have an awful tendency to banish the soul from the favor of God. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, predicts one leading object of the final Judge, in the great day, is to execute judgment on sinners for the 'hard speeches' which they have spoken against him. Two of the ten commandments are employed to guard men against sins of *the tongue*. And it is a sin of the tongue—blasphemy against the Holy Ghost—that 'shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.'

"I visited General Jackson twice, in the month of September, 1843. He was then very frail, and had the appearance of extreme old age; but he was reposing with calmness and confidence on the promise and covenant of God. He had now been a member of the church for several years. And when I witnessed his serenity and his unclouded hope, I thought of the manner in which he had *honored God in word*, when the cause of religion was very unpopular, and when a deluge of infidelity threatened to desolate the whole land.

"It is to be regretted that most of our political men—presidents, governors, and those high in authority—when they speak on the subject of religion, use language so guarded and equivocal, that a Turk, a Jew, or an enlightened heathen could adopt it. They will speak of the 'Supreme Being,' 'the great Disposer of all events,' 'the source of national prosperity,' &c., &c. But General Jackson's language was that of a decided Christian. He spoke of the divine Redeemer; his wonderful union with the nature of man; his vicarious death in the room of sinners; pardon through his blood; and eternal glory in heaven, bestowed on believers for his righteousness' sake.

"There was a little company of Christian friends present in the Hermitage. After expressing the warmest interest in the church of Christ, and his hope that she would yet prosper and bless the world, General Jackson turned to me, and said, 'There is a beautiful hymn on the subject of the exceeding great and precious promises of God to his people. It was a favorite hymn with my dear wife till the day of her death. It has been very precious to me. It commences thus:

"How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord.' I wish you would sing it now.' So the little company in the Hermitage, at his request, sung the following hymn:

'How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord,
Is laid for your faith in the excellent word!
What more can he say than to you he hath said,
You who unto Jesus for refuge have fled?

"The sublime and glorious doctrine embodied in this hymn was the food of his spirit, the joy and the rejoicing of his heart. When I looked upon him, now desolate, in extreme old age; his early

friends almost entirely gone; his beloved wife in the grave; his own health failing amidst accumulating infirmities, yet reposing, with absolute satisfaction and serenity, on the free, the firm, the everlasting gospel—I was forcibly reminded of that rich, unparalleled paragraph, near the close of Christ's Sermon on the Mount: 'Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.' I walked into his garden, and there was the grave of his wife, covered with a plain marble slab, with the inscription, 'Rachel Jackson,' with the date of her birth and her death, and beside it his own grave, all prepared and ready for the reception of his body, when death should call him home.

"I learned, that when the weather was good, he spent a portion of every day at this grave, in meditation and prayer; and that he believed he was there blessed with the presence of Him who has taken the sting from death, and the victory from the grave. I returned to the house. My parents had long been his particular friends, but they are now departed. He met me in the hall, and said, 'Your father and your mother are gone!' I silently assented; my emotions forbade me to speak. 'Well,' said he, 'they lived to a *good old age*.' It is impossible for any one, who never heard General Jackson speak, to understand all the interest that he threw into this brief Bible quotation. His attitude, his tones, the whole manner of the venerable man impressed me with a sense of new beauties in that precious promise, (Gen. xv: 15,) 'Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace: thou shalt be buried in a good old age.'

"The Christian character of General Jackson is seen in his reply to Commodore Elliott concerning the sarcophagus, or marble tomb, which had once been prepared for an eastern king or emperor. Commodore Elliott had brought from Asia this sarcophagus, and presented it to the National Institute at Washington, that through the National Institute it might be presented to General Jackson. The officer who presented it to the Institute, remarked, 'It is believed to have once held the remains of Alexander Severus, and is a fit resting-place for all that is mortal of Andrew Jackson.'

"Commodore Elliott wrote to General Jackson, and the following is his reply:

"Hermitage, March 27, 1845.

"Dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 18th instant, together with the copy of the proceedings of the National Institute, furnished me by their corresponding secretary, on the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus for their acceptance, on condition it shall be preserved, and in honor of my memory, have been received, and are now before me.

"Although laboring under great debility and affliction from a severe attack, from which I may not recover, I raise my pen and endeavor to reply. The steadiness of my nerves may, perhaps, lead you to conclude my prostration of strength is not so great as here expressed. Strange as it may appear, my nerves are as steady as they were forty years gone by: whilst, from debility and affliction, I am gasping for breath.

"I have read the whole proceedings of the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus, and the resolutions passed by the board of directors, so honorable to my fame, with sensations and feelings more easily to be conjectured than by me expressed. The whole proceedings call for my most grateful thanks, which are hereby tendered to you, and through you to the president and directors of the National Institute. But with the warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or a king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of government forbids it. Every monument erected to perpetuate the memory of our heroes and statesmen ought to bear evidence of the economy and simplicity of our republican institutions, and the plainness of our republican citizens, who are the sovereigns of our glorious Union, and whose virtue is to perpetuate it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions; it can only dwell with the people—the great laboring and producing classes, that form the bone and sinew of our confederacy.

"For these reasons I cannot accept the honor you, and the president and directors of the National Institute, intended to bestow. I cannot permit my remains to be the first in these United States to be deposited in a sarcophagus made for an emperor or a king. I again repeat, please accept for yourself, and convey to the president and directors of the National Institute, my most profound respects for the honor you and they intended to bestow. I have prepared an humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without any pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid—for both of us there to remain until the last trumpet sounds to call the dead to judgment, when we, I hope, shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all who believe in our glorious Redeemer, who died for us, that we might live, and by whose atonement I hope for a blessed immortality.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your friend and fellow-citizen,

"Andrew Jackson.

"To Com. J. D. Elliott, United States Navy."

"This letter is among the last productions of his pen. His death soon followed. I hope yet to see the above letter beauti-

fully printed, on fine material, handsomely framed, and kept in some conspicuous place in the house of American families, for the instruction of children and children's children.

"Christian people of America! Bless the name of God, that he has given you a president who was not ashamed to speak of 'our glorious Redeemer, who died for us, that we might live;' 'the sounding of the last trump, to call the dead to judgment;' and his 'atonement,' through whom we 'hope for a blessed immortality.'

"The death of the worthy old general furnished a fine illustration of the sustaining power of the gospel when earthly comforts wither and die. 'Henry,' said he to a highly valued young friend who was attending in his room—'Henry, when we have lived as long as we can be useful to others, and as long as we can enjoy life ourselves, we should be willing to go at our heavenly Father's call. That is now my condition. I have lived long; but, now the frailties of age are upon me, I can no more be useful to my friends. Indeed, I can only be a burden to them. I can no longer be useful to the Church of God. The pains of disease are upon me. I can no longer enjoy the bounties of Providence in life. What then? It is time to die. My heavenly Father calls, and I trust I am ready to go.'

"The physician who attended General Jackson on his death-bed wrote a very instructive and powerful letter, describing the last parting scene in the Hermitage. The chamber of death seemed very near 'the gate of heaven.' The soul of the dying man was full of the hope of immortality, while he took an affectionate farewell of the members of his family, the children, the servants, all who belonged to the household. He commended them to God in Christ—spoke with unwavering confidence of life in heaven for the followers of the Redeemer. He then entered the cold stream of death, and was seen no more.

"As some tall rock, that lifts his awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

"With a few additional remarks I shall close this article.

"1. General Jackson, in theology, was a decided and thorough Calvinist. That sublime system of divinity, so clearly taught in the Holy Scriptures, and so accurately epitomized in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly, was the joy and the rejoicing of his heart. His ordinary conversation abounded with references to the hand and counsel of God. When rehearsing facts that had occurred in his military or political life, he would repeatedly pause and say, 'it was the hand of God.' 'Divine Providence ordered it so.' 'Such an officer was cut down; he was a noble man. I felt his loss much, but it was the hand and counsel of God.' This continual reference to divine Providence, in all the events of life, was a strongly marked feature of his conversation. I must here give an anecdote. An able jurist, born

and educated at the east, had emigrated to the west; and, by diligence and fidelity in his profession, he had become prosperous and popular. He was now a candidate for an important office, in a district where the popularity of General Jackson was absolutely overwhelming. It was well known that the candidate, whose friendship for Jackson was in the subjunctive mood, would most certainly be elected 'to stay at home.' It was indispensable to success that the voters should know before the election that the candidate was the friend and admirer of Jackson. Our jurist was very hostile to the doctrines of Calvinism. Indeed, I fear his hostility went further; for I had been told how he worried some young preachers with sceptical objections to the Bible. I was thrown into his society not long before the election day. After a few moments' conversation, said he, 'Calvinism degrades the human mind. I say, it degrades the human mind!'

"'Yes, sir,' was my reply 'yes, sir, Calvinism degraded your New England man Jonathan Edwards, as all Europe and all America confess, into the most distinguished theological writer who has ever put pen to paper in the English language. Both hemispheres maintain that Jonathan Edwards is unequalled among English theological writers. How Calvinism degraded him! Again, Calvinism has degraded General Jackson, as you maintain in all your public addresses, throughout your electioneering canvass, into the most eminent military and political man which the world has produced in the present age. How degrading is the influence of Calvinism!'

"2. General Jackson, in his intercourse with his neighbors and with society, was 'the good man' and the perfect gentleman. It is to be regretted that heated politicians and crazy fanatics should be so successful in misrepresenting men and things, as to keep worthy citizens in one section of our country under injurious mistakes relative to their fellow-citizens in another section. Christianity, common sense, love to God, and benevolence to man, are the same, east and west, go where you will, throughout our great country.

"A few years ago, I had the privilege of sitting for a number of successive days in the senate chamber at Washington. I looked on Webster from Massachusetts, Wright from New York, Calhoun from South Carolina, Burges from Rhode Island, Preston, a native of Virginia, Clay from Kentucky, Judge White from Tennessee, and all their fellow-senators; and I said, 'Be you Whigs or be you Democrats, be you from the east or from the west, from the north or from the south, any country on earth might be proud to call you her citizens. And I will rejoice that the beloved land where I was born, nurses in her bosom such a body of men.'

"3. Let me close with repeating, that General Jackson, from *early life*, was characterized by reverence for sacred things. He spoke reverently of the word of God, the house of God, the ordinances of God. He *honored God in word*. And God blessed him while he lived, and blessed him when he died.

CHAPTER 26.

Jackson's "Farewell Address" on March 4, 1837
the date of his retirement from the Presidency.

"Fellow-citizens: Being about to retire finally from public life, I beg leave to offer you my grateful thanks for the many proofs of kindness and confidence which I have received at your hands. It has been my fortune in the discharge of public duties, civil and military, frequently to have found myself in difficult and trying situations, where prompt decision and energetic action were necessary, and where the interest of the country required that high responsibilities should be fearlessly encountered; and it is with the deepest emotions of gratitude that I acknowledge the continued and unbroken confidence with which you have sustained me in every trial. My public life has been a long one, and I can not hope that it has at all times been free from errors; but I have the consolation of knowing that if mistakes have been committed they have not seriously injured the country I so anxiously endeavored to serve, and at the moment when I surrender my last public trust, I leave this great people prosperous, and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, and honored and respected by every nation of the world.

"If my humble efforts have in any degree contributed to preserve to you these blessings, I have been more than rewarded by the honors you have heaped upon me, and, above all, by the generous confidence with which you have supported me in every peril, and with which you have continued to animate and cheer my path to the closing hour of my political life. The time has now come when advanced age and a broken frame warn me to retire from public concerns, but the recollections of the many favors you have bestowed upon me is engraven on my heart, and I have felt that I could not part from your service without making this public acknowledgment of the gratitude I owe you. And if I use this occasion to offer to you the counsels of age and experience, you will, I trust, receive them with the same indulgent kindness which you have so often extended to me, and will at least see in them an earnest desire to perpetuate in this favored land the blessings of liberty and equal law.

"We have now lived almost fifty years under the Constitution framed by the sages and patriots of the Revolution. The conflicts in which the nations of Europe were engaged during a great part of this period, the spirit in which they waged war against each other, and our intimate commercial connections with every part of



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C. The original executive mansion was begun in 1792 and first occupied by President Adams in 1800. It was burned by the British in 1814 and rebuilt in 1816.

Official residence of the Presidents of the United States.

the civilized world rendered it a time of much difficulty for the Government of the United States. We have had our seasons of peace and of war, with all the evils which precede or follow a state of hostility with powerful nations. We encountered these trials with our Constitution yet in its infancy, and under the disadvantages which a new and untried government must always feel when it is called upon to put forth its whole strength without the lights of experience to guide it or the weight of precedents to justify its measures. But we have passed triumphantly through all these difficulties. Our Constitution is no longer a doubtful experiment, and at the end of nearly half a century we find that it has preserved unimpaired the liberties of the people, secured the rights of property, and that our country has improved and is flourishing beyond any example in the history of nations.

"In our domestic concerns there is everything to encourage us, and if you are true to yourselves nothing can impede your march to the highest point of national prosperity. The States which had² so long been retarded in their improvement by the Indian tribes residing in the midst of them, are at length relieved from this evil, and this unhappy race—the original dwellers in our land—are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization and be saved from the degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening while they remained in the States; and while the safety and comfort of our own citizens have been greatly promoted by their removal, the philanthropist will rejoice that the remnant of that ill-fated race has been at length placed beyond the reach of injury or oppression, and that the paternal care of the General Government will hereafter watch over them and protect them.

"If we turn to our relations with foreign powers, we find our condition equally gratifying. Actuated by the sincere desire to do justice to every nation and to preserve the blessings of peace, our intercourse with them has been conducted on the part of this Government in the spirit of frankness; and I take pleasure in saying that it has generally been met in a corresponding temper. Difficulties of old standing have been surmounted by friendly discussion and the mutual desire to be just, and the claims of our citizens, which had been long withheld, have at length been acknowledged and adjusted and satisfactory arrangements made for their final payment; and with a limited, and I trust a temporary exception, our relations with every foreign power are now of the most friendly character, our commerce continually expanding, and our flag respected in every quarter of the world.

"These cheering and grateful prospects and these multiplied favors we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united and flourish under our present form of government. Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who formed

it, and have proved that in the union of these states there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard and by every sacrifice this Union must be preserved.

"The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for preservation of the Union was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the Father of his Country in his Farewell Address. He has there told us that 'while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands;' and he has cautioned us in the strongest terms against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb our Union and to which designing men would be likely to resort.

"The lessons contained in this invaluable legacy of Washington to his countrymen should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation; and perhaps at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment; for when we look upon the scenes that are passing around us and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsel would seem to be not merely the offspring of wisdom and foresight, but the voice of prophecy, foretelling events and warning us of the evil to come. Forty years have passed since this imperishable document was given to his countrymen. The Federal Constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment—and the success of which the best hopes of his country depended; and we all know that he was prepared to lay down his life, if necessary, to secure to it a full and fair trial. The trial has been made. It has succeeded beyond his proudest hopes of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended nation has felt its blessings and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid this general prosperity and splendid success the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold between different parts of the United States and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the South against the North and the North against the South, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics—topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotion. Appeals, too, are constantly made to sectional interests in order to influence the election of the Chief Magistrate, as if it were desired that he should favor a particular quarter of the country instead of fulfilling the duties of his station with impartial justice to all; and the possible dissolution of the Union has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion. Has the warning voice of Washington been forgotten, or have designs already been formed to sever the Union? Let it not be supposed that I impute to all of those who have taken an active part in

these unwise and unprofitable discussions a want of patriotism or of public virtue. The honorable feeling of State pride and local attachments finds a place in the bosoms of the most enlightened and pure. But while such men are conscious of their own integrity and honesty of purpose, they ought never to forget that the citizens of other States are their political brethren, and that however mistaken they may be in their views, the great body of them are equally honest and upright with themselves. Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time create mutual hostility, and artful and designing men will always be found who are ready to foment these fatal divisions and to inflame the natural jealousies of different sections of the country. The history of the world is full of such examples, and especially the history of republics.

“What have you to gain by division and dissension? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation will then be tried in fields of battle and determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope that the first line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of this Union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe, the memory of victories won by their united valor, the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present Constitution, the proud name they bear as citizens of this great Republic—if all these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold united the new divisions of empire when these bonds have been broken and this Union dissevered? The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off, new leaders would spring up, and this great and glorious Republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty States, without commerce, without credit, jealous of one another, armed for mutual aggression, loaded with taxes to pay armies and leaders, seeking aid against each other from foreign powers, insulted and trampled upon by the nations in Europe, until, harassed with conflicts and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer and to surrender their liberty for the sake of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of the Government and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the Union and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties.

“There is too much at stake to allow pride or passion to influence your decision. Never for a moment believe that the great

body of the citizens of any State or States can deliberately intend to do wrong. They may under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mistakes; they may be misled for a time by the suggestions of self-interest; but in a community so enlightened and patriotic as the people of the United States, argument will soon make them sensible of their errors, and when convinced they will be ready to repair them. If they have no higher or better motives to govern them, they will at least perceive that their own interests require them to be just to others, as they hope to receive justice at their hands.

“But in order to maintain the Union unimpaired it is absolutely necessary that the laws passed by the constituted authorities should be faithfully executed in every part of the country, and that every good citizen should at all times stand ready to put down, with the combined force of the nation, every attempt at unlawful resistance, under whatever pretext it may be made or whatever shape it may assume. Unconstitutional or oppressive laws no doubt be passed by Congress either from erroneous views or the want of due consideration; if they are within reach of judicial authority, the remedy is easy and peaceful; and if, from the character of the law, it is an abuse of power not within the control of the judiciary, then free discussion and calm appeals to reason and to the justice of the people will not fail to redress the wrong. But until the laws shall be declared void by the courts or repealed by Congress no individual or combination of individuals can be justified in forcibly resisting its execution. It is impossible that any government can continue to exist upon any other principles. It would cease to be a government and would be unworthy of the name if it had not the power to enforce the execution of its own laws within its own sphere of action.

“It is true that cases may be imagined disclosing such a settled purpose of usurpation and oppression on the part of the Government as would justify an appeal to arms. These, however, are extreme cases, which we have no reason to apprehend in a government where the power is in the hands of a patriotic people. And no citizen who loves his country would in any case whatever resort to forcible resistance unless he clearly saw that the time had come when a free man would prefer death to submission; for if such a struggle is once begun, and the citizens of one section of the country arrayed in arms against those of another in doubtful conflict, let the battle result as it may, there will be an end of the Union and with it an end to the hopes of freedom. The victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; it would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin.

“But the Constitution can not be maintained nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people, in the se-

curity it gives to life, liberty, character, and property in every quarter of the country, and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to one another as members of one political family, mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other. Hence the citizens of every State should studiously avoid everything calculated to wound the sensibility or offend the just pride of the people of other States, and they should frown upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquility of their political brethren in other portions of the Union. In a country so extensive as the United States, and with pursuits so varied, the internal regulations of the several States must frequently differ from one another in important particulars, and this difference is unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American Colonies were originally planted—principles which had taken deep root in their social relations before the Revolution, and therefore of necessity influencing their policy since they became free and independent States. But each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure, and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measure proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness; and all efforts on the part of people of other States to cast odium upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property or put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable interference, and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity and asserting the rights of the human race; but everyone, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation.

“In the legislation of Congress also, and in every measure of the General Government, justice to every portion of the United States should be faithfully observed. No free government can stand without virtue in the people and a lofty spirit of patriotism, and if the sordid feelings of mere selfishness shall usurp the place which ought to be filled by public spirit, the legislation of Congress will soon be converted into a scramble for personal and sectional advantages. Under our free institutions the citizens of every quarter of our country are capable of attaining a high degree of prosperity and happiness without seeking to profit themselves at the expense of others; and every such attempt must in the end fail to succeed, for the people in every part of the United States are too enlightened not to understand their own rights and interests and to direct and defeat every effort to gain undue advantage over

them; and when such designs are discovered it naturally provokes resentments which can not always be easily allayed. Justice—full and ample, justice—to every portion of the United States should be the ruling principle of every freeman, and should guide the deliberations of every public body, whether it be State or national.

“It is well known that there have always been those amongst us who wish to enlarge the powers of the General Government, and experience would seem to indicate that there is a tendency on the part of this Government to overstep the boundaries marked out for it by the Constitution. Its legitimate authority is abundantly sufficient for all the purposes for which it was created, and its powers being expressly enumerated, there can be no justification for claiming anything beyond them. Every attempt to exercise power beyond these limits should be promptly and firmly opposed, for one evil example will lead to other measures still more mischievous; and if the principle of constructive powers or supposed advantages or temporary circumstances shall ever be permitted to justify the assumption of a power not given by the Constitution, the General Government will before long absorb all the powers of legislation, and you will have in effect but one consolidated government. From the extent of our country, its diversified interests, different pursuits, and different habits, it is too obvious for argument that a single consolidated government would be wholly inadequate to watch over and protect its interests; and every friend of our free institutions should be always prepared to maintain unimpaired and in full vigor the rights and sovereignty of the States and to confine the action of the General Government strictly to the sphere of its appropriate duties.

“There is, perhaps, no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it; and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets. Congress has no right under the Constitution to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers intrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes, it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may indeed happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them, and in such a case it is unquestionably the duty of the Government to reduce them for no circumstances can justify it in

assuming a power not given to it by the Constitution nor in taking away the money of the people when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the Government.

"Plain as these principles appear to be, you will yet find there is a constant effort to induce the General Government to go beyond the limits of its taxing power and impose unnecessary burdens upon the people. Many powerful interests are continually at work to procure heavy duties on commerce and to swell the revenue beyond the real necessity of the public service, and the country has already felt the injurious effects of their combined influence. They succeeded in obtaining a tariff of those duties bearing most oppressively on the agricultural and laboring classes of society and producing a revenue that could not be usefully employed within the range of the powers conferred upon Congress, and in order to fasten upon the people this unjust and unequal system of taxation extravagant schemes of internal improvements were got up in various quarters to squander the money and to purchase support. Thus one unconstitutional measure was intended to be upheld by another, and the abuse of the power of taxation was to be maintained by usurping the power of expending the money in internal improvements. You can not have forgotten the severe and doubtful struggle through which we passed when the executive department of the Government by its veto endeavored to arrest this prodigal scheme of injustice and to bring back the legislation of Congress to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution. The good sense and practical judgment of the people when the subject was brought before them sustained the course of the Executive, and this plan of unconstitutional expenditures for the purposes of corrupt influence is, I trust, finally overthrown.

"The result of this decision has been felt in the rapid extinguishment of the public debt and the large accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury, notwithstanding the tariff was reduced and is now very far below the amount originally contemplated by its advocates. But, rely upon it, the design to collect an extravagant revenue and to burden you with taxes beyond the economical wants of the Government is not yet abandoned. The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff and to produce an overflowing treasury are too strong and have too much at stake to surrender the contest. The corporations and weakly individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters; and since the people have decided that the Federal Government can not be permitted to employ its income in internal improvements, efforts will be made to seduce and mislead the citizens of the several States by holding out to them the deceitful prospect of benefits to be derived from a surplus revenue collected by the General Government and annually divided among the States;

and if, encouraged by these fallacious hopes, the States should disregard the principles of economy which ought to characterize every republican government, and should indulge in lavish expenditures exceeding their resources, they will before long find themselves oppressed with debts which they are unable to pay, and the temptation will become irresistible to support a high tariff in order to obtain a surplus for distribution. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow-citizens, to be misled on this subject. The Federal Government can not collect a surplus for such purposes without violating the principles of the Constitution and assuming powers which have not been granted. It is, moreover, a system of injustice, and if persisted in will inevitably lead to corruption, and must end in ruin. The surplus revenue will be drawn from the pockets of the people—from the farmer, the mechanic, and the laboring classes of society; but who will receive it when distributed among the States, where it is to be disposed of by leading partisans to gratify? It will certainly not be returned to those who paid it and have most need of it and are honestly entitled to it. There is but one safe rule, and that is to confine the General Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. It has no power to raise a revenue or impose taxes except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution, and if its income is found to exceed these wants it should be forthwith reduced and the burden of the people so far lightened.

“In reviewing the conflicts which have taken place between different interests in the United States and the policy pursued since the adoption of our present form of Government, we find nothing that has produced such deep-seated evil as the course of legislation in relation to the currency. The Constitution of the United States unquestionably intended to secure to the people a circulating medium of gold and silver. But the establishment of a national bank by Congress, with the privilege of issuing paper money receivable in the payment of the public dues, and the unfortunate course of legislation in the several States upon the same subject, drove from general circulation the constitutional currency and substituted one of paper in its place.

“It was not easy for men engaged in ordinary pursuits of business, whose attention had not been particularly drawn to the subject, to foresee all the consequences of a currency exclusively of paper, and we ought not on that account to be surprised at the facility with which laws were obtained to carry into effect the paper system. Honest and even enlightened men are sometimes misled by the specious and plausible statements of the designing. But experience has now proved the mischiefs and dangers of a paper currency and it rests with you to determine whether the proper remedy shall be applied.

“The paper system being founded on public confidence and having of itself no intrinsic value, it is liable to great and sudden fluctuations, thereby rendering property insecure and the wages of

labor unsteady and uncertain. The corporations which create the paper money can not be relied upon to keep the circulating medium uniform in amount. In times of prosperity, when confidence is high, they are tempted by the prospect of gain or by the influence of those who hope to profit by it to extend their issues of paper beyond the bounds of discretion and the reasonable demands of business; and when these issues have been pushed on from day to day, until public confidence is at length shaken, then a reaction takes place, and they immediately withdraw the credits they have given, suddenly curtail their issues, and produce an unexpected and ruinous contraction of the circulating medium, which is felt by the whole community. The banks by this means save themselves, and the mischievous consequences of their imprudence of cupidity are visited upon the public. Nor does the evil stop there. These ebbs and flows in the currency and these indiscreet extensions of credit naturally engender a spirit of speculation injurious to the habits and character of the people. We have already seen its effects in the wild spirit of speculation in the public lands and various kinds of stock which within the last year or two seized upon such a multitude of our citizens and threatened to pervade all classes of society and to withdraw their attention from the sober pursuits of honest industry. It is not by encouraging this spirit that we shall best preserve public virtue and promote the true interests of our country; but if your currency continues as exclusively paper as it now is, it will foster this eager desire to amass wealth without labor; it will multiply the number of dependents on bank accommodations and bank favors; the temptation to obtain money at any sacrifice will become stronger and stronger, and inevitably lead to corruption, which will find its way into your public councils and destroy at no distant day the purity of your Government. Some of the evils which arise from this system of paper press with peculiar harshness upon the class of society least able to bear it. A portion of this currency frequently becomes depreciated or worthless, and all of it is easily counterfeited in such a manner as to require peculiar skill and much experience to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine note. These frauds are most generally perpetrated in the smaller notes, which are used in the daily transactions of ordinary business and the losses occasioned by them are commonly thrown upon the laboring classes of society, whose situation and pursuits put it out of their power to guard themselves from their impositions, and whose daily wages are necessary for their subsistence. It is the duty of every government so to regulate its currency as to protect this numerous class, as far as practicable, from the impositions of avarice and fraud. It is more specially the duty of the United States, where the Government is emphatically the Government of the people, and where this respectable portion of our citizens are so proudly distinguished from the laboring classes of all other nations by their independent spirit, their love of liberty, their intelligence, and their high tone of moral character. Their

industry in peace is the source of our wealth and their bravery in war has covered us with glory; and the Government of the United States will but ill discharge its duties if it leaves them a prey to such dishonest impositions. Yet it is evident that their interests can not be effectually protected unless silver and gold are restored to circulation.

“These views alone of the paper currency are sufficient to call for immediate reform; but there is another consideration which should still more strongly press it upon your attention.

“Recent events have proved that the paper-money system of this country may be used as an engine to undermine your free institutions, and that those who desire to engross all power in the hands of the few and to govern by corruption or force are aware of its power and prepared to employ it. Your banks now furnish your only circulating medium, and money is plenty or scarce according to the quantity of notes issued by them. While they have capitals not greatly disproportioned to each other, they are competitors in business, and no one of them can exercise dominion over the rest; and although in the present state of the currency these banks may and do operate injuriously upon the habits of business, the pecuniary concerns, and the moral tone of society, yet, from their number and dispersed situation, they can not combine for the purposes of political influence, and whatever may be the dispositions of some of them their power of mischief must necessarily be confined to a narrow space and felt only in their immediate neighborhoods.

“But when the charter for the Bank of the United States was obtained from Congress it perfected the schemes of the paper system and gave to its advocates the position they have struggled to obtain from the commencement of the Federal Government to the present hour. The immense capital and peculiar privileges bestowed upon it enabled it to exercise despotic sway over the other banks in every part of the country. From its superior strength it could seriously injure, if not destroy, the business of any one of them which might incur its resentment; and it openly claimed for itself the power of regulating the currency throughout the United States. In other words, it asserted (and it undoubtedly possessed) the power to make money plenty or scarce at its pleasure, at any time and in any quarter of the Union, by controlling the issues of other banks and permitting an expansion or compelling a general contraction of the circulating medium, according to its own will. The other banking institutions were sensible of its strength, and they soon generally became its obedient instruments, ready at all times to execute its mandates; and with the banks necessarily went also that numerous class of persons in our commercial cities who depend altogether on bank credits for their solvency and means of business, and who are therefore obliged, for their own safety, to propitiate the favor of the paper money by distinguished zeal and devotion to its service. The result of the ill-advised legislation which established this great monopoly was to concentrate the whole moneyed



HENRY A. WISE, 1806-1876 AND ANNE JENNINGS.

Henry A. Wise, later Governor of Virginia, married Anne Jennings, daughter of Jackson's Presbyterian Pastor at Nashville and they spent their honeymoon at the Hermitage. Their home was then in Nashville. The two portraits above were procured for the Author by Mrs. Tapley Portlock of Knoxville, a descendant of the Wise family.

power of the Union, with its boundless means of corruption and its numerous dependents, under the direction and command of one acknowledged head, thus organizing this particular interest as one body and securing to it unity and concert of action throughout the United States, and enabling it to bring forward upon any occasion its entire and undivided strength to support or defeat any measure of the Government. In the hands of this formidable power, thus perfectly organized, was also placed unlimited dominion over the amount of the circulating medium, giving it the power to regulate the value of property, and the fruits of labor in every quarter of the Union, and to bestow prosperity or bring ruin upon any city or section of the country as might best comport with its own interest or policy.

"We are not left to conjecture how the moneyed power, thus organized and with such a weapon in its hands, would be likely to use it. The distress and alarm which pervaded and agitated the whole country when the Bank of the United States waged war upon the people in order to compel them to submit to its demands can not yet be forgotten. The ruthless and unsparing temper with which whole cities and communities were oppressed, individuals impoverished and ruined, and a scene of cheerful prosperity suddenly changed into one of gloom and despondency ought to be indelibly impressed on the memory of the people of the United States. If such was its power in a time of peace, what would it not have been in a season of war, with an enemy at your doors? No nation but the freeman of the United States could have come out victorious from such a contest; and yet, if you had not conquered, the Government would have passed from the hands of the many to the hands of the few, and this organized money power from its secret conclave would have dictated the choice of your highest officers and compelled you to make peace or war, as best suited their own wishes. The forms of your Government might for a time have remained, but its living spirit would have departed from it.

"The distress and suffering inflicted on the people by the bank are some of the fruits of that system of policy which is continually striving to enlarge the authority of the Federal Government beyond the limits fixed by the Constitution. The powers enumerated in that instrument do not confer on Congress the right to establish such a corporation as the Bank of the United States, and the evil consequences which followed may warn us of the danger of departing from the true rule of construction and of permitting temporary circumstances or the hope of better promoting the public welfare to influence in any degree our decisions upon the extent of the authority of the General Government. Let us abide by the Constitution as it is written, or amend it in the constitutional mode if it is found to be defective.

"The severe lessons of experience will, I doubt not, be sufficient to prevent Congress from again chartering such a monopoly, even if the Constitution did not present an insuperable objection to it.

But you must remember, my fellow-citizens, that eternal vigilance by the people is the price of liberty, and that you must pay the price if you wish to secure the blessing. It behooves you, therefore, to be watchful in your States as well as in the Federal Government. The power which the moneyed interest can exercise, when concentrated under a single head and with our present system of currency, was sufficiently demonstrated in the struggle made by the Bank of the United States. Defeated in the General Government, the same class of intriguers and politicians will now resort to the States and endeavor to obtain there the same organization which they failed to perpetuate in the Union; and with specious and deceitful plans of public advantages and States interests and State pride they will endeavor to establish in the different States one moneyed institution with overgrown capital and exclusive privileges sufficient to enable it to control the operations of the other banks. Such an institution will be pregnant with the same evils produced by the Bank of the United States, although its sphere of action is more confined, and in the State in which it is chartered the money power will be able to embody its whole strength and to move together with undivided force to accomplish any object it may wish to attain. You have already had abundant evidence of its power to inflict injury upon the agricultural, mechanical, and laboring classes of society, and over those whose engagements in trade or speculation render them dependent on bank facilities the dominion of the States monopoly will be absolute and their obedience unlimited. With such a bank and a paper currency the money power would in a few years govern the State and control its measures, and if a sufficient number of States can be induced to create such establishments the time will soon come when it will again take the field against the United States and succeed in perfecting and perpetuating its organization by a charter from Congress.

"It is one of the serious evils of our present system of banking that it enables one class of society—and that by no means a numerous one—by its control over the currency, to act injuriously upon the interests of all the others and to exercise more than its just proportion of influence in political affairs. The agricultural, the mechanical and the laboring classes have little or no share in the direction of the great moneyed corporations, and from their habits and the nature of their pursuits they are incapable of forming extensive combinations to act together with united force. Such concert of action may sometimes be produced in a single city or in a small district of country by means of personal communications with each other, but they have no regular or active correspondence with those who are engaged in similar pursuits in distant places; they have but little patronage to give to the press, and exercise but a small share of influence over it; they have no crowd of dependents about them who hope to grow rich without labor by their countenance and favor, and who are therefore always ready to execute their wishes. The planter, the farmer, the mechanic,

and the laborer all know that their success depends upon their own industry and economy, and that they must not expect to become suddenly rich by the fruits of their toil. Yet these classes of society form the great body of the people of the United States; they are the bone and sinew of the country—men who love liberty and desire nothing but equal rights and equal laws, and who, moreover, hold the great mass of our national wealth, although it is distributed in moderate amounts among the millions of freemen who possess it. But with overwhelming numbers and wealth on their side they are in constant danger of losing their fair influence in the Government, and with difficulty maintain their just rights against the incessant efforts daily made to encroach upon them. The mischief springs from the power which the moneyed interest derives from a paper currency which they are able to control, from the multitude of corporations with exclusive privileges which they have succeeded in obtaining in the different States; and which are employed altogether for their benefit; and unless you become more watchful in your States and check this spirit of monopoly and thirst for exclusive privileges you will, in the end find that the most important powers of Government have been given or bartered away, and the control over your dearest interests has passed into the hands of these corporations.

“The paper money system and its natural associations—monopoly and exclusive privileges—have already struck their roots too deep in the soil, and it will require all your efforts to check its further growth and to eradicate the evil. The men who profit by the abuses and desire to perpetuate them will continue to besiege the halls of legislation in the General Government as well as in the States, and will seek by every artifice to mislead and deceive the public servants. It is to yourselves that you must look for safety and the means of guarding and perpetuating your free institutions. In your hands is rightfully placed the sovereignty of the country, and to you everyone placed in authority is ultimately responsible. It is always in your power to see that the wishes of the people are carried into faithful execution, and their will, when once made known, must sooner or later be obeyed; and while the people remain, as I trust they ever will, uncorrupted and incorruptible, and continue watchful and jealous of their rights, the Government is safe, and the cause of freedom will continue to triumph over all its enemies.

“But it will require steady and persevering exertions on your part to rid yourselves of the iniquities and mischiefs of the paper system, and to check the spirit of monopoly and other abuses which have sprung up with it, and of which it is the main support. So many interests are united to resist all reform on this subject that you must not hope the conflict will be a short one nor success easy. My humble efforts have not been spared during my administration of the Government to restore the constitutional currency of gold and silver, and something, I trust has been done toward the

accomplishment of this most desirable object; but enough yet remains to require all your energy and perseverance. The power, however, is in your hands, and the remedy must and will be applied if you determine upon it.

“While I am thus endeavoring to press upon your attention the principles which I deem of vital importance in the domestic concerns of the country, I ought not to pass over without notice the important considerations which should govern your policy toward foreign powers. It is unquestionably our true interest to cultivate the most friendly understanding with every nation and to avoid by every honorable means the calamities of war, and we shall best attain this object by frankness and sincerity in our foreign intercourse, by the prompt and faithful execution of treaties, and by justice and impartiality in our conduct to all. But no nation, however desirous of peace, can hope to escape occasional collisions with other powers, and the soundest dictates of policy require that we should place ourselves in a condition to assert our rights if a resort to force should ever become necessary. Our local situation, our long line of sea coast, indented by numerous bays, with deep rivers, opening into the interior, as well as our extended and still increasing commerce, point to the Navy as our natural means of defense. It will in the end be found to be the cheapest and most effectual, and now is the time, in a season of peace and with an overflowing revenue, that we can year after year add to its strength without increasing the burden of the people. It is your true policy, for your Navy will not only protect your rich and flourishing commerce in distant seas, but will enable you to reach and annoy the enemy and will give to defense its greatest efficiency by meeting danger at a distance from home. It is impossible by any line of fortification to guard every point from attack against a hostile force advancing from the ocean and selecting its object, but they are indispensable to protect cities from bombardment, dockyards and naval arsenals from destruction to give shelter to merchant vessels when pressed by superior force. Fortifications of this description can not be too soon completed and armed and placed in a condition of the the most perfect preparation. The abundant means we now possessed can not be applied in any manner more useful to the country, and when this is done and our naval force sufficiently strengthened and our militia armed we need not fear that any nation will wantonly insult us or needlessly provoke hostilities. We shall more certainly preserve peace when it is understood that we have prepared for war.

“In presenting to you, my fellow-citizens, these parting counsels, I have brought before you the leading principles upon which I endeavored to administer the Government in the high office with which you twice honored me. Knowing that the path of freedom is continually beset by enemies who often assume the disguise of friends, I have devoted the last hours of my public life to warn you of its dangers. The progress of the United States under our free

and happy institutions has surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the founders of the Republic. Our growth has been rapid beyond all former examples in numbers, in wealth, in knowledge, and all the useful arts which contribute to the comforts and convenience of man, and from the earliest ages of history to the present day there never have been thirteen millions of people associated in one political body who enjoyed so much freedom and happiness as the people of these United States. You have no longer cause to fear danger from abroad; your strength and power are well known throughout the civilized world, as well as the high and gallant bearing of your sons. It is from within, among yourselves—from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition and inordinate thirst for power—that factions will be formed and liberty endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves. You have the highest of human trusts committed to your care. Providence has showered on this favored land blessings without number, and has chosen you as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race. May He who holds in His hands the destinies of nations make you worthy of the favors He has bestowed and enable you, with pure hearts and pure hands and sleepless vigilance, to guard and defend to the end of time the great charge He has committed to your keeping.

“My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that before long I must pass beyond the reach of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in a land of liberty and that He has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son. And filled with gratitude for your constant and unwavering kindness, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell.”

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